This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD·VNIVERSITY·LIBRARY

CATALOGUE

OF

ROMANCES

IN THE

DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

H. L. D. WARD, B.A.

SENIOR ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MSS.

VOLUME II.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES.

SOLD AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM;

AND BY

LONGMANS AND CO., 39 PATERNOSTER ROW; B. QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY;
ASHER AND CO., 13 BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN;
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., CHARING CROSS ROAD:
AND THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN CORNER, LONDON.

1893.

Z 6.01
B77 P7
V.2

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

NOTICE.

THE first volume of this Catalogue, issued in 1883, contained detailed descriptions of Classical Romances, British and English Traditions, and French Traditions, including the great cycles of Troy and Alexander, of King Arthur, and of Charlemagne, together with a number of other romantic works of miscellaneous character,

CORRECTIONS.

p. 130, l. 26. *For* 18,858, *read* 18,358.
p. 131, l. 8. *for* 945, *read* 954.

and of miscellaneous anecdotes, together with other kindred matter.

The present volume, as the first, is the work of Mr. H. L. D. Ward, Senior Assistant of the Department. In the final revision, and in passing the volume through the press, he has been efficiently assisted by a junior colleague, Mr. J. A. Herbert.

EDWARD SCOTT,
Keeper of MSS.

DEPT. OF MSS.
27 *May*, 1893.

84038

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Northern Legends and Tales.

	PAGE
Beowulf	1
Nibelungenlied	16
Wisselau the Bear	17
Herzog Ernst	19
Edda (Elder and Younger)	21
Romantic Tales (Icelandic)	54
Íslenzk Fornkvæði	81
Two Northern Fairy Tales	108

Eastern Legends and Tales.

Barlaam and Josaphat	111
Directorium Humanæ Vitæ, by John of Capua	149
Libre de les Besties, by Raimon Lul	181
Συντίπας	190
Seven Sages of Rome	199
Dolopathos	228
Disciplina Clericalis, by Petrus Alfunsi	235
Le Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils	247

Æsopic Fables.

Avianus	272
Romulus	279
Romulus of Marie de France	286
Marie de-France	291
Romulus of Vincent de Beauvais	307
Anonymus Neveleti	309
Esopo Zuccarino	331
Ysopet-Avionnet	335
Æsopic Fables, in quatrains (Latin)	342
Novus Æsopus, by Alexander Neckam	347
Two Æsopic Fables, in hexameters (Latin)	352
Fables with moralizations, by Robert Henryson	354
Æsopic Fables, in heroic verse (English)	356
Spiegel der Weisheit	357

Reynard the Fox.

Roman de Renart	368

Visions of Heaven and Hell.

	PAGE
Vision of St. Paul	397
Vision of Tundal	416
St. Patrick's Purgatory	435
Vision of the Monk of Eynsham	493
Vision of Thurkill	506
Voyage of St. Brendan	516

Les Trois Pèlerinages.

Les Trois Pèlerinages, by Guillaume de Deguileville	558
Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, by John Lydgate	571
Pilgrimage of the Soul	580

Miracles of the Virgin.

Introduction	586
Theophilus	595
Miracles of the Virgin, in prose	600
Miracles of the Virgin, in verse	691

Appendix.

Beowulf	741
Barlaam and Josaphat	744
Vision of Tundal	746
St. Patrick's Purgatory	748

INDEX-TABLE OF MANUSCRIPTS.

Royal MSS.

		PAGE
5. A. viii. ff. 144 b–152	Miracles of the Virgin	650
6. B. x. ff. 35 b–41 b	————————	642
6. B. xiv. ff. 82 b–99	————————	637
8. C. iv. ff. 16–23 b	————————	699
8. C. vii. ff. 119 b–121 b	Vision of St. Paul	408
8. C. xii. ff. 154 b–158	Miracles of the Virgin	678
8. C. xiv. ff. 3 b–15 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	456
8. E. xvii. ff. 122 b–123	Vision of St. Paul	397
——— ff. 128 b–138 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	533
8. F. vi. ff. 23, 24	Vision of St. Paul	407
9. A. xiv. ff. 247 b–252 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	460
10. B. ix. ff. 36 b–44 b	————————	489
10. B. xii. ff. 8–19 b	Disciplina Clericalis	235
11. B. iii. f. 334 b	Vision of St. Paul	405
——— ff. 345–348 b	Barlaam and Josaphat	128
11. B. x. ff. 2–2 b, 184	Vision of St. Paul	406
12. E. i. ff. 182 b–191	Barlaam and Josaphat	130
13. B. viii. ff. 100 b–112 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	435
13. C. vi. ff. 150–150 b	Vision of St. Paul	404
13. D. v. ff. 45–50 b	Vision of Thurkill	506
15. A. vii. ff. 14–25	Avianus	272
——— ff. 77–83 b	Romulus of Marie de France ..	286
15. A. xxviii.	Anonymus Neveleti	322
15. A. xxxi. ff. 28–43	Avianus	278
16. E. viii. ff. 104–130	Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils	265
17. B. xliii. ff. 133–148 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	484
——— ff. 150–184	Vision of Tundal	433
20. B. v. ff. 157–172 b	Barlaam and Josaphat	136
20. B. xiv. ff. 102 b–170, 173 ..	Miracles of the Virgin	728

Cotton MSS.

Julius D. v. ff. 168–176	Vision of Thurkill	514
Julius D. ix. ff. 36–44 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	480
——— ff. 74 b–83 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	554
——— ff. 301 b–307	Miracles of the Virgin	738
Tiberius A. vii. ff. 39–106 b	Pilgrimage of the Life of Man ..	578
Tiberius D. iii. ff. 107–118	Voyage of St. Brendan	532

		PAGE
Tiberius E. i. Part i. ff. 65 b–68 b ..	St. Patrick's Purgatory	461
——— ff. 68 b–74 ..	Vision of Tundal	425
——— ff. 128–134 ..	Voyage of St. Brendan	537
Tiberius E. vii. ff. 221–225	Theophilus	740
Caligula A. ii. ff. 91 b–95	St. Patrick's Purgatory	482
——— ff. 95 b–107 b	Vision of Tundal	428
Caligula A. viii. ff. 192–209 b ..	Vision of the Monk of Eynsham ..	503
Caligula A. ix. ff. 195–216	Barlaam and Josaphat	133
Nero A. vii. ff. 113–120	St. Patrick's Purgatory	455
Nero E. i. Part i. ff. 157–160 ..	Theophilus	597
Galba E. ix. ff. 25 b–48 b	Seven Sages of Rome	213
Vitellius A. xv. ff. 132–201 b ..	Beowulf	1, 741
Vitellius C. xiii.	Pilgrimage of the Life of Man ..	571
Vespasian A. vi. ff. 146 b–155 b ..	St. Patrick's Purgatory	460
Vespasian A. vii. ff. 34–38	Vision of St. Paul	409
Vespasian A. xiv. ff. 104 b–105 b ..	Voyage of St. Brendan	531
Vespasian B. x. ff. 1–11	———	541
——— ff. 11 b–21	———	534
Vespasian B. xiv. ff. 19–32 b	Fables of Marie de France ..	307
Vespasian B. xxiii. Part iii. ff. 110 b–118 b	Novus Æsopus	347
Vespasian D. ix. ff. 2–10	Voyage of St. Brendan	539
Vespasian D. xix. ff. 5–24 b	Miracles of the Virgin	691
Domitian A. iv. ff. 257–267	St. Patrick's Purgatory	468
Cleopatra C. x. ff. 101–144 b	Miracles of the Virgin	600
Cleopatra C. xi. ff. 49–69 b	Vision of the Monk of Eynsham ..	493
Cleopatra D. ix. ff. 149 b–155 b ..	Miracles of the Virgin	736

Harley MSS.

Harley 103. ff. 129–134 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	459
——— 108. ff. 45–62	Voyage of St. Brendan	535
——— 261. ff. 167 b–175	St. Patrick's Purgatory	457
——— 273. ff. 191 b–197 b	———	471
——— 527. ff. 32 b–46 b	Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils	253
——— 912. ff. 161 b–162 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	466
——— 978. ff. 40–67 b	Fables of Marie de France ..	291
——— 2250. ff. 9–10	Miracle of the Virgin	738
——— f. 87	———	690
——— 2277. ff. 41 b–51	Voyage of St. Brendan	551
——— ff. 58–64 b, 100 b–101 b	Miracles of the Virgin	735
——— 2316. ff. 53, 54	Romulus of Vincent de Beauvais	307
——— ff. 59–61	Miracles of the Virgin	677
——— 2745. ff. 136–152 b	Anonymus Neveleti	328
——— 2851. ff. 49 b–58	St. Patrick's Purgatory	748
——— ff. 58–60	Vision of St. Paul	401
——— ff. 71–89	Miracles of the Virgin	669
——— 3020. ff. 113–132	Theophilus	595
——— 3776. ff. 67–75 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	533

		PAGE
Harley, 3776. ff. 75 b–82	St. Patrick's Purgatory	458
——— ff. 82–89 b	Vision of Tundal	416
——— ff. 89 b–92	Vision of the Monk of Eynsham ..	505
——— 3846. ff. 134–147	St. Patrick's Purgatory	463
——— 3860. ff. 23–47 b	Seven Sages of Rome	199
——— 3865	Fables by R. Henryson	354
——— 3938. ff. 80–107 b	Disciplina Clericalis	245
——— 3958. ff. 2–103 b	Barlaam and Josaphat	125
——— ff. 103 b–121 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	516
——— 4196. ff. 113–117 b, 142 b–143 b, 147 b–148	Miracles of the Virgin	739
Harley 4196. ff 199 b–205 b	Barlaam and Josaphat	746
——— 4333. ff. 25–35 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	545
——— ff. 73–96 : ..	Fables of Marie de France ..	306
——— 4388. ff. 99 b–115 b	Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils	247
——— 4399	Pèlerinage de la Vie humaine ..	569
——— 4401	Miracles of the Virgin	717
——— 4719. ff. 122 b–125	Theophilus	598
——— 4967. ff. 92–102 b	Avianus	276
——— 4987. ff. 5–16 b	Vision of Tundal	434
——— 5293	Barlaam and Josaphat	126
——— 5394. ff. 6–11 b	———	132
——— 5560	Syntipas	190
——— 5619	Barlaam and Josaphat	148

LANSDOWNE MSS.

Lansdowne 383. ff. 1–1 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	474

ARUNDEL MSS.

Arundel 23. ff. 67–67 b	Miracle of the Virgin	695
——— 52. ff. 63, 64	Vision of St. Paul	402
——— 140. ff. 152–165 b	Seven Sages of Rome	224
——— 292. ff. 72–86	St. Patrick's Purgatory	452
——— 330. ff. 24–24 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	538
——— ff. 71 b–75	Barlaam and Josaphat	133
——— 346. ff 60–73	Miracles of the Virgin	618
——— 406. ff. 21 b–27	———	661
——— 407. ff. 41–43 b	———	655

BURNEY MSS.

Burney 59. ff. 2 b–7 b	Romulus	279

SLOANE MSS.

Sloane 1783. ff. 1–6 b	Æsopic Fables	356

Additional MSS.

		PAGE
Add. 4857. ff. 2, 57, 61, 74 b ..	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	54
—— 4859. ff. 2, 6 b, 91 b, 96 b, 119, 129, 146	—— ..	55
Add. 4860. ff. 55, 117, 209, 261 ..	—— ..	57
—— 4862. f. 151	Gunnars Saga Keldugnúps-Fífils ..	58
—— 4863. ff. 1, 7, 337, 401	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	59
—— 4866	Elder and Younger Edda	52
—— 4867. f. 256	Gorms Saga Gamla	60
—— 4868. ff. 2, 9 b, 34, 48, 104 b, 117 b, 125 b	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	61
Add. 4874. ff. 66 b, 85 b, 93 b ..	——	63
—— 4875. ff. 10 b, 15, 22, 29 b, 56 ..	——	64
—— 4877	Edda Sæmundar hins Fróða ..	29
—— 4884. ff. 65, 179, 195	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	65
—— 6047. ff. 258–269 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	536
—— 6524. ff. 115 b–120 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	476
—— ff. 129 b–137 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	549
—— 8166. ff. 40–42 b	Two Æsopic Fables	352
—— 9771	Vision of Tundal	427
—— 10,050. ff. 84 b–90	Theophilus	599
—— 10,088	Anonymus Neveleti .. :	324
—— 10,089. ff. 13 b–33 b	——	323
—— 10,090. ff. 1–8	Avianus	278
—— 10,093. ff. 57–65 b	Anonymus Neveleti	330
—— 10,287. ff. 86–99 b	Barlaam and Josaphat	147
—— 10,288	——	141
—— 10,289. ff. 133–172	Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils	259
—— 10,301. ff. 41–51	St. Patrick's Purgatory	481
—— ff. 80–90 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	553
—— ff. 97 b–104 b, 145–146	Miracles of the Virgin	737
—— 10,389	Esopo Zuccarino	331
—— 10,902. ff. 1–17 b	Barlaam and Josaphat	139
—— 11,108	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	66
—— 11,109. ff. 2, 63, 90 b, 91, 106 b, 136	——	69
Add. 11,111. ff. 8–19 b	——	70
—— 11,112. ff. 52, 58, 76 b, 86 b, 96 b, 100	——	70
Add. 11,115. ff. 3, 92	——	71
—— 11,116	Hálfdanar Saga Gamla	72
—— 11,117	Göngu-Hrólfs Saga	73
—— 11,123. ff. 166–173 b	Gunnars Saga Keldugnúps-Fífils ..	73
—— 11,136. ff. 146 b–257 b	Blómstrvalla Saga	73
—— 11,141. ff. 147 b–156 b	Sögubrot af nokkrum Forkonungum	74
—— 11,157. ff. 74–89 b	Hálfdanar Saga Eysteinssonar ..	75
—— 11,159	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	75

		PAGE
Add. 11,160	Völsúnga Saga, Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar, and Krákumál	75
—— 11,161	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	76
—— 11,162. ff. 51–151	————	77
—— 11,163. ff. 50, 76 b	————	78
—— 11,165	Edda Sæmundar hins Fróða ..	30
—— 11,166	Edda Snorra Sturlusonar	48
—— 11,167	————	49
—— 11,168	————	49
—— 11,169	————	50
—— 11,170	————	51
—— 11,171	————	51
—— 11,172	Háttatal Snorra Sturlusonar ..	51
—— 11,173. ff. 101–144 b	Two Northern Fairy Tales ..	108
—— 11,177	Íslenzk Fornkvæði	81
—— 11,181. ff. 26 b–43	Eiríks Saga Víðförla	78
—— 11,437. ff. 50–61	Vision of Tundal	746
———— ff. 62–109	Directorium Humanæ Vitæ ..	149
—— 11,565. ff. 59–61 b	Voyage of St Brendan	555
—— 11,619. ff. 189–210	Æsopic Fables	342
—— 11,675	Anonymus Neveleti	330
—— 11,896. ff. 2–25 b	————	325
—— 11,897	————	328
—— 11,966. ff. 13–35	————	322
—— 15,106. ff. 2–27	Voyage of St. Brendan	535
—— 15,229	Roman de Renart	368
—— 15,606. ff. 37–81	Wace, Conception de Notre-Dame	707
———— ff. 81–87 b	Vision of St. Paul	413
—— 15,685. ff. 83–97 b	Seven Sages of Rome	206
—— 15,723. ff. 64 b–92	Miracles of the Virgin	622
—— 16,428. ff. 59 b–80 b	Libre de les Besties	181
—— 17,275. ff. 262–269 b	Voyage of St. Brendan	550
—— 17,299	Barlaam and Josaphat ..	111, 744
—— 17,920, ff. 2–6	Miracles of the Virgin	689
—— 18,107	Anonymus Neveleti	309
—— 18,346. ff. 44–74 b	Miracles of the Virgin	646
—— 18,365. ff. 73–80	Theophilus	599
—— 18,922. ff. 61 b–146 b	Dolopathos	228
—— 18,929. ff. 52–69	Barlaam and Josaphat	129
———— ff. 79–86 b	Miracles of the Virgin	656
—— 19,909. ff. 239–250 b	————	679
—— 21,213. ff. 15–17 b	Avianus	277
—— 22,283. f. 32 b	Vision of St. Paul	415
—— 22,622. ff. 81–125	Herzog Ernst	19
—— 22,937	Les Trois Pèlerinages	558
—— 24,641. ff. 211 b–226 b	Disciplina Clericalis	243
—— 24,969. ff. 1 b, 77, 91, 102 b, 111, 119, 152, 280	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	79
Add. 24,971	Haralds Saga Hríngsbana ..	80

		PAGE
Add. 24,972. ff. 2, 20, 73, 82–83 b ..	Romantic tales (Icelandic) ..	80
—— 25,594	Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine, and Pèlerinage de l'Ame ..	567
—— 26,770. ff. 88 b–89 b	Vision of St. Paul	403
—— 27,424	Vision of Tundal	426
—— 27,429	Seven Sages of Rome	210
—— 27,625. ff. 1–25 b	Anonymus Neveleti	324
—— 32,248. ff. 1–7 b	Miracles of the Virgin	696
—— 33,780	Anonymus Neveleti	326
—— 33,781	Ysopet-Avionnet	335
—— 33,956. ff. 70 b–81 b	Miracles of the Virgin	671
—— 33,957. ff. 28–30	St. Patrick's Purgatory	465
—— 34,193. ff. 5–98 b	Pilgrimage of the Soul	584
—— ff. 99–100 b, 106–106 b, 119 b–125 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	487

EGERTON MSS.

Egerton 612. ff. 1–75, 96–98 b ..	Miracles of the Virgin	708
—— 615	Pilgrimage of the Soul	580
—— 642	Edda Snorra Sturlusonar	30
—— 643	Edda Sæmundar hins Fróða ..	21
—— 745. ff. 131–199	Barlaam and Josaphat	137
—— 832. ff. 171–187	Anonymus Neveleti	329
—— 1117. ff. 171–177 b	Miracles of the Virgin	666
—— ff. 195–196 b	St. Patrick's Purgatory	464
—— 1121	Spiegel der Weisheit	357
—— 1993. ff. 119 b–128	St. Patrick's Purgatory	478
—— 1995. ff. 3–54 b	Seven Sages of Rome	218
—— 2323. ff. 1, 2	Nibelungenlied	16
—— ff. 3, 4	Wisselau the Bear	17

NORTHERN LEGENDS AND TALES.

Cotton, Vitellius A. xv. ff. 132–201 b.

Vellum; about A.D. 1000. Octavo; ff. 70, having about 20 lines to a page, written as prose, answering to about 20 to 26 lines of verse.

The present article (Beowulf) is in two hands. The second hand begins at f. 175 b, line 4; and it is continued in the following article (Judith). These two articles have been bound up (since the time of Sir Robert Cotton) with other *Anglo-Saxon* works, copied in the 11th and 12th centuries. The volume was described by H. Wanley in his *Catalogus Historico-Criticus*, published as vol. ii. of G. Hickes's *Thesaurus*, Oxford, 1705.

The contents of the whole volume are as follows:—

1. King Alfred's version of extracts from the Soliloquies of St. Augustine of Hippo. ff. 4–59 b.
2. Gospel of Nicodemus. ff. 60–86 b.
3. Dialogue between Saturnus and Salomon. ff. 86 b–90 b.
4. Fragment, in 11 lines, on Christian Martyrs. f. 90 b.
5. Legend of St. Christopher. ff. 94–98.
6. Marvels of the East, with coloured figures of animals, etc. ff. 98 b–106 b.
7. Epistle of Alexander the Great, on the Marvels of India. ff. 107–131 b.
8. The present article. ff. 132–201 b.
9. Judith. ff. 202–209 b.

At the beginning (f. 3 b) there are a few rough notes upon the number of parishes, etc., in England, and upon various events in 1346, 1383, and 1453. The volume suffered in the fire of 1731, several lines being entirely lost and all the edges having to some extent crumbled away. The leaves, however, are now all framed with paper; and most of the contents can still be read.

BEOWULF. An epic poem, narrating the exploits of Beowulf, a hero (and eventually king) of the Geátas in Scandinavia, against three monsters; two of them, named Grendel and Grendel's Mother, in one of the Danish Isles, and the third, a Fire-Drake,

in the land of the Geátas. In 3183 long lines of alliterative verse, divided into an Introduction and 41 sections of various lengths, numbered as "xliii." (the numbers skipping from xxviii. to xxxi.). *Anglo-Saxon.*

The Introduction tells how well the Danes prospered under Scyld the son of Scef and under Scyld's son, the elder Beowulf. It is here said that Scyld arrived in Danish lands as a little child, alone, in a well-appointed ship; and that, when he died, the Scyldingas placed his body in a ship again and launched it out to sea.

Part I. (§§ i.–xviii.). GRENDEL. The poem opens with some further mention of the Scyldingas. The elder Beowulf is succeeded by his son, Healfdene; and Healfdene by his eldest son, Heorogar; and the latter by Healfdene's second son, Hroðgar. Mention is also made of a third son, Halga.

Hroðgar has built the hall Heorot (meaning a hart); but Grendel, the Fiend of a neighbouring mere, has entered it night after night and killed and eaten all he can catch within it. This has gone on for 12 years. (§ iii.) The hero, Beowulf, now arrives, in order to fight Grendel. Beowulf's father was Ecgtheow, of a Swedish royal race; but his mother was a sister of Hygelac, king of the Geátas, and Beowulf has himself been brought up among the Geátas. (§§ x., xi.) Beowulf watches in the hall, with his own men alone. Grendel enters and devours one of the men. (§§ xi., xii.) Beowulf seizes him; they struggle hard; at last Grendel breaks away, leaving a whole arm and shoulder in the hands of Beowulf, and rushes, howling, to die in the mere. (§§ xiii.–xviii.) The next day men search the mere and find its waters clotted with blood. They race their horses; they recall old stories, and compare Beowulf with Sigemund the Wælsing, who won the Dragon's hoard; they return to feast in Heorot; and a harper chants the battles of Hnæf the Dane and his ally Hengest the Jute against Finn, a king in Friesland.

Part II. (§ xix.–middle of § xxxi.). GRENDEL'S MOTHER. Beowulf and his Geátas retire to their lodgings; but many of the Danes sleep in Heorot. Grendel's Mother enters the hall and carries off one of the chief nobles. Beowulf is again summoned to help the Danes. (§§ xxi., xxii.) He goes to the mere with his own men. The cave of Grendel's Mother can only be reached by

diving. He wears a light coat of mail, and carries a short sword, a "hæftmece" named Hrunting. The Hag meets him in the water and drags him into her cave; but she cannot pierce his coat of mail. On the other hand, the sword Hrunting is of no use against her. (§ xxiii.) He spies an old Jotun sword in the cave, seizes it, and cuts her in two. The body of Grendel is also there; and he hews off Grendel's head. The venomous blood melts away the blade, leaving the hilt alone in Beowulf's hand. The Geátas are still waiting for their lord, though almost in despair, when they see him rising from the mere with the head of Grendel. They carry the head to Heorot. (§§ xxiv.–xxvi.) Beowulf presents the hilt of the Jotun sword to king Hroðgar. It is covered with stories of the Giants, written in Runic characters. Long speeches are interchanged. Beowulf sleeps this night in Heorot; and the next morning he returns to the haven, where his ship is lying. (§§ xxvii., xxviii., and the first 63 lines of the next section, which is numbered xxxi.) Beowulf crosses the sea to his own country. He arrives at the court of his uncle, Hygelac, king of the Geátas; and he tells the story of his triumphs.

Part III. (latter part of § xxxi.–§ xliii.). THE FIRE-DRAKE. This third Adventure begins (at l. 2207) in the middle of § xxxi. (f. 181 b, last word). King Hygelac has long been dead. He had invaded Friesland, accompanied by Beowulf; but the Franks and the "Hetware" had come to help the Frisians and the "Hugas." Hygelac had been defeated and killed, and Beowulf had barely escaped by swimming. Heardred, the son of Hygelac, had succeeded his father for a time; but he had been killed by the "Scylfingas" (a royal Swedish race, to a branch of which Beowulf's father had belonged). Beowulf himself had been chosen king of the Geátas; and he had now reigned 50 years. (Latter part of § xxxi.–§ xxxiv.) There is a cave or a Giant-house near the sea-shore. It contains a treasure-hoard, which has been watched by a Dragon for 300 years. A fugitive serf finds the Dragon asleep and carries some of the hoard away. The Dragon wastes the land. Beowulf is told that his own home is burned. He sets out with 12 men; including the serf, to show them the way. (§§ xxxv.–xxxviii.) He tells his men to stop on a foreland and watch the combat. The fight is so hot, that the men are

frightened and crouch down; all except one. That one is a youth of the same race as Beowulf's father; he is named Wiglaf. He hurries forward to help. His shield is burned up. He takes shelter behind Beowulf's shield. The sword of Beowulf is broken; and the Dragon curls round him and squeezes blood out of him. Wiglaf strikes the Dragon. Beowulf rallies; he draws his dagger, and slashes the serpent coils. The Dragon dies. Beowulf sits down by the pillars of the Giant-house. Wiglaf brings him water. He tells Wiglaf to fetch out the hoard. Wiglaf enters the cave. He sees helmets, and swords, and bowls, and other treasures; and a great standard flapping above them all and shedding a marvellous light upon them. He hurries back with many of the treasures. He finds Beowulf nearly dead; but he revives him by sprinkling water over him. Beowulf thanks God for having given him a sight of these beautiful things, and for enabling him to win them for his people. He says that his men will raise a lofty mound above his funeral pyre, out on the point of the neighbouring headland; and that the seamen will know it as a landmark and call it Beowulf's Burgh. His own arms he now gives to Wiglaf, as the last of his race; and then he dies. (§§ xxxix.–xli.) The ten laggards come up and find Wiglaf trying in vain to revive Beowulf. Wiglaf upbraids them. "And now," he says, "we may expect trouble from the Franks; for, though they and the Hetware killed Hygelac, yet they are not appeased, and we have never regained the favour of the Mere-Wivingas*; nor can we look for greater favour from the Swedes, who are still mindful of the death of Ongentheow." (§§ xlii., xliii.) The hoard is displayed; the Dragon is flung from the cliff into the sea; the funeral pyre is burned; and the mound is heaped over Beowulf.

The exploits of Beowulf, and indeed his very name, have only been preserved in the present poem; and the poem only in the present copy. The derivation of the name has been the subject of some discussion. Jakob Grimm in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835) translated it as "Bee-wolf," which he explained as Woodpecker; and he compared the name with that of Picus, the old mythical king of Latium. In the same year (1835) John Mitchell Kemble was writing the "Postscript to the Preface" of his edition

* The Merovingians, whose dynasty ended in 752.

of *Beowulf*. This he partly published, in German, in the next year as *Ueber die Stammtafel der Westsachsen* (Munich, 1836); and he published it completely, in English, prefixed to his translation of *Beowulf* (London, 1837). He points out that Beaw the son of Scyld, a mythical ancestor of the West Saxons, answers to the elder Beowulf of the Introduction to this poem; that some of the Chroniclers, like the author of this Introduction, make Scyld the son of Scef; and that two of them, Ethelwerd and William of Malmesbury, tell the same story of Scef which is here told of Scyld, that he floated into Denmark as a child in a ship. Kemble holds then, that the elder Beowulf was more correctly Beów, a god of agriculture like his grandfather Scef (a sheaf); and that Beowulf was an heroic name, based upon that of the god. The later critics usually adopt either the one or the other theory. Richard Wülker has given a review of their opinions in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angels. Litt.* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 259–269. It must be sufficient to note here that, while Ludwig Ettmüller agrees with Grimm in this matter, Karl Müllenhoff agrees with Kemble. Müllenhoff remarks that, even if the first half of the name did represent *beo* (a bee), still the whole compound would hardly mean the bees' persecutor or devourer; as we may learn, he observes, from such a name as "*Arnolf*." The usual mode of forming these compound names is very well stated in a passage in *Hauksbók*, which is quoted by Vigfusson in his *Dictionary* (p. 208), under Goð, saying "that men of the olden time used to call their sons and daughters after the gods (Goð-, Þór-, Frey-, Ás-); and it was thought that a double (*i.e.* a compound) name gave luck and long life, especially those compounded with the names of gods." Thus Thórólfr certainly did not mean Thor's devourer; but it was simply Úlfr adorned with the prefix Thór. And it seems probable that the name Beowulf was formed in like manner.*

Kemble supposes that the exploits of Beowulf had been formerly ascribed to Beów; and in support of this he points to the names of two neighbouring places in Wiltshire, "beowan

* In the *Eyrbyggja Saga* (Leipzig, 1864), in which Vigfusson first printed this passage (p. 126), there is a Thórólfr (surnamed Mostrar-skeggr), whose name is said to have been compounded of Thór and Hrólfr; but Vigfusson includes it in a list of 17 names compounded with Úlfr in his *Dictionary*, p. 668, col. 2.

ham" and "grendles mere" in a charter granted by Athelstan in 931 (see *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 353). His theory of the early character of the hero's adventures receives also some further support from the remarks upon Grettir made by Vigfusson in the Prolegomena to his edition of the *Sturlunga Saga* (Oxford, 1878), p. xlix. Vigfusson says that the mythical portion "of Grettis Saga" (in chapp. 32–36 and 64–67) "contains a late version of the Beowulf legend." Grettir's "fight with Glam [a vampire-fiend], and afterwards with the troll-wife and the monster below the waterfall, is thus the Icelandic version of the Gothic hero's struggle with Grendel and his witch-mother. The old legend shot forth from its ancient Scandinavian home into two branches, one to England, where it was turned into an epic, and one to Iceland, where it was domesticated and embodied in a popular Saga, tacked to the name of an outlaw and hero. One remark more. Where everything else is transformed, one word still remains as a memorial of its origin, viz. in the English epic *heft-mece* and in the Icelandic Saga *hefti-sax*, both occurring in the same place of the legend, and both *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in their respective literatures." The short sword Hrunting is called "hæft-mece" in § xxi. (l. 1457). Kemble renders the word in his Glossary (under the head of "mece") "ensis capulatus"; in his Translation (p. 60) it is "hilted knife." Vigfusson in his *Dictionary* (p. 256) gives "hepti, the *haft* or *hilt* of a dirk," and "hepti-sax, a kind of *dagger*, Grett, 141." In *Grettir the Strong* (1869), by E. Magnússon and W. Morris, the weapon is described thus: "a wooden shaft it had, and that fashion of weapon men called then heft-sax" (ch. LXVI., p. 197).

But, although it is not at all improbable that the mythical adventures of this poem may have been sung by the Saxons before they invaded Britain, still it is quite certain that the historical framework is of later formation. It is strange that, when Kemble was writing his "Postscript to the Preface" (1835), he was apparently unaware that Grundtvig (the Elder) had fixed one date already, fifteen years before (1820); the only fact in the poem that is known to be strictly historical. This was the death of King Hygelac in Friesland. Grundtvig had guessed, indeed, five years earlier still, that Hygelac might possibly be the king mentioned by Gregory of Tours (see Grundtvig's review of Thorkelin's edition in *Nyeste Skilderie af Kjöbenhavn*, 1815,

No. 65, col. 1030); but it was in his poetical version of *Beowulf*, which he called *Bjowulfs Drape* (Copenhagen, 1820, Introduction, p. lxi.), that he first distinctly asserted the fact. Hygelac is mentioned as a Danish king; but that is natural enough in a chronicler, when he is speaking of a Scandinavian invader. Gregory of Tours is recording the acts of Thierri ("Theudoricus"), King of Austrasia, with his capital at Reims or Metz, who had succeeded to that portion of France on the death of his father Clovis in 511. He says (without any year being specified, but about 515): "His ita gestis, Dani cum rege suo nomine Chlochilaicum [Chrochilaico, Chlodilaicum, Chlochilaicho, Chlochilaico, or Hrodolaicum] evectu navale per mare Gallias appetunt. Egressique ad terras, pagum unum de regno Theudorici devastant atque captivant, oneratisque navibus tam de captivis quam de reliquis spoliis, reverti ad patriam cupiunt; sed rex eorum in litus residebat, donec navis alto mare comprehenderent, ipse deinceps secuturus. Quod cum Theudorico nuntiatum fuisset, quod scilicet regio ejus fuerit ab extraneis devastata, Theudobertum filium suum in illis partibus cum valido exercitu ac magno armorum apparatu direxit. Qui, interfectu rege, hostibus navali proelio superatis oppraemit omnemque rapinam terrae restituit" (*Historia Francorum*, lib. iii. cap. 3).* Again, in *Gesta Regum Francorum*, finished about 730, the latter half of chap. xix. contains the same story of a Danish king, "nomine Chochilago," with the addition that he was pillaging the "Attoarios" (=Hetware).† Again, in a *Liber Monstrorum*, appended to two early copies (each ascribed to the 10th century) of a collection of the Fables of Phædrus and others, chap. ii. is (in one of these MSS.) as follows: "De Getarum rege Huiglauco, miræ magnitudinis. Et sunt miræ magnitudinis: ut rex Huiglaucus, qui imperavit Getis et a Francis occisus est. Quem equus a duodecimo anno portare non potuit. Cujus ossa in Rheni [MS. Reno] fluminis insula, ubi in Oceanum prorumpit, reservata sunt, et de longinquo venientibus pro miraculo osten-

* See the edition of Gregory of Tours, in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum Tomi* i. *Pars* i. (Hannover, 1884), pp. 110–1.

† These *Gesta* are in Bouquet, *Recueil, etc.*, tome ii. (Paris, 1739), pp. 555–6.

duntur."* In the other MS. the chapter is headed "De Hunc glaco Magno," and "Getis" has been corrupted into "gentes."†

Kemble himself has referred to the first three of these passages in his later work, *The Saxons in England* (London, 1849). Even then he hesitated to admit that our Hygelac was the historical Chochilaicus. But evidently, he was doing little more than clinging to an old theory; and his assertions of doubt were only half-hearted. We believe that, with this exception, the fact has not been seriously disputed.

Such a remarkable confirmation given by Frankish writers of an event that took place in Friesland cannot be expected to recur in the case of matters within Scandinavia. But it certainly leads one to pay more regard to what our poet says of the dynasty of Hygelac; and of the wars between the "Geátas" and the "Sweon" (the Swedes of "Uppland" with Uppsala for its capital). We learn that Hreðel, king of the Geátas, had three sons, Herebeald, Hæðcyn, and Hygelac. The first of these was accidentally shot by the second brother. This hastened the death of Hreðel, and he was succeeded by Hæðcyn. The Sweon, at this time ruled by a dynasty called the "Scylfingas," were under a King Ongentheow; and his sons, Onela and Ohtere, now made repeated naval attacks upon the Geátas. Hæðcyn retaliated by invading their land, when the two princes were absent; and he took their mother prisoner. King Ongentheow collected forces, overtook Hæðcyn on his return, and killed him; and he forced his men to take refuge in a wood for the night, preparing to sweep them away in the morning. But meanwhile Hygelac brought up a fresh body of Geátas and turned the tide, driving Ongentheow into a fort and killing him there. During the reign of Hygelac the Sweon kept quiet. At the death of

---

* This chapter of the *Liber Monstrorum* is published out of the first MS. by Jules Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Tératologiques* (Paris, 1836), p. 12. It was reprinted in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Bd. v. (Leipzig, 1845), p. 10; and thence quoted by Grein, in his article on the historical elements in *Beowulf*, published in Adolf Ebert's *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, Bd. iv. (Leipzig, 1862), p. 274, line 11.

† The same chapter is published out of the second MS. in the little Treatise by Ludwig Tross, entitled *Ludovici Trossii ad Julium Fleutelot . . . De Codice quo amplissimus continetur Phaedri Paraphrastes olim Wisseburgensi nunc Guelpherbytano Epistola* (Hammone, 1844), pp. 35–6.

Hygelac, his son Heardred, who was only a boy, was placed under the guardianship of Beowulf. Heardred was still young, when Eanmund and Eadgils, the sons of Ohtere, rebelling against the king of the Sweon (apparently their uncle, Onela), fled to the Geátas for refuge. The king of the Sweon attacked Heardred and killed him in his own hall; but he then hastened home again. Beowulf now became king, killed the king of the Sweon, and set Eadgils on the throne. The funeral speech over Beowulf ends with predicting renewed attacks by the Sweon (see ll. 3000, etc.).

Of all these events there is no record in the Scandinavian poems and sagas. A few names indeed have been preserved there. Thus, although the old kings of Sweden are generally surnamed the "Ylfingar," yet in their especial Saga a verse is quoted calling King Egill "Skilfinga nið" (son of the Skilfings): see *Heimskringla*, Saga i., cap. 30. Again, the Ottarr and his son Aðils of the next three chapters (31–33) represent Ohtere and Eadgils, and the latter is contemporary with two of the Danish princes mentioned in Beowulf; but there the similarity ends. Again, the name of Hygelac appears in the Saga as "Hugleikr" (cap. 25); but he is there turned into a king of the "Svíar," and he figures as a mere king of fiddlers. The fact seems to be, that the historical traditions preserved in Beowulf are two centuries older than those in the Saga. The Saga is chiefly founded upon the "Ynglinga-tal," a court-poem, composed by Thjóðólfi of Hvin (in Norway) in the 9th or 10th century (see *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, vol. i., pp. 242–251, and the notes at pp. 520–527). We believe that the modern Swedish authorities are agreed in regarding Beowulf as containing by far the purest traditions about the two contending races of Sweden, the "Götar" and the "Svear": see the remarks of Hans Olof H. Hildebrand, in his translation of Heimskringla, called *Konunga-boken af Snorre Sturleson*, vol. i. (Örebro, 1869), pp. 5, etc.; and the same writer again, *Svenska Folket under Hedna Tiden*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm, 1872), pp. 122, etc.; and also Oskar Montelius, *Sveriges Hednatid* (Stockholm, 1877), pp. 4, 246.*

* But the theory of the Geátas being the Götar of Sweden has been at least shaken, if not quite overthrown, by Pontus Fahlbeck: see the note below, p. 15.

Somewhat similar observations may be made with regard to the "Scyldingas" of Denmark. King Healfdene and his two sons, King Hroðgar (the builder of Heorot) and Halga, together with Halga's son Hroðulf, correspond in name and in nature of kinship to the Scandinavian Hálfdan, Hróar (the founder of Roeskilde), Helgi, and Hrólfr (the famous Hrólfr Kraki). But there the resemblance ends. Of one of this family indeed, a daughter of King Hroðgar, a story is here told, which appears again in Saxo Grammaticus (*Historia Danica*, lib. vi.). But the changes are considerable. The Danish princess, according to *Beowulf*, is married to Ingeld, orphan son of Froða, king of the Heaðobeardan (probably a North German tribe, and connected by Grein with the territory of Lüneburg), in a vain attempt to settle a feud between the two races. But according to Saxo, Frotho and his son Ingellus are Danish kings, whilst the bride is a Saxon.

We have only mentioned these names as examples. Their stories were detailed, twenty-five years ago, in a paper by Christian W. M. Grein, published in Adolf Ebert's *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, Bd. iv. (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 260–285. Abstracts of the papers by Grein and many other writers on the historical and traditional elements of this poem are given by Richard Paul Wülker in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 269–288.

Wülker's volume contains also (pp. 257–269) the various views of the myths in *Beowulf*. We will here allude to one passage in the poem, because it affords the earliest trace of the Nibelung-legend, a subject that we shall often have to name further on. Beowulf (§ xiii.) is compared with "Sigemund," surnamed the "Wælsing" (l. 877), or the "heir of Wæls" (l. 897); and it is told that Sigemund used to be accompanied by his nephew "Fitela," except when he slew the dragon, and that he carried off the dragon's hoard in a sea-boat. Now, in the narratives of the Edda, Sigmundr the Völsungr, or the son of King "Völsungr" (a race-name turned into a personal name), is found in company with Sinfiötli, who is both his son and nephew; but it is not Sigmundr, but his son Sigurðr, who kills the dragon, and Sigurðr carries off the hoard, not in a boat, but upon his horse's back. In the Nibelungenlied the original owners of the hoard are men, who have been overcome by Siegfried. The subject has been treated by several writers; amongst others by Ludwig Uhland,

who compares our "Sigemund" with Frotho I. of Denmark, the winner of a dragon-hoard on a sea-island (Saxo Grammaticus, Book ii.), and who pursues the subject rather fully in his interesting paper headed "Sigemund und Sigeferd," first published in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, Bd. ii. (Stuttgart, 1857), pp. 344–363, and republished in *Uhlands Schriften*, Bd. viii. (Stuttgart, 1873), pp. 479–504. We must conclude with remarking that Grundtvig in the Preface to his edition of Beowulf, entitled *Beowulfes Beorh* (Copenhagen, 1861), pp. xxxviii.-ix., maintains that, when the dragon-slayer is called "æðelinges bearn" (Grein's line 888, Grundtvig's line 1769), this does not refer to Sigemund, but to the son (whose name Uhland would supply as "Sigeferd") answering to Siegfried and Sigurðr. We believe that no other critic has taken this view of the case. But Grundtvig was so persuaded of the truth of it, that his Danish translation of this passage, occurring at pp. 82–3 of his *Bjowulfs Drape* (Copenhagen, 1820), was re-written in the 2nd edition, *Bjævulvs-Drapen* (Cop., 1865), pp. 68–9.

The Grendel-legend was perhaps the common property of the North. But this poem must have taken form in Scandinavia. C. A. Edwin Jessen, *Undersøgelser til Nordisk Oldhistorie* (Copenhagen, 1862), p. 47, says that the traditions are rather Danish than Geatish. We cannot help doubting this, when we remember the superiority ascribed to the Geátas over the Danes; and again, the repeated regrets at the Geátas being hard pressed by the Sweon. Various dates are assigned by various critics to the first formation, ranging from about 600 to 800. We should be disposed to accept the earliest possible date, the latter part of the 6th century. We are inclined to this belief, because we know how quickly the greatest events are distorted by popular tradition; and how quickly the epic songs become fantastic. Now, the tone of the historical adjuncts of the Beowulf-legend is singularly sober; and we are well assured that one of them is true in all its details. It may be surmised, then, that it was not very long after the end of Hygelac's dynasty that the singers brought the story from Scandinavia into a land where writing was known. Jessen, *Undersøgelser*, p. 48, says that it would naturally pass from Denmark to Friesland; and that only one wandering singer was needed to carry it on into England. Jessen perhaps underrates the difficulty; for this poem does not

stand quite alone in Anglo-Saxon literature, even now, and it may very well have been only one member of a whole cycle. The fragmentary poem on the Fight at Finnesburg turns upon the same subject as that of one of the episodes of Beowulf; namely, the battle of Finn, the Frisian king, against Hengest the Jute and Hnæf the Dane. And again, Widsið (or The Traveller's Song, or The Scop's Song) contains a passage describing how King Hroðgar and his nephew "Hroðwulf" (the Hroðulf of Beowulf) defended Heorot against Ingeld and his Heaðobeardan. Widsið has also two passages about two other kings celebrated in Beowulf, Offa the Angle and Eormanric the Goth. But these were heroes of wider reputation. The North German and early Scandinavian cycles frequently crossed each other, of course; and thus the interest was easily transferred from one to the other. We may conjecture that at some early period this legend of a hero of Geátas found favour at an Anglo-Saxon Court, probably in Wessex, and was adapted to suit the taste of the day. All the references to heathen gods were picked out and their places filled with colourless theological reflections, together with two allusions to the story of Cain. The chief wonder remains, that the translator found the records of Hygelac so pure, and left them so; and that he never inserted anywhere so much as the name of England.

The poem must have subsequently undergone several changes, before it was copied into the only MS. in which it now survives. But for a review of the opinions, set forth by many successive critics, upon this subject and other matters akin to it, we must again refer to Wülker's *Grundriss:* see pp. 288–302 and 302–307.

Beowulf was first made known to modern students in 1705, by Humphrey Wanley, afterwards Librarian of the Harleian collections. In that year Dr. George Hickes (formerly Dean of Worcester, but at that time Suffragan Bishop of Thetford) published his *Thesaurus* of old northern languages, in 3 Parts, Folio; and Part 2 consisted of a Catalogue of the MSS. in those languages in the various libraries of England, by Humphrey Wanley. This Catalogue (pp. 218–219) contains a description of the present MS., then (as now) numbered Vitellius A. xv. in the Cottonian collection. Wanley printed (p. 218, col. 2) the first 19 lines of verse of the Introduction, and (at pp. 218, col. 2–219) the first 21 lines of Section 1. These two extracts are followed (p. 219) by his saying: "In hoc libro, qui Poeseos Anglo-

Saxonicæ egregium est exemplum, descripta videntur bella quæ Beowulfus quidam Danus, ex Regio Scyldingorum stirpe ortus, gessit contra Sueciæ Reguloa." Wanley, it may be observed, confounded the two Beowulfs together. The Cotton MSS. were removed from Cotton House, Westminster, to Essex House, Strand, in 1712; and to Ashburnham House, Westminster, in 1730. On the 23rd of October, 1731, the great fire occurred in Ashburnham House. The present MS. was very much scorched, and the edges began gradually to crumble away. In 1786–7 the Icelander, Grímr Jónsson Thorkelin, visited England, and obtained two copies, one of them written by a scribe for him, and the other by himself. The scribe was ignorant and often careless; and Thorkelin himself, though careful, was not well versed in the language.* Still, the two MSS., which are now at the Great Library in Copenhagen, are useful for supplying some of the letters, which have been lost since the time of Thorkelin. It was not till 1824 that the systematical restoration of the Cotton MSS. began. Each leaf has been inlaid in a paper leaf of larger size, cut so as to form a sort of framework to the edges. The entire MS. was photographed in 1879–1880; and the autotypes were published for the Early English Text Society, with a transliteration and notes by Dr. Julius Zupitza (London, 1882). The two MSS. of Thorkelin had been sent from Copenhagen to the British Museum in 1880, and had been used by Zupitza for purposes of collation.

The whole poem is written (as we have already said) like prose; and it is only here and there that a stop has been added by the scribe, to mark the metre. The first 8 long lines of the Introduction are as follows:—

"HWÆT WE GARDE
na in gear dagum. þeoð cýninga
þrým gefrunon huðа æþelingas elle[n]
fremedon. Oft scýld scefing sceaþen[a]
þreatum monegum mægþum meodo setla
ofteah egsode eorl sýððan ærest wear[ð]
feasceaft funden he wæs frófre geba[d]
weox under wolcnum weorð mýndum þah." f. 132.

* See the remarks on the two MSS., and also on Thorkelin's printed edition, made by N. F. S. Grundtvig, in the Introduction to his own metrical translation, *Bjowulfs Drape* (Cop. 1820), pp. xxix.–xxxii.

The first 9 long lines of Section i. of the poem, wr
7½ lines of prose, are as follows:—

.I.

Ða wæs on burgum beowulf scyldinga leo[f]
leod cyning longe þrage folcum gefræ
ge fæder ellor hwearf aldor of earde
oþ þæt him eft onwoc heah healfdene heold
þenden lifde gamol und guðreouw glæde scyl
dingas ðæm feower bearn forð gerimed in
worold wocun weoroda ræswa heorogar. and
hroðgar and halga til." f. 133.

The scribe finishes the 8th line of prose with half a
verse—"hyrde ec þæt elan cwen"—and omits the other h
leaving the metre and the sense imperfect. The last page
poem (f. 201 b) is very materially damaged.

The first printed edition of Beowulf is that of Tho
together with a Latin translation, under the following
title, *De Danorum Rebus Gestis Secul. iii. et iv. Poema D
Dialecto Anglosaxonica* (Copenhagen, 1815). John M
Kemble edited the text, and also Widsið and Finnsburg,
the title, *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller'
and the Battle of Finnesburh*, "edited together with a Glos
the more difficult words and an Historical Preface by J
Kemble" (London, 1833; reprinted in 1835). Two yea
Kemble published *A Translation of the Anglo-Saxon P
Beowulf*, "with a copious Glossary, Preface and Philological
(London, 1837). The other editions are by the following e
Frederik Schaldemose, *Beo-Wulf og Scopes Widsið*, with
translations and notes (Copenhagen, 1847; and again,
Benjamin Thorpe, *Beowulf, the Scop or Gleeman's Tale,
Fight at Finnesburg*, with translations, etc. (Oxford,
Christian W. M. Grein, in his *Bibliothek der Angelsäch
Poesie*, vol. i., three consecutive numbers being "25.
26. Beowulf. 27. Ueberfall in Finnsburg" (Göttingen,
Nikolai Fred. Sev. Grundtvig, *Beowulfes Beorh* (Copen
1861); Moritz Heyne, *Beovulv*, with a Glossary, etc. (Pad
1863; 2nd ed. 1868; 3rd ed. 1873; 4th ed. 1879); Ch
W. M. Grein, *Beowulf*, with Finnsburg and "Vald
fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Lay about Walter of Aq

(Cassel, 1867); Thomas Arnold, *Beowulf*, with a translation, etc. (London, 1876); James A. Harrison and Robert Sharp, *Beowulf* and *The Fight at Finnsburh* (Boston, U.S., 1882–3); Richard Paul Wülker, in his *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, revised from that of Grein, and rearranged, the first 4 numbers of vol. i. being: 1. Widsiδ ("Des sängers weitfahrt"); 2. Waldere (two texts, that of the MS. and an emended text). 3. Finnsburg. 4. Beowulf (two texts) (Cassel, 1883); Alfred Holder, Text of the MS. (Freiburg i. B., and Tübingen, 1882); and again, an emended Text, in his *Germanischer Bücherschatz*, No. 12 being *Beowulf* (Freiburg i. B., etc., 1884). Besides the translations of Thorkelin, Kemble, Schaldemose, Thorpe, and Arnold, as mentioned above, others have been published separately:—by N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Bjowulfs Drape* (Cop., 1820; and 1865); by Ludwig Ettmüller (Zurich, 1840); by A. Diedrich Wackerbarth, in English (London, 1849); by Grein, in his *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, vol. i., No. xi. (Göttingen, 1857; reprinted 1859; and an improved edition, 1883); by Karl Simrock (Stuttgart, 1859); by Moritz Heyne (Paderborn, 1863); by Hans von Wolzogen (Leipzig, 1872); by Colonel Henry William Lumsden (London, 1881; and 1883); and by James Mercer Garnett, the younger (Boston, U.S., 1882). An examination of the present MS., for purposes of collation with the texts of Kemble, Grundtvig, etc., has been made by Eugen Kölbing, and his notes are printed in the periodical of Ludwig Herrig, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vol. 56 (Braunschweig, 1876), pp. 91–118, in an Essay entitled *Zur Beówulf-handschrift*. Again, we must note *Beowulf. Autotypes of the unique Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xv.*, edited by Julius Zupitza for the Early English Text Society (London, 1882). But for a much fuller list, and a much more complete review, of the various works upon *Beowulf*, we must once more refer to the volume of R. P. Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1885), Part iii. 6, No. 1, pp. 244–307. Wülker treats of *Finnsburg* at pp. 307–315; and of *Widsiδ* at pp. 318–330.*

* A very important paper dealing with the light thrown by Beowulf upon early Swedish history was contributed by Pontus Fahlbeck to the *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, vol. viii., No. 2 (Stockholm, 1884); but it came to hand too late to influence the remarks above. One of the main points

Egerton 2323. ff. 1, 2.

Vellum; late XIIIth century. Octavo; ff. 2, having 36 lines to a page.
Bound up with two leaves of another Dutch poem, called Wisselau the Bear. Formerly belonging to Constant Philippe Serrure, Professor at the University of Ghent (b. 1805, d. 1862).

NIBELUNGENLIED. Two leaves from a translation of this epic poem. Placed out of their proper order; the first leaf narrating the lamentations around the dead body of Siegfried, and the other leaf narrating the capture of a bear by Siegfried, just before that hero was murdered. *Dutch.*

The second of these leaves (Capture of the Bear) was found in the binding of a printed volume, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti libros omnes, auct. L. De Dieu*, Leyden, 1648, 4to. It was obtained by Professor Serrure, 30 May, 1835; and it was published by him in Franz Joseph Mone's *Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit*, vol. iv. (Karlsruhe, 1835), cols. 191–2. The leaf which here stands first (Lamentation for Siegfried) was discovered by Serrure, 3 Dec. 1838, when it formed part of a bundle of fragments of handwriting (13–15 centt.) left by Charles Parmentier, Town-archivist of Ghent. It was published (together with a reprint of the other leaf) by Serrure in his own volume, *Vaderlandsch Museum* (Ghent, 1855), pp. 30–33.

The two leaves are not only out of their proper order, but each of them is mounted on a paper guard with the reverse side uppermost. This is owing to the fact that they have been clipped out of their original MS. close to the text, and with the loss indeed of many letters, whilst space enough for mounting them remains on their right-hand margins. The top margins have also been cut down. Serrure has supplied the missing

---

advanced is this, that the Geátas were not the Götar of Sweden, but the Jutes of Jutland. The late Gudbrand Vigfusson informed the present writer that, in his opinion, this point had been completely proved by Fahlbeck. It has likewise been enforced by Sophus Bugge, in an article in the *Beiträge* of Paul and Braune, vol. xii. (Halle, 1887), pp. 1–112. A few words upon Fahlbeck's views will be found in the *Appendix*.

words, and in one case a whole line, by conjecture. In copying the first and last lines of these leaves we add the conjectures of Serrure between brackets.

The first leaf (Lamentation for Siegfried) begins (f. 1 b): "[daer e]n hadde hen niemen . die rechte mare g[eseit]"; and ends (f. 1): "dat hi die siele ontfinge . duer siere moeder ere."

This passage answers to strophes 1037–1057 of the German poem in Karl Bartsch's edition (Leipzig, 1866, pp. 191–4); but the Dutch text is a little shorter than any of the printed German texts.

The second leaf (Capture of the Bear) begins (f. 2 b): "[Daer] was gereet die spise . uele ende diere genoech"; and ends (f. 2): "Zegevrijt vinch ene . ende doeddene wel saen."

This passage answers to strophes 943–963 in Bartsch's edition (pp. 175–8); but the Dutch text is shorter.

In the *Vaderlandsch Museum* (Ghent, 1855), p. 22, Serrure says that, since Leaf 1 had appeared in Mone's *Anzeiger*, it had been reprinted at Berlin (1836); at Gröningen (1838); at Amsterdam (1850); and at Paris (1853). He published facsimiles of the two leaves in his *Museum*, after pp. 26, 30. The Fragments are mentioned by W. J. A. Jonckbloet, in his History of the Literature of the Netherlands; see the German edition (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 108–9.

Egerton 2323. ff. 3, 4.

Vellum; xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 2, having 4 columns to a page, and about 45 lines to a column.

Bound up with two leaves of the Dutch *Nibelungenlied* (see above) and, like them, formerly belonging to Professor C. P. Serrure.

WISSELAU THE BEAR. Fragments of a poem, narrating some adventures of Charlemagne and his Paladins in Giant-land; apparently quite unconnected with the French cycle. About 720 lines can still be traced; but some of them only retain a few letters. *Dutch.*

Charlemagne, with knights, one of whom is Gernout, is in Giant-land, of which Espriaen is king. Gernout has a bear named Wisselau, who understands him, when he speaks in the

"gargoensche tale." Wisselau attacks a watchman. Espriaen brings up a body of troops. A struggle takes place [from about l. 130 to l. 226, but only a few words are left in this passage]. Gernout is told that his bear must be muzzled. They all go up to the hall, Gernout leading Wisselau, with a cloak over him. He tells Wisselau on the way what to do. Wisselau rushes into the kitchen, and throws the cook into the cauldron; and he presently carries up the cauldron, pulls out the cook in pieces, and eats them in the hall. Gernout promises to punish him, and strikes him a hard blow. Wisselau pretends to fight his master, and to be overcome by him. The Giants say that they can never fight the man who has conquered Wisselau. Wisselau lies down in the hall, waiting for more food.

Gernot, in the Nibelungenlied, is the name of the second of the three Burgundian brother-kings. Asprian figures, as a giant-king, in the German poem *König Rother* (see the edition of H. F. Massmann, published at Leipzig, 1837, in the *Bibl. der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur*, Bd. iii. Theil 2, p. 171, etc.); and also in the Icelandic *Thiðreks Saga*, formerly known as "Vilkina Saga," where he appears under the name of "Aspilian" (see the edition of C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1853, capp. 27, 36, 45, and 431–433).

The Fragments begin:

"Wisselau balch sinen moet
datti op sine were scoet
ende sloech met sinen clauen
in sine ogebrauen." f. 3.

The last complete lines are:

"Alsi doe vol aten
ende biden viere saten
sprac men om slapen gaen
Doe seide Espriaen." f. 4 b, col. 4.

This passage is followed by the first two or three words of 15 more lines.

Published by Professor C. P. Serrure, *Vaderlandsch Museum*, vol. ii. (Ghent, 1858), pp. 265–284; preceded by an Introduction, pp. 253–265. Republished, with description by Ernst Martin, in *Quellen und Forsuchungen*, Heft 65 (Strassburg, 1889).

Additional 22,622. ff. 81–125.

Paper; 1470. Folio; ff. 45, in double columns, having 31 lines to a column.

The volume contains two MSS., in South-German, both written by a scribe named Lorentz Setz :—

(1) A translation of the Historia Hierosolymitana of Robert, Abbot of St. Rémy at Rheims (1094–7), preceded by a translation of the Letter from the Emperor Alexis Comnenus addressed to Count Robert of Flanders and to the others assembled at Clermont in 1095. Copied by L. Setz, Christmas Eve, 1471. ff. 1–80. (2) The present article. ff. 81–125.

HERZOG ERNST. An historical Romance, based to some extent upon the adventures of Duke Ernest II. of Swabia; translated from a Latin prose version. In 11 chapters, not numbered, but denoted by headings. *South-German.*

This Romance begins with some account of the elder Ernst, who is here called Duke of Bavaria and Austria, of his wife "adelhait," the daughter of King "lotharius," and of the birth and baptism of their son "Her nestum" (*sic*). The father dies young; and the mother marries the Emperor Otto I. The younger Ernst is falsely accused by the Count Palatine, Heinrich. He enters a chamber at Spire, where the Count is closeted with the Emperor, and stabs the Count (chap. iv. f. 88, col. 2). He and his friend Wetzilo take the Cross and see many of the marvels of the East. In the end he is restored to the favour of the Emperor.

A few of these details are historically true of Ernest II. of Swabia. His father, Ernest I., died young in 1015. His mother married again, and her husband became emperor; but their names were Gisela and Conrad II. (Emperor, 1024–1039). Ernest revolted and was imprisoned for two years, 1027–1029. He was released and offered restoration, if he would take arms against his friend Werinher or Wetzilo. He refused and was banished; and was outlawed and killed in battle in the Black Forest, in 1030. Other details seem to have been taken from the life of Ernest I. of Bavaria, who was accused of treason in 861 and died 865.

The present copy is divided (as we have stated above) by

eleven heads of chapters. The chap-book reprinted by Karl Simrock, *Die deutschen Volksbücher*, vol. iii. (Frankfurt a. M., 1846), pp. 271–349, has many more divisions, but the text is substantially the same. Karl Bartsch has treated the whole subject, and edited three German poems, of the 12th and 13th centuries, together with the present prose Romance, in a separate volume, entitled *Herzog Ernst* (Vienna, 1869). His edition of the prose Romance is founded upon a Munich MS., of the latter half of the 15th century, which contains both the Latin and the German texts (see Bartsch, p. xxxvii.). This MS. formerly belonged to St. Ulrichskloster at Augsburg, and seems to have been the source of the old German chap-books (*ibid.* p. lxxv.).

The present copy is headed:—"Hie nach volget ain hübsche liepliche historȳ ains edlen fürsten Hertzog Ernsts von baȳrn vnd von Österreich," etc.

It begins:—"Zv̊ älten zeitten besäsz vnd het inn händ hertzogthům zů baȳrn vnd zů Österreich als von rechtem väterlichem erbtail ain durchleichtiger hoch geborner fürst mit namen Hertzog ernst." f. 81.

Chap. xi. is headed: "Wie Hertzog ernst des kaiszers huld erwarb vnd im sein land wider ein gab," etc. f. 119 b. This chapter concludes with accounts of five miracles performed by the Empress Adelhaid, the mother of the hero, Herzog Ernst. The writer then says that he omits many other miracles, and he ends:—"vnd süllen all pitten den milten wider geber der tugent vnn [*for* vnd] lones der edlen vnd hailigen frawen sant adelhaiden das er vns vmm ir vnd ander seiner lieben hailigen verdienusz verleich gesunthait leibs vnd vor an der sellen des driualtikait der personen vnd ewig ainveltiges weszen vnd tugent wir glaben ȳmmer on end Der selbig vns alle milte barmhertzikait sende etc. Amen."

Colophon:—"Anno 1470 Jar Jn viligia (*sic*) natiuitatis marie [7 Sept.] Per manus laurencius setz." f. 125, col. 2.

First printed by Anton Sorg of Augsburg, about 1475. Some account of this and other early editions is given by Bartsch, *Herzog Ernst*, pp. lxxiii.–lxxiv.

Egerton 643.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 120, in double columns, having 26 to 28 lines to a column.

This was one of the ten MSS. that were sold by the Antiquary Finn Magnusen (or, according to the Icelandic form, Finnr Magnússon) to the Edinburgh publisher, Archibald Constable, in Oct. 1812: see notes by Finn Magnusen in Add. MS. 29,537 (f. 2), and by Constable in Eg. MS. 642 (f. 3). It afterwards formed "No. LXVII. of Dr. Adam Clarke's Collection of MSS." The second flyleaf (f. 1) contains an English description of the MS., probably drawn up for Finn Magnusen. The third flyleaf (f. 2) contains a list of contents, written in pencil, apparently by Finn Magnusen; and the same hand has entered, on the first flyleaf, the words "Codex Thorlacianus." Finn Magnusen used a paper MS. of the 18th cent., which he designated T., for collating the two Lays of Helgi Hundingsbani for the great Arna-Magnæan edition of *Sæmundar-Edda* (tom. ii. pp. 54–116); and it is explained in the Preface (p. xxix.) that this T. is "*Thorlacianus.* f. quartæ, sec. xviii. descriptus, ex possessore Birgero Thorlacio nuncupatus." The readings quoted from T., however, do not always agree with the text of the present copy.

EDDA SÆMUNDAR HINS FRODA. Lays of the Poetical (or Elder) Edda, a collection falsely attributed to Sæmundr the Learned (Fróði), copied from the Codex Regius (R.), that is, No. 2365, Quarto, of the Royal Library at Copenhagen; together with seven Lays derived from other sources. *Icelandic.*

Sæmundr Sigfússon (b. 1056, d. 1133) studied on the Continent, but returned to Iceland when he was twenty: see the "Annales Regii," printed in the Appendix to Vigfusson's edition of *Sturlunga Saga* (Oxford, 1878), vol. ii., which say (under the year 1076) "Sémvnðr (hín fróði) kom ór scóla" (p. 354). He was accompanied by his friend Jón Ögmundarson (afterwards Bp. of Hólar, 1106–1121), and they settled near one another in Rángárvalla Sýsla in South Iceland, where Sæmundr became the priest of Oddi and Jón became priest of Breiðabólstaðr. For some account of these two places see P. E. Kristian Kålund, *Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island* (published by the Arna-Magnæan Commission, Copenhagen, 1877–82), vol. i. pp. 217–8, 232. Sæmundr wrote a work (now lost) on the ten kings of Norway who succeeded Harald Fairhair (850–1057). He was

an important chief, as well as a priest, and he founded a family known as the Oddaverjar: see their genealogy in Vigfusson's *Sturlunga Saga*, vol. ii. p. 487. His son Lopt married Thora, natural daughter of King Magnus Bareleg of Norway, and their son Jón (b. 1125, d. 1197) fostered Snorri Sturluson, the great historian and the author of the Prose Edda. There is a poem called Konunga-Tal, written about 1190, founded upon the lost work of Sæmundr (to which it refers) and recording the marriage of Lopt and the birth of Jón: see Vigfusson's edition of it, in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Oxford, 1883), vol. ii. pp. 310–321.

The Lives of Bishops, edited by Vigfusson for the Íslenzka Bókmentafèlag (*Biskupa Sögur*, vol. i., Copenhagen, 1856, etc.), contain many allusions to the learning and influence of Sæmundr, and to the power of his descendants: see, for instance, the "Oddaverja þáttr" introduced in the middle of the second Saga of St. Thorlákr of Skálholt (pp. 280–293). The second Saga of St. Jón (Ögmundarson) of Hólar introduces Sæmundr as a great wizard (pp. 227–229), the character in which he was popularly known throughout the Middle Ages. Jón goes to study on the Continent, and he discovers Sæmundr (who has forgotten his real name and is called "Kollr") in a school of the Black Art. Jón persuades Sæmundr to leave the school. The master pursues his scholar by his star; but Sæmundr deceives him twice and escapes with Jón to Iceland. Several anecdotes of Sæmundr as a wizard are given by Jón Arnason, in his *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur*, vol. i. (1862–3), pp. 485–504.

Sæmundar-Edda is a title which is now confirmed by long usage. But it was not given to any collection of Lays till 1642; and it was probably a double misnomer. Throughout the Middle Ages Sæmundr was only regarded as an historian or as a wizard; and the title Edda (originally meaning Great-Grandmother) was only given to one work (now distinguished as Snorra-Edda, or the Prose, or Younger, Edda), with especial reference to the section on the poetical art (Skáldskaparmál). Vigfusson, in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Oxford, 1883), vol. i. pp. xxvi. xxvii., and vol. ii. pp. 560–1, gives a series of quotations from works written about 1340–1640, "in which 'Edda' is used as a synonym for the *technical laws of the court-metre* (a use, it may be observed, entirely contrary to that of our own days)." But, "though we have so many references to Edda's rule, we have none to the

rule-maker, a thing most strange, but which may fairly be taken as evidence that Snorri was clean forgotten in the popular mind at any rate" (p. xxviii.). In the 17th century, however, the history of Icelandic literature began to be critically examined. The first critic of eminence was Arngrímr Jónsson (b. 1568, d. 1648), who called himself Vídalín (the first surname known in Iceland) from his residence, Víðidalstúnga (not far from Hólar), in Húnavatns sýsla, North Iceland, and who was maternal grandfather of the famous judge and legal antiquary, Páll Vídalín. Arngrímr was perhaps acquainted with Codex Upsalensis (U.) of the Prose Edda, written about 1300, which gives both the title of Edda and the name of the author, Snorri Sturluson; at all events, in his constitutional history of Iceland, entitled *Crymogæa* (Hamburg, 1610), p. 82, Arngrímr mentions "Snorro Sturlæ f[il]" as Speaker of the Law in 1215, and calls him "Autor Eddæ Lib." Another critic, Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá (b. 1575, d. 1656), ascribed the Edda to Sæmundr with additions by Snorri. Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás (b. 1574, d. 1636) believed it to be an abridgment of an elder Edda, which had been composed perhaps by the Æsir themselves. Bp. Brynjólfr Sveinsson (b. 1605, Bp. of Skálholt 1639, d. 1675) maintained the same theory of there having been two Eddas; but he attributed the missing Elder Edda to Sæmundr and the existing Younger Edda to Snorri. At last the great collection of Lays, the Codex R., was discovered, and came into the hands of Bp. Brynjólfr; and he had a vellum copy made of it, and headed the copy (which is now lost) with the title "Edda Sæmundi multiscii."

It was in 1642 that Bp. Brynjólfr obtained the original MS. In 1662 he sent it by Torfæus (Thormóðr Torfason) to the Royal Library at Copenhagen, where it is now numbered 2365, Quarto. "It consists of five complete sheets, and one final sheet from which three blank leaves have been cut; but between the 4th and 5th sheets a sheet at least is missing (the sheet of the Lacuna)." Bp. Brynjólfr has noted at the top of the 5th sheet "λόγος ἀκέφαλος." Otherwise the MS. is complete. "There is no superscription (Edda or otherwise) in the old hand" (*Corpus Poet. Bor.*, vol. i. p. xli.).

There is a full description of Codex R. given by Sophus Bugge in the Introduction (pp. i.–xviii.) of the edition of Sæmundar-Edda which he published under the title of *Norræn Fornkvæði*

(Christiania, 1867). But the divisions and headings of the Lays in Codex R. have been altered in all the printed editions. It will be more convenient to quote them from Theodor Möbius, *Catalogus librorum Islandicorum* (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 66, 67. Möbius, like most other modern critics, reckons that there are 31 articles in Codex R., consisting of 29 Lays (two of them imperfect, owing to the Lacuna) and two short narratives in prose. He gives (p. 66) the titles, as they are arranged (together with eight Lays from other MSS.) in the edition of Peder Andreas Munch (Christiania, 1847); and on the next page of the *Catalogus* (p. 67) he indicates how these 31 articles stand in Codex R. itself. The contents of Codex R. then may be thus given:—1. Völuspá. 2. Hávamál. 3. Vafþruðnismál. 4. Grimnismál. 5. Skirnismál. 6. Harbarðaljóð. 7. Hýmiskviða. 8. Ægisdrekka. 9. Hamarsheimt. 10. Völundarkviða. 11. Alvíssmál. 12. Helgakviða Hundingsbana i. 13. Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar. 14. Helgakviða Hundingsbana ii. 15. Sinfiötlalok. 16. Sigurðarkviða i. 17. Sigurðarkviða ii. 18. Fafnismál. 19. Sigrdrífumál. [Here occurs the Lacuna, occasioning the loss of some Lays, and of the end of art. 19 and the beginning of art. 20.] 20. Brynhildarkviðu brot. 21. Guðrúnarkviða i. 22. Sigurðarkviða iii. 23. Helreið Brynhildar. 24. Dráp Niflunga. 25. Guðrúnarkviða ii. 26. Guðrúnarkviða iii. 27. Oddrúnargrátr. 28. Atlakviða. 29. Atlamál. 30. Guðrúnarhvöt. 31. Hamðismál. These articles are generally considered as forming two classes, the first (Nos. 1–9, and No. 11) being mythological or didactic, and the other heroic. The last 16 articles (Nos. 16–31) belong to the Northern version of the great German cycle of the Nibelungen, Sigurðr answering to Siegfried, Guðrun to Chriemhild, Atli to Etzel, etc.

The present MS. contains 39 articles. The second article of Codex R., the great collection of proverbs and didactic sentences called Hávamál (Discourse of the High One, *i.e.* Odin), is here divided into two. The other additional articles are derived from other MSS. Thus No. 11 comes from the Arna-Magnæan MS. 748, Quarto; No. 12 from the Royal MS. 2367, Quarto, which is Codex r. of the Prose Edda and which (like Codex R. of the Poetical Edda) formerly belonged to Bp. Brynjólfr; Nos. 13, 14 from paper copies of the 17th cent.; No. 15 from Flateyjarbók, another of the MSS. sent by Bp. Brynjólfr to the Royal

Library, where it is numbered 1005 Folio; No. 16, a forgery found in paper MSS. of the 17th cent.; and No. 39 from the Arna-Magnæan MS. 242, Folio, which is the copy of the Prose Edda commonly known as Codex Wormianus.

The headings in the present MS. are as follows:—

1. "Volu Spa" [answering to No. 1 of Codex R.]. f. 3;—2. "Hava mal" [No. 2 of Cod. R.]. f. 7 b, col. 2;—3. "Runa Þáttur Oþinns" [forming part of No. 2 of Cod. R., according to the enumeration of Möbius]. f. 15 b;—4. "Vafþruþnis mal" [R. 3]. f. 17;—5. "Fra Sonom Hravþungs Konongs," a prose Introduction, followed by "Grimnis Mal" [R. 4]. ff. 20, col. 2, 21;—6. "For Scirnis" [R. 5]. f. 24 b;—7. "Harbarþs lioþ" [R. 6]. f. 27 b;—8. "Hymis Qviþa" [R. 7]. f. 30 b, col. 2;—9. "Fra Egi oc Goþom," or "Egis-drecca," a prose Introduction, followed by "Loka Senna" or "Loca glepsa" [R. 8]. ff. 33 b, 34;—10. "Þryms Qviþa," or "Hamars heimt" [R. 9]. f. 38, col. 2;—11. "Uegtams Qviþa," now more often known as "Baldrs draumar" [from AM. MS. 748, 4to]. f. 40 b, col. 2;—12. "Grotto Saungr" [from Royal 2367, 4to]. f. 42, col. 2;—13, 14. "Grou Galdr" and "Fiolsvins Mál" [from paper MSS.]. ff. 44, 44 b, col. 2;—15. "Hyndlo Lióþen Gaumlo" [from Flateyjarbók]. f. 47, col. 2;—16. "Hrafnagaldr Oþins," a "Forspiallslioþ" (Introductory Lay) to Vegtamskviða [from paper MSS.]. f. 50, col. 2;—17. "Vǫlundar Qviþa," with the second heading "Frá Volundi oc Niþuþi" [R. 10]. f. 52;—18. "Alvis Mál" [R. 11]. f. 55 b;—19. "Her hefr upp Qviþo Helga Hundingsbana þá hina i" [R. 12]. f. 57 b, col. 2;—20. "Helga Qviþa Haddingja scata," with the second heading of "Fra Hiorvarþi oc Sigrlinn" [R. 13]. f. 62;—21. "Fra Vaulsúngom," a prose Introduction, followed by the Lay known as Helgakviða Hundingsbana ii. [R. 14]. f. 66 b. The title of this Lay has been wrongly placed (f. 67 b) and the number "xxii." has been prefixed to it, a number which properly belongs to the following article;—22. "Sinfiotla lok," with the second heading of "Fra dauda Sinfiotla," in prose [R. 15]. f. 72 b;—23. "Sigurþar Qviþa Fafnis bana i", " with the second heading of "Gripis Spaa" [R. 16]. f. 73, col. 2;—24. "Sigurþar Qviþa Fafnisbana aunnor" [R. 17]. f. 77 b, col. 2;—25. "Fra davþa Fafnis," with the additional titles of "Sigurþar qviþa Fafnisbana þriþia" and "Fafnis mal," all three titles being placed after the prose Introduction [R. 18]. f. 81, col. 2;—26. "Sigr-

drífomál," or "Brinhilldar Qviþa Buþladótor" [R. 19]. f. 85. This article is imperfect in R., owing to the Lacuna; it is here completed from another MS., the passage being headed "Hæc seqventia ex libro qvodam chartaceo exscripta," and ending "Huc usque chartæ" (ff. 87, 88);—27 (a number omitted in this MS.). "Brynhildar Qviþa," to which is added "Manca a Capite," followed by the prose narrative "Fra dauþa Sigrþar" [R. 20]. ff. 88, col. 2, 89 b, col. 2;—28 (numbered 27). "Guþrunar Qviþa" [R. 21]. f. 90;—29 (numbered 28). "Qviþa Sigurþar," or "Brynhildar qviþa" [R. 22]. f. 92, col. 2;—30 (numbered 29). "Brynhildor reiþ helveg," a title written below the prose Introduction [R. 23]. f. 97, col. 2;—31 (number omitted in this MS.). "Drap Niflunga," in prose [R. 24]. f. 98, col. 2;—32 (numbered 30). "Qviþa Guþrunar," *i.e.* Guðrúnarkviða ii. [R. 25]. f. 98 b, col. 2;—33 (numbered 31). "Qviþa Guþrúnar," *i.e.* Guðrúnarkviða iii. [R. 26]. f. 102;—34 (numbered 32). "Fra Borgnyo oc Oddruno," in prose, followed by the Lay "Oddrunar Grátr" [R. 27]. f. 102 b, col. 2;—35 (numbered 33). "Dauþi Atla," in prose, followed by the Lay "Atla qviða in Gronlenzca" [R. 28]. f. 105;—36 (numbered 34). "Atla mal in Gronlenzco" [R. 29]. f. 108;—37 (numbered 35). "Fra Guþruno," in prose, followed by the Lay "Guþrunar hvaut" [R. 30]. ff. 114 b, col. 2, 115;—38 (numbered 36). "Hamþis mal" [R. 31]. f. 116 b. At the end of this article is added the Colophon (not contained in R.), "her endar Sæmundar Edda." f. 118 b, col. 2;—39 (not numbered in this MS.). Rígs-þula, or Rígsmál [from Codex Wormianus: see the description of Eg. 642]. f. 119. At the end of this Lay the scribe has added "Deesse videntur nonnulla." f. 122, col. 2.

The first three of the preceding articles were published at Copenhagen in two 4to pamphlets, by Resenius (Peder Hans Resen) in 1665 (the same year in which he published his edition of the Prose Edda) under the following titles, *Philosophia antiquissima Norvego-Danica dicta Woluspa* (with the second heading, inside the pamphlet, of "Wølu Spá/Epter Sæmundar Eddu") and *Ethica Odini pars Eddæ Sæmundi vocata Haavamaal, unà cum ejusdem appendice appellato Runa Capitule.* Art. 4, Vafþrúðnismál, was published at Copenhagen, by Grímr Jónsson Thorkelin, in 1779. Next came vol. i. of the great Arna-Magnæan edition of the Poetical Edda, *Edda Sæmundar hins fróða* (Copenhagen,

1787, 4to), containing "Odas mythologicas a Resenio non editas," namely Articles 4–10, 16, 11, 18, 14, 15, to which the Editors added the early Christian Lay called Sólarljóð. Art. 39, Rígsmál (as it used to be called), was published by Berthel Christian Sandvig, at the end of his volume of Danish translations, *Forsög til en Oversættelse af Sæmunds Edda* (1785). Art. 12, Grottasöngr (Mill-song), was published by Skúli Thórðarson Thorlacius (a surname derived from an ancestor named Thorlákr) in his *Antiquitatum borealium observationes miscellaneæ, Specimen v.* (1794). The heroic Lays, contained in Articles 17 and 19–38, were edited by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen under the double title of *Lieder der älteren oder Sämundischen Edda* and of *Altnordische Lieder und Sagen welche zum Fabelkreis des Heldenbuchs und der Nibelungen gehören* (Berlin, 1812). The first twelve of these heroic Lays, Articles 17 and 19–30, were edited by the Brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, as *Lieder der alten Edda*, Bd. i. (Berlin, 1815); but the second volume never appeared. All these heroic Lays (together with our Article 13, Grou-galdr) appeared in vol. ii. of the great Arna-Magnæan edition of *Edda Sæmundar hins fróða* (1818, 4to). Vol. iii. of the same edition was issued in 1828, containing only three poems, Völuspá and Hávamál (formerly printed by Resenius), and Rígsmál (formerly printed by Sandvig); but also containing the *Lexicon mythologicum* and the *Specimen calendarii* of F. Magnæus (Finnr Magnússon).

The whole collection of Lays, similar to those copied in the present MS., with the exception of No. 12. Grottasöngr, and with the addition of Sólarljóð and of Gunnarsslagr (a modern antique, composed in the 18th cent.), was edited by Rasmus Kristian Rask (Stockholm, 1818). The other editors of *Sæmundar Edda*, with the dates of their editions, are as follows: Peder Andreas Munch (Christiania, 1847); Hermann. Lüning (Zürich, 1859); Theodor Möbius (Leipzig, 1860); Sophus Bugge (Christiania, 1867); Svend Grundtvig (Copenhagen, 1868, 1874); Karl Hildebrand, with a preface by Möbius (Paderborn, 1876). Separate Lays have been very frequently reprinted: for these, and for the various translations, see the *Catalogus Librorum Islandicorum* of Theodor Möbius (Leipzig, 1856 and 1880). The earliest translation of the whole collection into Danish is by Finn Magnusen (Finnr Magnússon), *Den ældre Edda*, 4 vols. (Copenh., 1821–3). It was translated into German verse by Carl Joseph Simrock

(1851, 1855, 1878). Translations into French and German, with many notes, have been published by Friedrich Wilhelm Bergmann (Strassburg, and Leipzig, 1858–1879). The earliest translation from the poems into English is that of Art. 11, by Thomas Gray, under the title "Descent of Odin," in *Poems* (London, 8vo, and Glasgow, 4to, both in 1768). A verse translation of the Mythological Odes was published by Amos Simon Cottle, entitled *Icelandic Poetry or the Edda of Sæmund* (Bristol, 1797). William Herbert, Dean of Manchester, published a few of the Odes (the "Song of Thrym," our Art. 10, and others) in his *Select Icelandic Poetry* (London, 1804–6), and the "Song of Vala" (our Art. 1) and "Brynhilda" in the Appendix to his *Helga* (London, 1815), which is itself a poem founded upon the first part of Hervarar saga. Benjamin Thorpe published a prose *Edda of Sæmund the Learned* (London, 1866). The heroic Lays were also translated by William Morris, as an appendix to the translation by him and Eirikr Magnússon of the Völsunga saga, *Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs* (London, 1870). Finally, the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (2 vols., Oxford, 1883), edited by Gudbrand Vigfusson and Frederic York Powell, contains all the Lays of the present copy (except Art. 16, omitted as spurious) in vol. i., under the title of "Eddic poetry," in Icelandic and English; and the prose pieces from Codex R. in Icelandic alone in vol. ii. pp. 524–532. The Lays have been re-arranged by the editors, and in some cases considerable changes have been made in the divisions. Thus, our Art. 2 (Hávamál) is thus divided: 82 strophes, taken from various parts, are re-arranged under title of "The Guest's Wisdom" (vol. i. pp. 2–14); 12 are entitled "Song of Saws" (pp. 14–16); 21 are "The Lesson of Loddfafni" (pp. 16–20); 17 are "Mythical Ensamples" (pp. 20–23); and 3 are in "The Christian's Wisdom" (pp. 216–7). Our Art. 3 (Runatals Þáttr Óðins) is printed as the Hávamál proper; "The High One's Lesson" (pp. 23–29). Again, our Arts. 24, 25, 26 are printed as "The Old Play of the Wolsungs" (pp. 30–44) and "The Western Wolsung-Lay" (pp. 155–8). And again, our Art. 37 (Guðrúnarhvöt) is divided, and part is used to complete the opening strophes of the introduction to Hamðismál (p. 52, etc.), while the other part is printed as a separate poem, "Treg-róf Guðrúnar" or "Gudrun's Chain of Woe" (pp. 328–331).

Additional 4877.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 228.

EDDA SÆMUNDAR HINS FRÓÐA. A copy of Codex Regius (R.) of the Poetical (or Elder) Edda, with marginal collations from paper MSS.; followed by eight Lays from various sources. *Icelandic.*

The Lacuna in the latter part of Sigrdrífumál (here entitled "Brinhilldar qviþa Budla dottur") is supplied by a passage "ex libro quodam chartaceo," beg. "aulþr mal til øfug" (f. 128): compare the edition of Möbius (1860), p. 143, and that of Bugge (1867), p. 233. This is followed by a passage from "liber chartaceus alter," beg. "Ef þu heyrir heimsklig orþ" (f. 128 b), taken from Völsunga saga: see C. C. Rafn, *Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda* (Copenh., 1829), vol. i. p. 172. Codex Regius begins again with the words "Hvat hefir Sigurþr" (f. 129 b). The two inserted passages are re-copied, after Hamðismál, at ff. 186, 187; and they are then followed by another passage in prose, ending with two strophes (ff. 187 b—188 b), abridged from Völsunga saga: see *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. pp. 172–186.

The rest of the volume contains the following mythical Lays:—1. Hrafnagaldr Óðins (or Forspjallsljóð). f. 189;—2. Vegtamskviða (or Baldrs draumar). f. 192 b;—3. Fjölsvinnsmál. f. 195;—4. Hyndluljóð. f. 200;—5. Gróugaldr. f. 207;—6. Grottasöngr, with the prose Introduction. f. 209;—7. Getspeki Heiðreks konungs, with a prose Introduction. f. 212 b;—8. Sólarljóð. f. 220.

This arrangement is the same as that of Codex Luxdorphianus, as described in the Arna-Magnæan edition of the *Edda Sæmundar, Pars ii.* (Copenh., 1818), pp. xviii.–xx.; but there the Sólarljóð is followed by two songs of Egill Skallagrimsson. The Codex Luxdorphianus is numbered 1866, 4to, in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. It is fully described by Sophus Bugge, *Sæmundar Edda* (Christiania, 1867), pp. lvi.–lvii.

Additional 11,165.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 157.

EDDA SÆMUNDAR HINS FRÓÐA. A copy of Codex Reg of the Poetical (or Elder) Edda, followed by eight La various sources. *Icelandic.*

The Lacuna is at f. 88; and the scribe has added, " ad minimum octo Folia, scribit A. Magnæus in membr existimo." The eight supplementary Lays are the same in Add. MS. 4877, though not quite in the same order.

Egerton 642.

Paper; 1735. Folio; ff. 223, having from 33 to 36 lines to a with a few pages (on which notes, etc., have been added in a small containing upwards of 40 lines.

Sold by Finn Magnusen to Archibald Constable, in Oct. 1812 and Egerton 643 above), and afterwards forming "No. LXVI. of D Clarke's Collection of MSS."

EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. The Prose (or Younger consisting of a Mythological Handbook by Snorri Sturlu Treatises on Grammar and Prosody by Snorri's nephew Hvítaskáld, and others; together with two poems, the one Háttalykill (or Háttatal) by Snorri himself, and the ot anonymous mythical poem called Rigs Þula (or, more com known as Rigsmál). Copied from the Arna-Magnæa No. 242 Folio, commonly called Codex Wormianus, with co from other MSS. in Copenhagen, and with an introducti notes, by Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík, the amanuensis Magnússon. *Icelandic.*

The gifted race of the Sturlungar was so named after of Hvammr in West Iceland, distinguished as Hvamm (b. 1115, d. 1183). By his second wife Sturla had thr Thórðr (b. 1165, d. 1237), Sighvatr (b. 1170, d. 1238), and (b. 1178, d. 1241). The eldest of these, Thórðr, had by a

two sons, Sturla the historian, who wrote the most important part of Sturlunga saga (b. 1214, d. 1284), and Ólafr Hvítaskáld (White Poet), who wrote one of the Treatises appended to the Prose Edda (d. 1259, aged about 50). Snorri, the third son of Hvamm-Sturla by his second wife, is very famous as the author of the finest Sagas of the kings of Norway, and of the most important part of the Prose Edda. He was fostered at Oddi in South Iceland, which had formerly belonged to Sæmundr Sigfússon (to whom the collection of the Poetical Edda used to be ascribed). His foster-father was Jón (b. 1125, d. 1197), the son of Loptr, the son of Sæmundr. Snorri afterwards resided chiefly at Reykjaholt, in West Iceland; where the remains of his bath are still shown. He was Speaker (Lögsögumaðr), or President, of the Icelandic Commonwealth in 1215–18, and again in 1222–32. He visited Norway in 1218, and wrote the Háttatal for the young king, Hákon Hákonarson, and his Counsellor, Earl Skúli (afterwards, in 1237, entitled Duke* Skuli). He found a fleet being fitted out against Iceland, and averted the attack by promising to support the Norwegian claims of sovereignty. He was driven out of Iceland by civil war in 1237, and revisited Norway, where he took part with Duke Skúli in his quarrel with the king. He returned to Iceland in 1240; and he was murdered, at the instigation of King Hákon, on 22nd September, 1241.

Ólafr Hvítaskáld lived at Stafaholt, in West Iceland, one of the residences of his uncle, Snorri; and they were frequently together there. He left Iceland with Snorri in 1237, and visited the Courts of Norway and Denmark (see the Arna-Magnæan edition of the Prose Edda, vol. ii. pp. 76, 77, note 4). He was Speaker of the Icelandic Commonwealth in 1248–50, and again in 1252. He died at Stafaholt (at about the age of 50) in 1259.

Direct evidence in favour of the name and authorship of the Snorra-Edda is to be found in two MSS., both written about 60 years after the death of Snorri.† They are both printed in the Arna-Magnæan edition of *Snorra-Edda*, vol. ii. (1852), pp. 250–

* Under *Herr* (old gen. herjar), a *host*, Vigfusson gives *her-togi*, a *leader of hosts*; and he remarks that, as a title, *duke*, it was first given in Norway to Earl Skúli, created duke in 1237: see the *Icelandic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1874), p. 259.

† Facsimiles from these two MSS. are given in Tables iii. iv. and v. at the end of Part i. of vol. iii. of the AM. edition (1880).

396 and 397–494. The first of these is Codex Upsalensis (U.), dated by the editors at about 1300 (p. vii.). It is printed as "Upsala-Edda." The editors state (p. 250, note 2), that the following title was written (in red) by the original scribe: "Bok þessi heitir edda. hana hevir saman setta snorri sturlo sonr eptir þeim hætti sem her er skipat. er fyrst fra asom ok ymi. þar næst skalldskapar mal ok heiti margra hlvta. Siþaz hatta tal er snorri hevir ort vm Hakon konvng ok skvla hertvga" (AM. ed., vol. ii. p. 250). That is:—"This book is named Edda. Snorri Sturluson composed it in the same way as it is arranged here. First it deals with the Æsir and Ýmir [the Gods and the Giant of Chaos]. Next comes Skáldskaparmál [Ars poetica] and Appellatives of many things. Lastly Háttatal [Recensus metrorum] which Snorri wrote in verse for King Hákon and Duke Skúli." The other MS. is the Arna-Magnæan MS. 748, 4to, said by the editors to be perhaps older than 1300 (p. viii.). It is imperfect at the beginning, and is therefore printed as "Eddu-brot" (Fragment of Edda); but it probably never contained more than the Treatise (divided into 2 sections) upon Grammar and Poetical Diction by Ólafr Hvítaskáld, followed by a short version of Skáldskaparmál. Between these two works is the following rubric:—"Hær ær lykt þeim lvt bokar ær Olafr Þorðarson hæfir samansett ok vpphefr skallskaparmal ok kænningar æptir þvi sæm fyri fvndið var i kvæðum hǫfvtskallda ok Snori hæfir siþan samanfæra latit" (AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 427, 428). That is:—"Here ends that part of the book which Ólafr (Hvítaskáld) son of Thórðr has composed, and begins Skáldskaparmál and also Kenningar (Denominationes), according to what was invented in the poems of the great poets and was afterwards brought together by Snorri."

The name Edda occurs in Rígsþula (or Rígsmál), a mythical poem, supposed to have been written about the year 1000 (see the remarks on the dates of the "Wolo-spa" and the "Lay of Righ," in Vigfusson and Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, vol. i. pp. lxvii. lxx.). It is there used in the sense of Great-Grandmother, and designates the general mother of all the races of Thralls. Vigfusson conjectures it to be a corrupted form of Erda, the Old High German word for earth. See his remarks in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, vol. ii. p. 510; and see his allusions (at pp. 510, 514) to "Mammun Ertham," "as we take Tacitus to have written (in

accordance with Holder's and Holzman's view)," this reference being made to the *Germanische Alterthümer* of Adolf Holtzmann, edited by Alfred Holder (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 254–5. Vigfusson continues:—"From the Lay of Righ [Rígsþula] the word 'Edda' passed into that curious List of Synonyms 'okend heiti' [Simple Appellatives] which is the base of the Thulor Collections and Poetical Grades, such as Snorri's. Thus the name got applied to Snorri's book, for it is probable, though not absolutely demonstrable, that this older draught of Scaldscapar-mal [Discourse on Poetry] was headed by our Lay of Righ, being in all likelihood called forth by that very Lay" (p. 514). It was to Snorri's work, enlarged by Ólafr Hvítaskáld and others, that the mediæval writers referred, when they spoke of the Art of Edda, the Rules of Edda, etc.; though they seem to have soon forgotten the authorship. It was not till the 17th century that the name Edda, which ought to have been confined to this work, was also given to the collection of Lays wrongly attributed to Sæmundr Fróði (see the remarks on the title of Sæmundar-Edda in the description of Egerton 643).

There are three complete (or nearly complete) early vellum MSS. of the present work, the Snorra-Edda. The two earliest were written about 1300. One of these two is Codex Regius (r.), *i.e.* No. 2367, 4to (or rather, large 8vo), in the old Royal collection at Copenhagen; it was bought by Brynjólfr Sveinsson on 31 Jan. 1640, and sent by him to Frederick III. of Denmark in 1662, together with 14 other vellum MSS., one of which was the Codex Regius (R.) of the Sæmundar-Edda (see the description of Egerton 643). The second MS. is Codex Upsalensis (U.), of which the general rubric has been quoted above. It belonged to the collection of Stephan Hansen Stephanius (b. 1599, d. 1650), the Danish historian, who edited Saxo Grammaticus in 1644–5. The collection was sold by the widow of Stephanius to the Swedish Chancellor, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who presented it to the University of Upsala in 1685,* this MS. being No. 11 of the Codices Delagardiani. The third MS. is the Codex Wormianus (W.), the original of the present volume. It is said by Vigfusson (Prolegomena to *Sturlunga Saga*, p. lxxxi.) to be the

* The date of presentation is said by Vigfusson (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, p. xxvi.) to have been 1685; but Bugge says 1669 (*Sæmundar-Edda*, p. xxvi.).

best and most accurate of the three, a fine large MS, written by a scholar about 1330. It was in the possession of Arngrímr Jónsson (for whom see the description of Egerton 643) early in the 17th century. He lent it to Magnús Ólafsson (b. 1573, Priest of Vellir, Eyjafiarðar sýsla, in 1591, Priest of Laufás, Suðr-Thíngeyjar sýsla, both in North Iceland, in 1622–1636); and it was at his request * that Magnús used it for making a copy of the Edda, arranged as it was afterwards printed by Resenius (Copenhagen, 1665). The MS. written by Magnús, frequently known as the Laufás-Edda, is now Arna-Magnæan MS. 743; and it is dated "Audkulæ [Auðkúla, Húnavatns sýsla, North Iceland], 4 id. Martii, A° 1609." † Twenty years later Magnús made the Latin translation (also printed by Resenius), at the request of the Bishop of Hólar, Thorlákr Skúlason (b. 1597, Bp. 1627, d. 1656), and it was forwarded to the Danish Chancellor, Christian Friis, of Kragerup (d. 1640). See the dedication to Bp. Thorlákr, in 33 Latin lyrical lines (published by Resenius in his Preface, sign. l. 2 b and 3), dated "Laufasii, Kal. Jul., Anno 1629"; and see the letter of Bp. Thorlákr to Ole Worm (*Olai Wormii Epistolæ*, etc., No. cxi. p. 99), dated "Holæ, 26 Aug., 1629." Meanwhile the original MS. (Cod. Worm.) had been sent by Arngrímr Jónsson to Denmark. It was probably the book mentioned by Thorlákr (the year before he was made bishop) in a letter to Ole Worm (No. cix. p. 98), "Librum *Skalldam*, seu *Grammaticam Islandicam* Dn. Arngrimus mihi præripuit, et in Daniam ad Magnif. Dn. Cancellarium [Christian Friis] transmisit; spero ejus inspiciendi tibi futuram copiam: ego verò studebo in gratiam Domini Cancellarii et tuam qvædam præcipua ex illo libro in lingvam Danicam transferre," etc., dated "Holæ, 30 Aug., 1626." It is certainly the book mentioned by Arngrímr Jónsson himself, in a letter to Ole Worm (No. cccxviii. p. 301), "*Eddam* et conjunctam *Skalldam*, qvia meus codex est, D. Wormio libenter concedo, qvamcunqve volet diu," dated "4 Sept., 1628, ex Islandia Boreali." The MS. thus obtained the name of Codex Wormianus. Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík says, in his Preface to the present copy (f. 8 b), that the Codex was given to Árni Magnússon by the

* See the letter from Magnús to Ole Worm, the Danish antiquary, dated "Laufausii, 6. Cal. Sept.," 1627; printed in *Olai Wormii et ad eum doctorum virorum Epistolæ* (Cop., 1751), No. ccclxiii. p. 354.

† See Vigfusson, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* p. xlv.

son of Ole Worm, Willum (b. 1633, d. 1704), who was both a medical man and an antiquary, like his father. But this was probably a mistake. Thorleifr Jónsson says, in his edition of Snorra-Edda (p. vii.), that Árni Magnússon received it in 1706 from Christen Worm, the son of Willum. Christen was born 1672, Bp. of Seeland 1711, and died 1737. The Codex is numbered AM. 242, Folio.

After describing this MS. in *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (vol. i. p. xlv.), Vigfusson says: — "Its mark W. might stand for Widalinus, . . . as well as Wormianus." This alludes to the name Vídalín assumed by Arngrímr Jónsson, the first Icelander who established a family name. He formed it out of his native dale, Víðidalr, in Húnavatns sýsla, North Iceland. Vigfusson goes on to say that "all Icelandic Widalins, a goodly race of men, are descended from him." Two of the most famous were his grandsons, the one by his son Thorkell, and the other by his daughter Hildr. The former was Bp. Jón Thorkelsson Vídalín, author of the Sermons known as *Vídalíns Postilla* (b. 21 March, 1666; Bp. of Skálholt, 1698; d. 30 Aug. 1720). The other was Páll (*i.e.* Paul) Jónsson Vídalín, the most eminent of the legal antiquaries of Iceland (b. at Víðidalstúnga, 1667; Rector of Skálholt School, 1690; Vice-Prefect of South and East Iceland, 1697; Joint-Commissioner with Árni Magnússon, for making a general survey of Iceland, and for deciding various cases, 1702–1712; d. 17 July, 1727).*

The great collector, Árni Magnússon, was born at Kvennabrekka in Dala sýsla, West Iceland, 13 Nov. 1663. He came to Copenhagen, and copied in 1683 and 1684 for the Danish antiquary, Thomas Bartholin (d. 1690). He became attached to the Royal Archives as Secretary, 1697; and he made his own first purchases of books in the same year. He obtained Vellum B. of the Sturlunga saga about 1700. He was Royal Commissioner

* Short biographies of Bp. Jón Thorkelsson Vídalín and Páll Vídalín are given, in Latin, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ* of Finnr Jónsson, Bp. of Skálholt, tom. iii. (Copenh. 1775), pp. 682–695 and 538–540, together with further particulars at pp. 477, 584, and elsewhere; and a fuller Life of Páll Vídalín, in Icelandic, is prefixed (pp. iii.–lxiv.) to his work on the antiquated law-phrases of the old Jónsbók, *Skýríngar yfir Fornyrði Lögbókar þeirrar, er Jónsbók kallast, samdar af Páli lögmanni Vídalín:* published at the expense of the Íslenzka Bókmentafèlag (Reykjavík, 1854).

in Iceland, together with Páll Vídalín (as mentioned above), in 1702–1712. During these years he usually wintered at Skálholt with Bp. Jón Vídalín; but twice he returned to Denmark (in 1705 and 1708), to answer complaints against himself and Páll Vídalín, and on the latter occasion he wintered in Copenhagen, and married a rich widow, Mette Fischer, in 1709. His own collection was chiefly formed in these years; and he increased it with the whole collection of the Royal Historiographer, Torfæus (Thormóðr Torfason), which he purchased from the latter's widow in 1719. Half his collection was burned in a great fire at Copenhagen, on 31st Oct. 1728; but not (says Vigfusson) the most important part, with the exception of two historical vellums and his own note-books. He died 7th Jan. 1730. He left his MSS. to the University of Copenhagen, with a money legacy to be employed in editing them. The Arna-Magnæan Legacy was confirmed by the king in 1760, and an Arna-Magnæan Commission of six members established in 1772.*

Jón Ólafsson, the writer of the present MS., was the son of Ólafr Jónsson, Priest of Staðr in Grunnavík, Ísafjarðar sýsla, West Iceland. Ólafr, the father, was born 1672, Priest of Staðr 1703, died 1707. Thórunn, the mother of Jón, was daughter of Páll Jónsson, who (1698–1721) was Priest of Melstaðr (formerly held by Arngrímr Jónsson), in Húnavatns sýsla, and not far from Víðidalr. Jón Ólafsson himself was born 17th Aug. 1705. When his father died (1707) his mother returned to Húnavatns sýsla (probably to Melstaðr). At this time Páll Vídalín had undertaken to have six children educated, every winter, at his residence, Víðidalstúnga; and Jón Ólafsson was placed, as one of the six, under the tutorship of Jón (a younger brother of Árni) Magnússon, in 1712–13. The mother of Jón Ólafsson died in 1719; and he was then permanently lodged at Víðidalstúnga, with the exception of two winters (1721–23) at Hólar School, till 1726. He then went to Copenhagen as amanuensis to Árni Magnússon. The Will of Árni, dated 6 Jan. 1730 (the day before his death), named

* In *Nordisk Tidskrift for Oldkyndighed*, published at Copenhagen for the Society of Northern Antiquaries, vol. iii. (1836), pp. 1–186, there is an article, "Biographiske Efterretninger om Arne Magnussen," containing a memoir of Árni, written in Danish by Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík, 23rd Nov. 1738 (pp. 11–51); with an Introduction (pp. 1–10), an Appendix (pp. 52–166), and foot-notes throughout, added by Erich Christian Werlauff.

Jón as the first Stipendiarius Magnæanus; and Jón drew up a Catalogue of the Arna-Magnæan MSS. in 1731. Jón resided at Copenhagen (with the exception of a short visit to Iceland in 1733) till 1743. He then made a stay of eight years in Iceland; but he finally returned to Copenhagen, and to his old post of Stipendiarius, in 1751. He died 17th June, 1779. He left a very considerable number of philological and antiquarian works, most of which remain unprinted as Additions to the Arna-Magnæan collection. Hálfdan Einarsson in his *Sciagraphia historiæ literariæ Islandicæ* (Copenh., 1786), pp. 30, 31, mentions that Jón had shown him a Latin version of Háttatal, a Commentary on old Eddic poems, and various other essays. Vigfusson, in the introductory pages of *Cleasby's Dictionary* (p. viii.), alludes to "Lexicon Islandicum, a large collection made by Jón Ólafsson"; and Kålund in his *Beskrivelse af Island* (vol. i. p. 127, note*) refers to this "Lexicon" as Addit. 35–43, Folio, and also to a kind of etymological dictionary, "Contractismus," Addit. 6–8, Quarto.

The following title-page has been supplied by Finn Magnusen to the present volume (f. 1): "Hicce Codex Snorronio-Eddicus reliqvis omnibus longe auctior atqve emendatior, a viro antiqvitatum Scandinavicarum peritissimo John Olafsson sive Johanne Olavio Grunnavico-Islando, qvi Seculo xviii^vo. claruit, propria manu exaratus—continet:—

I. Ipsius Praefationem—Foliis xi. cujus contenta sunt:

α. Recensio membranæ in Bibliotheca Arnæ-Magnæana Havniensi præcipuæ [alluding to Codex Wormianus (W.), which is the Arna-Magnæan MS. 242, Folio] qvam se refert cum aliis optimæ notæ Codicibus contulisse et ex hisce illi lectiones variantes addidisse—Pag. i.–iii. [ff. 4, 5].

β. Ejus de nomine et authoribus Eddæ Commentarium—Pag. iii.–vii. [ff. 5–7].

γ. Ejusdem, ut et alterius viri doctissimi Islandi Arnæ Magnæi Professoris Havniensis, de contentis Eddæ opiniones—P. vii.–x. [ff. 7–8 b].

---

* The "note" mentioned above contains a short memoir of Jón Ólafsson. The dictionaries of Jón are frequently used by P. E. Kristian Kålund in his own work, *Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island*, 2 vols. (Copenh., 1877–1882).

δ. De divisione Eddæ, et Editione Reseniana, A°. 1665 impressa. P. x.–xi. [ff. 8 b–9].

ε. An Edda altera, antiqvior et locupletior, exstiterit? P. xi.–xii. [ff. 9–9 b].

ζ. Arnæ Magnæi Observationes Eddicæ, præsertim ex ejus ineditis Commentariis in Schedas Arii Polyhistoris desumtæ—Pag. xii.–xxii. [ff. 9 b–14 b].

II. Olavii laudati Indices, nempe: Pagg. xxv.–xxx. [ff. 15–17 b].

α. Poetarum allegatorum.

β Cantilenarum, ad tempora fabulosa pertinentium.

γ. . . . anonymarum.

δ. Alphabethicum, in titulos poëmatum occurrentium.

III. Eddæ propriæ Partem Priorem vel Mythologiam antiqvæ Scandinaviæ systematicam—Pagg. 1–76 [ff. 18–55 b].

(: In margine annotantur Eddæ impressæ mendosæ subdivisiones in capita vel fabulas.)

[These Fabulæ (Dæmisögur), the numbers of which are entered on the margins of the present volume, are the 78 Divisions made by Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás in 1609, and supplied by him in 1629, and by Stephán Ólafsson in 1646, with Latin translations, as far as the end of Fab. 68. The remaining 10 Fabulæ were latinised for Resenius by Torfæus. Resenius says that the first two (out of the three) chapters of the Prologue, and also the Epilogue, printed by him, were probably written by Magnús Ólafsson.]

[See the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. i. (Copenhagen, 1848) pp. 2–228.]

IV. Eddæ Partem Posteriorem, Skálda vel Kenningar dictam, qva veterum Scandorum perantiqvæ appellationes poëticæ enumerantur, insertis fabulis atqve historiis mythologicis et additis exemplis ê poësi veterum.

α. Secundum Codicem laudatum membranaceum [*i.e.* Cod. Worm.]. P. 76–158, 209–15 [ff. 55 b–96 b; and ff. 122–125].

[See the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. i. pp. 230–464; and vol. ii. pp. 495–500.]

β. Additamenta ê recentioribus eidem codici insertis foliis cum aliis codicibus collatis. Pag. 159–208 [ff. 97–121 b].

[See the AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 464–593.]

γ. Olavii Descriptio codicum qvibus in hunc exarandum usus fuit. Pag. 216. Cfr. 243–44 [f. 125 b; *cf.* ff. 139–139 b].

[Jón Ólafsson mentions here (f. 125) the MSS. that he has used for the Kenningar and Heiti which he is just about to copy. His A. is Arna-Magnæan MS. 744, 4to; C. is AM. 746, 4to; these are copies made by Jón Ólafsson himself from vellum MSS. His B. is AM. 745, in the hand of a Jón Sigurðsson (whom he calls "Sera," and who was therefore a Priest). The 4th MS. is the Laufás-Edda, by Magnús Ólafsson, in oblong Quarto, numbered AM. 743. In the other place referred to above (namely, at ff. 139–139 b) Jón Ólafsson compares one or two passages in his MSS., and ends with several extracts from the 4th MS.]

δ. Additamenta ê reliqvis Codicibus vetustioribus (vid. iv. *a*). Pagg. 217–244 [ff. 126–139 b].

[See the AM. ed., vol. ii. (1852), pp. 428–494; and pp. 511–572.]

ε. Magni Olavii Edda Alphabetica—sic dicta—qvæ loco Scaldæ, Resenianæ Editioni (aliqvot tamen antiqvis poematibus, qvæ hic inveniuntur, omissis) inserta fuerat. Pagg. 244–64 [ff. 139 b–150 b].

[This is Part ii. of the Laufás-Edda: compare AM. ed., vol. ii, pp. 628–634, where a part of the Laufás-Edda is printed, answering to the present MS. at ff. 144 b–146 b.]

/: Concludit opusculum hocce Cantilena unica ex Historia Viga-Styris, in magno incendio Havniensi A°. 1728, deperditâ :/

ζ. Aenigma perantiqvum de nominibus avium. P. 265 [f. 151].

[A poem, giving a list of various birds by their poetical denominations, and hence called a Riddle, written by Magnús Ólafsson at the end of Laufás-Edda; with marginal explanations by Árni Magnússon.]

V. Indices in Eddam proprie sic dictam—

a. Contentorum historicorum Pag. 267–71 [ff. 152–154].

β. Appellationum poëticarum 271–74 [ff. 154–155 b].

VI. Tractatum de orthographia Islandica—Olavo Thordi filio Hvítaskáld (ɔ: Candido vati) adscriptum cum Indice Pagg. 275–304 [ff. 156–170 b].

[See the AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 2–92.]

VII. Libellum (medio ævo conscriptum) de ornamentis et vitiis Lingvæ et Poëseos, sive de figuris et tropis rhetorico-poëticis —Exemplis ê poësi Scandinavica illustratum Pagg. 305–58 [ff. 171–197 b].

et Indicem huc pertinentem P. 359–61 [ff. 198–199].

[See the AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 92–248; and see vol. ii. p. 397 for a passage from an *Eddu-Brot* (Edda Fragment), which here occurs at f. 197 b.]

VIII. Snorronis Sturlæi 'Háttalykill,' s[ive] Clavem Metricam Pagg. 363–402 [ff. 200–219 b].

Cum Indice 403–404 [ff. 220–220 b].

IX. Rígs-Þula, Fabulam vetustam metricam hominum e diversis ordinibus appellationes poëticas illustrantem.—Pagg. 405–410 [ff. 221–223 b]."

Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík begins his Preface (f. 4) with saying that he wrote the present MS. for himself at Copenhagen in the spring of 1735; and that his original was the vellum Arna-Magnæan MS., numbered 242, Folio, which had been given by Arngrímr Jónsson (d. 1648) to the Danish antiquary Ole Worm (d. 1654). He goes on to say that the vellum MS. seems to have been at one time in the hands of Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás, whose arrangement (in 1609) and Latin translation (in 1629: see the notice of Magnús above, p. 34) were adopted by Resenius in his edition of the Edda; and that some of the paper leaves inserted in the gaps seem to have been written by Magnús; but that whether Magnús owned it before Arngrímr, or borrowed it from him, is more uncertain. It was written in the middle of the 14th cent. The spelling shows that it cannot be earlier. Jón of Grunnavík proceeds to notice the following subjects. The name of Edda (f. 5): Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás fancied it was connected with the Latin "edo." Resenius compares it with "atte" (pater), and explains it as "avia." Guðmundr Andrèsson points out in his *Lexicon* (printed, after the author's death, by Resenius, in 1654) that it means "Langamma" (Great-Grandmother). The authorship (ff. 5–5b): Snorri may fairly be regarded as the author; but he probably did not write the accounts of the historical Odin,

and wrote only a portion of the Tract on "Kenningar" (*i.e.* Rask's "Úkend heiti"). Some of this Tract could not have been written by him, as his own verses, and also those of later writers, are quoted; amongst others, the verses from the fragment of Víga-Styrs saga (burnt in 1728), which Árni Magnússon dated about 1360. Other articles attached to the Prose Edda: viz. (1) Tract on orthography, by Ólafr Hvítaskáld (f. 6);—(2) Tract on tropes, beg. "Kenningar Donati" (f. 6 b);—(3) "Haata Lykill [or Háttatal] Snorra Sturlusonar" (f. 6 b). After this Árni Magnússon is quoted, as saying:—"Fuit Eddæ auctori unice propositum fabulas in poëtarum gratiam colligere, non vero vetustam Septentrionis Theologiam ab interitu vindicare" (f. 7). Allusion made by Jón of Grunnavík to his own "Vocabularium" and "Lexicon vocum" and "Lexicon nominum propriorum" (ff. 7, 7 b). Remarks of Árni Magnússon on the introduction of the Troy-legend into the Prologues of the Edda (ff. 7 b, 8 b). The division into 78 Dæmisögur, and the Latin translation (f. 9). Jón of Grunnavík combats the opinion of Bp. Brynjólfr Sveinsson (see *Introduction* to Resenius) that there was once a still older Edda (f. 9 b). Extracts from Árni Magnússon's Latin commentaries on the *Schedæ* (i.e. *Íslendingabók*) of Ari Fróði (ff. 9 b–14). The first extract gives reasons for thinking that the Prose Edda is not earlier than the 14th century (ff. 9 b–11 b); but this portion has been cancelled by Árni himself, who then adds:—"Omnia hæcce aliter se habent. Olaus Hvitaskalld, et Snorro Sturlæus de arte poetica qvidem scripserunt, qvorum tractatus, sed mutilos, in membrana possideo, et Olai certè est gnome illa Valdemari, puta ii. hæc omnia postea compilavit is qvi codicem Vormianum exaravit, multaqve de suo addidit in principio et fine" (f. 11 b). Árni says there is no reason to regard the present Edda as an abridgment (ff. 11 b–12 b). He next deals with the origin of the name Edda. He quotes two poems of the 14th century: one of them is by Árni Jónsson, Abbot of Múnka-Þverá (in Eyjafjarðar sýsla, North Iceland), who uses the word "Eddu-list" (art of Edda) in Guðmundar drápa ii. strophe 79 (see *Biskupa Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 220); and the other is *Lilja*, the Hymn in honour of the Virgin, by Eysteinn Asgrímsson, where mention is made of "Eddu-reglur" (rules of Edda). Árni is himself inclined to derive the name Edda from óðr (mind, or poetry) (f. 13 b).

The Preface just described begins with the following words:—

"Þessa Eddu book skrifaðe eg Joon Olafsson upp fyrer siálfan mig, umm Voret 1735 í Kaupmannahöfn, epter þeirre membrana í folio, sem stendr í þvi Academiesens Bibliothece, er Assessor Arne Magnusson (góðrar minnyngar) gaf, og þar er No. 242. Er þette Kenneteikn á henne, at framan á fyrstu pergaments blaðsyðunne, sem auð er, stendr neðst skrifat: Olai Wormii, dono Arngrimi Jonæ Islandi" (f. 4).

The Preface is followed by Lists of the poets and the anonymous poems which are quoted in this copy of the Edda (ff. 15–17 b).

The body of the volume contains the following divisions, in accordance with those adopted by Möbius and the modern editors:—

i. Mythical Narratives.

(1). Formáli (Preface). ff. 18–22 b [Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. i. pp. 2–30].

(2). Gylfaginning (Fooling of Gylfi). Account of the mythical Swedish king Gylfi; and narrative of his visit to Ásgarðr, and his conversation with the Æsir, forming an Introduction to the Northern Mythology. Copied from the Codex Wormianus (AM. 242, Folio), with marginal references to the Dæmisögur (Fabulæ), according to the divisions made by Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás. ff. 22 b–51 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 30–204].

(3). Eptirmáli (Epilogue). f. 51 b [AM. ed., vol. i. p. 206].

(4). Bragaræður (Discourses of Bragi). Banquet given by the Æsir to the sea-god Ægir, at which tales are told by Bragi, the god of poetry, chiefly about the rape of Iðunn, the wife of Bragi, and about the origin of the mead of poetry. With marginal references to the Dæmisögur. ff. 51 b–54 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 206–224].

(5). Eptirmáli (Epilogue). ff. 54 b–55 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 224–228].

ii. Skáldskaparmál (Discourse on poetry).

(1). Kenningar (Denominations). ff. 55 b–96 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 230–464]. This article has no title given it by Jón of Grunnavík. At the end of it he inserts a note (ff. 96 b–97), saying that it is followed in Codex

Wormianus by "Tractatus de Orthographia og de Figuris poëticis," but that he reserves these for the present, and proceeds with what he himself entitles "Kenningar" (answering to Rask's "Úkend heiti" and "Fornöfn"). These insertions (he says) are perhaps in the handwriting of Sveinn Jónsson, Priest at "Barð í Fljótum" in Skagafjarðar sýsla in North Iceland (1649–1687), but more probably (he adds in a note) in the handwriting of Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás. In the Arna-Magnæan edition of the *Snorra-Edda* (vol. i. p. 313, note 13, and p. 465, note 8) the insertions are positively ascribed to Sveinn Jónsson.

(2). Úkend heiti (Simple Appellatives). ff. 97–107 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 464–534].
The title given by Rask, in his ed. of *Snorra-Edda* (Stockholm, 1818), is "Ókend Heiti," pp. 175–198. This article and the next ("Fornöfn") are printed as one article, without any title, by Sveinbjörn Egilsson in his ed. (Reykjavík, 1848), pp. 95–108, and 108–120. In the AM. ed., and in Möbius, *Catalogus* (1856), p. 75, the title of this article is "Úkend heiti." In *Cleasby's Dictionary* (p. 336), under the verb "kenna," Vigfusson says that "kennd heiti (compound or circumlocutory names)" is a phrase opposed to "ókennd heiti (plain appellatives), Edda 49." The reference here given by Vigfusson is to Egilsson's ed.; but there is only an allusion to "kent heiti" on the page referred to (p. 49).

(3). Fornöfn (a word which literally means Pronouns, but which is here used in a wider sense, as Secondary Appellatives); the title given by Rask. ff. 107 b–121 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 534–593].

(4). Orms-Eddu-brot (Fragment belonging to the Codex Wormianus); a portion of another treatise on Appellatives, beg. "....nar hetu þeir menn." ff. 122–125 [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 495–500].

(5). Additional Kenningar and Heiti, from AM. MSS. 744 and 746, Quarto, followed by notes upon another copy in AM. 745. ff. 126–139, and 139–139 b [compare AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 428–494 and 511–572].

Jón of Grunnavík says here (f. 126): "Exemplar A [AM. 744, 4to] hefr þenna formála: Her byriaz Kenningar Skalldskapar, enn Exemplar C [AM. 746, 4to] þenna; sem þó er áðr getit. Upphefr skalldskapligar kenningar, epter þvi sem fyndizt hefir í kvæðum hofuð skállda, ok Snorri hefer síðan saman fært ok sett." [See AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 427–8; where the words, taken from the vellum AM. MS. 748, 4to (see the Preface of vol. ii. p. viii.), are a little different.]

(6). Extracts from the Laufás-Edda (AM. 743, Oblong Quarto), with a few notes. ff. 139 b–151 b.

iii. Five Treatises on Grammar and Figures of Speech, with a Preface, and a supplementary passage from another Treatise.

(1). Preface to the Treatises, perhaps by the scribe of Codex Wormianus. ff. 156–156 b [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 2–8].

The Treatises which follow (here described as 5 in number) are reckoned as only 4 in the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. ii. pp. 10–248.

(2). Um Stafrofit (On the Alphabet), pronounced by Vigfusson to be the work of "Þóroddr rúnameistari" (Thóroddr the Grammarian), who is further conjectured by Vigfusson to be the Thóroddr, who was the builder of the wooden cathedral church at Hólar about 1115. ff. 156 b–162 b [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 10–42].

This is Treatise i. of the Arna-Magnæan edition. For some accounts of Thóroddr, see the AM. ed. of *Snorra-Edda*, vol. ii. (1852), p. 6, note 1; and Vigfusson's ed. of *Sturlunga Saga* (1878), vol. i. pp. xxxviii.–xl.

(3). Um Stafrofit, a second Treatise on the Alphabet; by an anonymous author, later than Thóroddr, but still of the 12th century. ff. 162 b–165 [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 44–60].

This is Treatise ii. of the Arna-Magnæan edition.

(4). Málfræðinnar Grundvöllr (Foundations of Grammar), by Ólafr Hvítaskáld. ff. 165–170 b [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 62–92, this and the following article being reckoned as 2 parts, *a* and *b*, of one Treatise, No. iii.].

(5). Málakruðsfræði (Instruction in Ornaments of Speech), also by Ólafr Hvítaskáld. ff. 171–186 [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 92–188].

(6). Continuation of the preceding article, perhaps composed by the scribe of Codex Wormianus. ff. 186–197 b [AM. ed., vol. ii. pp. 190–248, Treatise iv.].

(7). Imperfect passage, which appears to be connected with the Treatises of Ólafr Hvítaskald, beginning "....garð ær þat kallað" and ending "byrręfrs skǫput æfi." ff. 197 b.

Printed in the AM. ed., vol. ii., p. 397, from the vellum AM. MS. 748, 4to. See also the critical remarks in vol. ii. p. vi.; and Vigfusson's *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, p. xliii.

iv. Háttatal Snorra Sturlusonar (the Metre-Record of Snorri Sturluson). ff. 200–219 b [AM. ed., vol. i. pp. 594–716].

v. Rígsmál (narrative poem on the god Rígr, the mythical ancestor of all kings); said by the later critics to be more correctly called Rígsþula (þula being the name of a poem that runs on without any strophes). ff. 221–223 b.

This fragmentary poem is not found in any MS. except on a leaf in the Codex Wormianus. It is printed in various editions of Sæmundar-Edda (see the remarks of Sophus Bugge, in the Introduction to his edition, pp. xxiv.–xxv.), but it is not included in the Arna-Magnæan or any other edition of Snorra-Edda.

The Prose Edda (or Snorra-Edda) was first printed in 1665. It was edited by the Danish Professor of Law, Resenius (Peder Johan Resen, b. 1625, d. 1688), under the following title:—*Edda. Islandorum an. Chr. M.CC.XV islandice. conscripta per Snorronem. Sturlæ Islandiæ. nomophylacem nunc. primum islandice. danice. et. latine ex. antiqvis. codicibus. M.SS Bibliothecæ. Regis. et. aliorum in. lucem prodit opera. et. studio Petri. Johannis. Resenii. I. V. D. Juris. ac. Ethices. Professoris. Publ et Consulis. Havniensis Friderici III. regum. principum. sapientum summi. optimi. maximi glorioso. nomini. memoriæ. immortali D. D. D. Havniæ Typis. Henrici. Gödiani. reg. et. acad typogr. M.DC.LX.V.* This title-page is followed by a leaf of Dedication to Frederic III. The volume consists of 189 leaves, not paged, but denoted by the signatures. The introductory portion contains an Essay addressed

to the King, Preface to the Reader, Addenda, and congratulatory verses in Danish and Latin from the Danish antiquary Thomas Bartholin (52 leaves, sig. a–n 4). The body of the book contains:—Prologues, Icel., Dan. and Lat., in 3 chapters (11 leaves, sig. A–C 3); Gylfaginning, etc., in 78 divisions, each headed (according to the languages) "Dæmesaga," "Fabel," and "Mythologia" (90 leaves, sig. C 3 b–Bb 4); "Wm Kenningar" (derived from Skáldskaparmál), arranged alphabetically, preceded by Appellations of the Gods (36 leaves, sig. cc–Ll 4). In spite of the assertions made in the Title, Resenius himself states in his Prefase (sig. l 4) that he has edited the work from a copy in the handwriting of the Danish historiographer Stephan Hansen Stephanius (d. 1650), and that he has only used the Codex Wormianus (W.) and Codex Regius (r.) for purposes of collation. The arrangement is that made by Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás, and the Latin version is nearly all of it his work. The Danish version is anonymous; but it seems not improbable that it was made by Thorlákr Skulason (Bp. of Hólar, 1627); for in his letter to Ole Worm of 30th Aug. 1626 (quoted above, in the account of Cod. Worm.), he promises to attempt Danish translations of certain parts of the "Librum *Skalldam*," belonging to Arngrímr Jónsson, and it was he who induced Magnús Ólafsson to make the Latin version.

The edition of Resenius, with all its imperfections, supplied until recent times nearly all that was known of the Edda in England. This knowledge was conveyed through the medium of Paul Henri Mallet, of Geneva (d. 1807), at the time when he was French master to the Crown Prince of Denmark. He published his *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc* at Copenhagen in 1755; and the next year a supplementary volume, entitled *Monumens de la Mythologie et de la Poësie des Celtes et particulièrement des anciens Scandinaves* (Copenh., 1756). In the latter volume he inserted the greater part of Gylfaginning, derived from Resenius, with some corrections from the other edition by Göransson (Upsala, 1746). Mallet's volumes were both translated by Thomas Percy, Bp. of Dromore, under the title of *Northern Antiquities*, 2 vols., London, 1770; and Bp. Percy has added the Latin version of Göransson at the end of his 2nd vol.

The second edition of the Edda (or rather of Gylfaginning alone) was taken from the Upsala MS. (U.) by Johan Göransson, and appeared in Icelandic, Swedish, and Latin, under the title of

De yfverborna Atlingars eller Sviogötars ok Nordmänners Edda... Hyperboreorum Atlantiorum, seu, Suiogotorum et Nordmannorum Edda (Upsala, 1746).

The first full edition of Snorra-Edda, including Skáldskaparmál (or Skálda) as it appears in the vellum MSS., was that of Rasmus Kristian Rask, entitled *Snorra-edda ásamt Skáldu og þarmeð fylgjandi ritgjörðum* (Stockholm, 1818). Again, it was edited by Sveinbjörn Egilsson (author of the *Lexicon Poeticum*, published by the Society of Northern Antiquaries in 1854, two years after the author's death) under the title of *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, eða Gylfaginning, Skáldskaparmál og Háttatal* (Reykjavík, 1848), with a supplement the next year, *Ritgjörðir*, etc. (1849). At the same time the Arna-Magnæan Commission began to publish the great edition, accompanied with a Latin translation, entitled *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar Edda Snorronis Sturlæi*, vol. i. (Copenhagen, 1848), vol. ii. (1852), vol. iii. Part 1. (1880). Again, it was edited by Thorleifr Jónsson, as *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (Copenhagen, 1875).

The narrative portions have been published by Friedrich Pfeiffer, in his *Altnordisches Lesebuch* (Leipzig, 1860); and again by Ernst Wilken, *Die Prosaische Edda im Auszuge* (Paderborn, 1878). Another separate publication of importance is that of *Háttatal* by Theodor Möbius, Part i. ("Gedicht"), and Part ii. ("Gedicht und Commentar") (Halle a. S., 1879, 1881).

An English translation of the narratives by Sir George Webbe Dasent (then G. W. D., "B.A. Oxon") was published at Stockholm in 1842. Another translation, by J. A. Blackwell, was published in the edition of Bp. Percy's *Northern Antiquities* (from Mallet) in Bohn's Antiquarian Library (London, 1847). A third translation, by Rasmus B. Anderson, is entitled *The Younger Edda* (Chicago, 1880).

Of Essays upon the subject, the first of real importance is that by Peter Erasmus Müller (Bp. of Seeland 1830, died 1834), *Om Authentien af Snorre's Edda* (in *Det skandinaviske Literatur-selskabs Skrifter*, 1812), previously published as *Ueber die Aechtheit der Asalehre* (a German translation made by Levin Christian Sander), at Copenh., 1811. The latest Essays are those in Vigfusson and Powell's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (2 vols., Oxford, 1883). For further references, see the *Catalogus* of Theodor Möbius (Leipzig, 1856), and its supplement, entitled *Verzeichniss*, etc. (Leipzig, 1880).

Additional 11,166.

Paper; xviiith cent. Folio; ff. 203.

EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. A copy of the Codex Regius (r.), numbered 2367, Quarto, of the Prose (or Younger) Edda, the work of Snorri Sturluson. *Icelandic.*

This copy is said by Finn Magnusen in his Catalogue (Add. 11,251, f. 27 b) to be in the autograph of Eggert Ólafsson, the poet and antiquary. Eggert was born in the group of islands called Svefneyjar, in Breiðifjörðr, West Iceland, on 1st Dec. 1726, and was drowned in Breiðifjörðr, near the promontory of Skor in Barðarstrandar sýsla, on 30th May, 1768. His best-known work, a scientific description of Iceland, founded upon travels made in 1752–1757, was published after his death in Danish, *Reise igjennem Island* (Sorøe, 1772); and it has since appeared in German, French, and English. For accounts of Ólafr Gunnlaugsson, of his son Eggert Ólafsson, of his son-in-law Björn Haldorsson, and other Icelanders of the 18th century, see a paper by Finn Magnusen in the Danish periodical *Minerva* for 1803, vol. ii. (for April, May, and June), pp. 294–334. *Minerva* was at that time edited by Knud Lyne Rahbek.

This copy is headed:—"[desunt ab initio Codicis aliquot Folia]." The parts are as follows:—1. Prologue. Imperfect, beginning—"er ver kollum Skjold" (see the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. i. p. 24, note 8, "sic incipit codex regius"). f. 1;—2. Gylfaginníng. f. 1 b;—3. Bragaræður, with a passage of Skáldskaparmál at the end (see AM. ed., vol. i. p. 230). f. 54 b;—4. Epilogue. f. 59;—5. Skáldskaparmál. f. 59 b;—6. Háttatal. ff. 169–203.

At the end of Háttatal in the AM. ed., vol. i. p. 716, is the note, "Hoc loco Reg. add. stropham: Farar snarar fylkir byrjar, etc., quam supra p. 650 attulimus." The present copy ends with this strophe. The note in the AM. ed. goes on to mention two other poems added in the Codex Regius, which are not included here.

Additional 11,167.

Paper; xviiith cent. Folio; ff. 89.

EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. A compilation of Codex Regius and Codex Wormianus of the Prose (or Younger) Edda. *Icelandic.*

Additional 11,168.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 152.

EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. A copy of the Prose (or Younger) Edda, apparently the same as that described in the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. i. (1848), p. vii., as "Codex Hypnonesiensis primus (H.)." Followed by an Essay by Eggert Ólafsson, on the principal MSS. of the Edda, and on the formation of the present text (f. 137); and by 20 short poems called "Eddu-vísur" by Eggert's father, Ólafr Gunnlaugsson (ff. 145–152 b). *Icelandic.*

At f. 13 is the following note:—"Anno Christianorum 1737 Olafus Gunnlogi filius hoc Exemplum Eddæ scribi curavit pro filio suo puero Eggerto per Petrum Svefneyensem. Eggertus vero titulum et præfamen, cujus Auctor esse videtur Gudmundus Andreæ filius, exscripsit Scalholti primis Scholæ annis circa 1742 et ante hoc tempus diuque postea hoc Codicillo usus est ad varia, pleraque tamen puerilia, qvæ componebat Carmina. Deindè cum adolesceret et ei aliorum exemplarium fieret Copia, qvoniam deprehendebat propter imperitiam lib[r]arii multa irrepsisse menda præsens suum exemplar, datis occasionibus hic et illic correxit. Jam vero demum Anno 1764 integrum hunc codicem perlegit, correxit et collatum cum codice Vormiano (ut vulgo vocatur) Edda (qvam Olafo Hvitascalldo attribuit) variis auxit lectionibus dein Orthographia meliori restituta, exscribi curavit Saudlaucsdaliæ, per Stud: Joh: Joh: fil: Istud vero exemplar probè conferri fecit denuo, tum cum Autographo et dicto codice

Vorm: tum duobus aliis exemplaribus sc: editione Reseniana et Edda qvadam chartacea lacera vetusta, variis multisque lectionibus additis. Demum hunc codicem (qvem Hypnon[esi]ensem et in notis N: i.e. nostrum vel Nostratem appello): tradit Dilectissimo Sororio suo Domino Biorno Halthorio, qvi simul ac dicti codices conferebantur, hunc illorum lectionibus ornavit, iis puta, qvæ in Apographo Saudlaucdalensi inveniuntur, ubi et in frontispicio et ad calcem, plura de hoc et reliqvis Eddæ codicibus legi possent." Finn Magnusen says in his Catalogue (Add. 11,251, ff. 27–8), that the original "Codex Hypnonesiensis" was perhaps lost with Eggert Ólafsson, when he was drowned in 1768. Björn Haldorsson, to whom the present copy was presented by his brother-in-law, Eggert Ólafsson, died in 1794, his well-known work, *Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum*, being then still in MS. (published at Copenhagen, 1814). Finn Magnusen sold this copy to the British Museum in July, 1837; but he seems to have previously made a note of the various readings, which he supplied to the Arna-Magnæan Commission.

Additional 11,169.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 166.

Edda Snorra Sturlusonar. Transcript of Gylfaginning and Kenningar, from the printed edition of Resenius, copied by Jacob Sigurðsson, at Northern Skálanes in Vopnafjörðr, in November, 1771. Preceded by three Prefaces; and followed by a portion of Skáldskaparmál, copied from the Arna-Magnæan MS. 166, 8vo, by H. E. Wium. *Icelandic.*

The first two Prefaces are the same as those in Add. 11,168, where the first is attributed to Guðmundr Andrèsson; the third Preface is by Arngrímr Jónsson.

Additional 11,170.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 94.

EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. Tracts on Grammar and Prosody, entitled "Skálda, i.e. Ars Poetica, sive Eddæ, vulgo dictæ Snorrianæ, Pars ii^da, quæ in editione Reseniana deest"; copied from the latter portion of Codex Wormianus. *Icelandic.*

These tracts are those published in the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. ii. (1852), pp. 2–248; followed (f. 49 b) by *Ůkend heiti*, see AM. ed., vol. i. (1848), pp. 464–716. The MS. concludes with Rígsþula (f. 89); and with a few detached poetic designations (ff. 92 b–94 b).

Additional 11,171.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 80.

EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. Transcript of the second Part of the edition of Resenius, which is headed "Um Kenningar," annotated by Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík and others. Preceded by an abridgment of the grammatical and prosodiacal Tracts of Ólafr Thórðarson, called Hvítaskáld (nephew of Snorri Sturluson), which are printed in the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. ii. (1852), pp. 62–249.

Additional 11,172.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 47.

HÁTTATAL SNORRA STURLUSONAR. Three poems by Snorri Sturluson, in honour of King Hákon and Earl Skúli, written in many various metres, indicated on the margins by metrical tables. *Icelandic.* Followed by a *Latin* translation, dated Copenhagen, 1734.

The *Háttatal* (List of Metres) is here called "Haatta Lykell" (Key of Metres), which is the name usually given to two other mediæval poems by different authors. The Latin Translation is preceded by a title-page (f. 32), as follows:—"Snorronis Sturlæi Historici et Poetæ celeberrimi Poemata tria, vulgo Snorronis Clavis Metrica, Qvibus exhibentur Figuræ poeticæ et Metrorum Genera antiqvissima, qvibus Septentrio hic noster qvondam usus est, Strophis Centum comprehensa . ab Auctore ante Qvingentos annos elaborata: Iam vero demum ad fidem membranacei Codicis Bibliothecæ Magnæanæ exscripta, ac deinde versione latina ac notis qvalibus cunque donata. Hafniæ, A°. Chr., 1734."

This work is included (together with a prose commentary) in the three principal MSS. of the Prose Edda. It has been printed in the editions of Rask and Egilsson, and also in the Arna-Magnæan edition, vol. i. (1848), pp. 594–716. It has been published separately by Theodor Möbius, in two Parts (Halle a. S., 1879, 1881).

Additional 4866.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Oblong Folio; ff. 107.

EDDA SÆMUNDAR HINS FROÐA, and EDDA SNORRA STURLUSONAR. Extracts from the two works, which are often respectively known as the Elder (or Poetical) Edda, and the Younger (or Prose) Edda; together with commentaries, chiefly by Einar Eyjólfsson. *Icelandic.*

1. ESSAY on the account, given in the Preface (Formáli) of the Prose Edda, of the descendants of Skjöldr (son of Odin), the first king of Denmark (according to the myths of the royal line called Skjöldúngar), with remarks on the application of "Skjöldúngr" as a general name for king, and on the character of the strophes called "Skjöldúnga visur," by Björn Jónsson, of Skarðsá, the Annalist (b. 1574, d. 1655). f. 4.

The Prose Edda is here called the Edda of Sæmundr the Wise; and to this an allusion is made by Árni Magnússon in his Life of Sæmundr (prefixed to the Arna-Magnæan edition of the Poetical Edda) in the following words:—"Eddam illam Prosaicam, quæ

vulgo Snorra-Edda, Sæmundo fróda tribuit Biorno de Skardzá in Commentario suo in Ænigmata Gesti Cæci in Heidriks-Saga, 1641 scripto, item eodem modo in Commentario in Skiölldunga-visir (carmina de Skiöldungis)." See *Edda Sæmundar, Pars i.* (Copenhagen, 1787), p. xv. For the "Ænigmata" here mentioned see below, Art. 3.

2. COMMENTARY on 171 of the strophes in Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar (the saga which was enlarged from the Latin work of Gunnlaugr the monk); probably by Einar Eyjólfsson. f. 7 b.

3. GETSPEKI HEIÐREKSKONUNGS. Riddles of Gestr the Blind and Answers of King Heiðrekr, in 66 strophes, with a short prose Introduction; from Hervarar saga. f. 53 b.

4. VAFÞRUÐNISMAL. Dialogue, on questions of mythical lore, between Odin and the Giant Vafþrúðnir, from the Poetical Edda; with a running gloss. f. 58.

5. "METAPHRASIS." A commentary on Vafþrúðnismál. f. 63 b.

Another copy of Vafþrúðnismál, with the same gloss and followed by the same commentary, occurs in Add. 11,173, f. 61; and in the Catalogue written by Finn Magnusen (Add. 11,251) the gloss and commentary are attributed to Einar Eyjólfsson.

6. VEGTAMSKVIÐA, or BALDRS DRAUMAR: from the Poetical Edda. With a running gloss. f. 69.

This Lay is the original of Gray's *Descent of Odin.*

7. "COMPENDIUM COMMENTARIORUM." A commentary on Vegtamskviða. f. 71.

8. EYJA HEITI. A list of Norwegian and other islands, followed by figurative names given to the sea as encircling these islands, with 4 strophes by the Skáld, Einarr Skúlason (12th cent.); the whole being an extract from the second Part of the Prose Edda, called Skáldskaparmál. f. 72 b.

This appears also as a separate passage in the Laufás Edda (Arna-Magnæan MS. 743, 4to). See P. A. Munch's note in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* (Copenhagen, 1846), p. 366. It had been previously printed by Resenius, in *Kenningar*, under "Eyar heite."

9. "ANNAR PARTR EDDU UM KENNINGAR." Second Part of the Prose Edda, as arranged by Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás and edited by P. J. Resenius, containing the poetical appellations of

the Gods, followed by others of every kind in alphabetical order, only omitting Eyja heiti (see preceding Article). f. 73 b.

10. LJÚFLINGS LJÓÐ. Lullaby sung by an Elf, "ljuflingr" (darling) being an ordinary euphemism for an elf. Followed by a few rhymes on the names given in Völuspá to the ages that will precede the end of the world. f. 106 b.

Ljúflings ljóð has been printed, but from a different version, under the name of Ljúflings mál, in the Collection of Legends by M. Grímsson and Jón Árnason, *Íslensk Æfintýri* (Reykjavík, 1852), p. 103.

Additional 4857. ff. 2, 57, 61, 74 b.

Paper; 1669–1670. Folio.
For a general account of this MS., see vol. i. pp. 393, 841.

FOUR ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. GÖNGU-HRÓLFS SAGA: in 26 chapters. Story of Hrólfr, a Norwegian, son of Sturlaugr Starfsami, called Göngu-Hrólfr* because he was too heavy for a horse to carry him a day's journey; how he became the champion (and eventually the husband) of the Russian princess Ingigerðr, and received from her the horse Dulcifal; and how the dwarf Möndull helped him to kill her enemies, one of whom was a half-fiend named Grímr Ægir (after Ægir the old oceanic Titan). Copied 16 April, 1669. ff. 2–27 b.

Other copies of this saga are in Add. 4859 (f. 96 b); 4863 (f. 337); 11,117; 11,159 (f. 2); 11,162 (f. 51); and 11,163 (f. 76 b). Published by Carl Christian Rafn, in his collection entitled *Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda*, vol. iii. (1830), p. 235. A Swedish version, with notes, had previously been published by Johan Gustaf Liljegren, in his *Skandinaviska Fornälderns Hjeltesagor*, vol. i. (Stockholm, 1818).

2. GJAFA-REFS SAGA. An episode from Gautreks saga konungs (ch. 9–11), relating how Refr (or Fox), the son of a Norwegian yeoman, exchanged gifts with King Gautrek. f. 57.

Published, in *Gautreks saga*, by Olaus Verelius (Upsala,

* *Ganga* (gen. *göngu*) means a walking: hence *göngu-maðr*, a tramp.

1664); and again by C. C. Rafn, in *Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda*, vol. iii. (1830), p. 3.

3. SÖRLA SAGA STERKA. Story of Sörli the Strong, a fabulous adventurer in Africa: in 19 chapters. f. 61.

Two copies of this saga are in Add. 11,108 (ff. 116,139). Published, in 26 chapters, as No. 10 of *Nordiska Kämpadater*, edited by E. J. Björner with Swedish and Latin translations (Stockholm, 1737); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. pp. 408–452.

4. HÁLFS SAGA. Mythical Story of Hálfr, a district king in Norway; and of the self-devotion of his warriors, who saved Hálfr by leaping overboard during a storm. The chapters are not numbered. f. 74 b.

Another copy of this saga is in Add. 11,108 (f. 224). Published as No. 7 of Björner's *Nordiska Kämpadater* (1737); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. (1829), pp. 23–60.

Additional 4859. ff. 2, 6b, 91b, 96b, 119, 129, 146.

Paper; 1693–1697. Folio.

In a collection of Sagas made for Magnús Jónsson of Vigur: see vol. i. pp. 196, 395, 843.

SEVEN ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GREIPSSONAR: in 5 chapters (containing, however, as much as the printed saga in 10 chapters). Story of a Viking attached to a King Olaf, and his exploits against the fiery Vampire of a King Thrain in Valland (*i.e.* France), and against the hero Helgi and the Valkyria Kara in Sweden. f. 2.

Other copies are in Add. 4875 (f. 16); 11,108 (f. 105); and 11,109 (f. 106 b). Published as No. 8 of Björner's *Kämpadater*, and in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 365. The second part of this saga is founded upon the lost Kara-lay: see the concluding words of *Helgakviða Hundingsbana ii.* in the poetical Edda, and the remarks of Vigfusson, *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, pp. lxxvii.–lxxix., 148–150, 494. The first part has been used by Tegnér in his poem, *Frithiofs Saga.*

2. BRAGÐA-ÖLVIS SAGA (story of Ölver of the Wiles): in 5 chapters. Story of a Norwegian, who was commissioned by the Danish king, Sweyn Estrithson, to kill Haki, an outlaw in Russia; and of the wonders wrought by Ölver's magic sword and belt. f. 6 b.

Another copy is in Add. 4875 (f. 22).

3. ILLUGA SAGA GRÍÐARFÓSTRA: in 4 chapters. Adventures of Illugi in Finmark, where he marries the daughter of a hag named Gryðr, who is herself an enchanted princess. f. 91 b.

Other copies are in Add. 11,109 (f. 136); 11,159 (f. 77 b); and 24,969 (f. 91). Published, with a Swedish translation, by Gudmund Olofsson (Upsala, 1695); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 648.

4. GÖNGU-HRÓLFS SAGA: in 26 chapters. f. 96 b.

See description of Add. 4857, art. 1.

5. ÁRMANNS SAGA OK ÞORSTEINS GÁLA: in 11 chapters. Story how Thorstein the Wag recovers his father's sheep from three weird women by the help of Ármann, a hero who is half human and half a mountain spirit; followed by other adventures with a Queen of Bjarmaland (*i.e.* Northern Russia, from the east of the White Sea to the province of Perm). f. 119.

This story was told in verse in 1637, under the name of Ármannsrímur, by Jón Guðmundarson, commonly known as Jón Lærði (John the Learned, b. 1574, d. 1650). It was turned into prose (forming the present version) by Jón Þorlákson, who was Sýslunaðr (Prefect) in Múlaþing about 1670, and died 1712. The *Armannssaga* published at Hrappsey in 1781 was a different composition, made by Halldórr Jakobsson. See the article by Vigfusson, in *Ný Felagsrit*, 9th year (Copenhagen, 1859), pp. 131–136.

6. BÖÐVARS SAGA BJARKA: in 16 chapters. Story of Böðvar Bjarki, one of the champions of the Danish hero-king, Hrólfr Kraki (Rolf Krake). f. 129.

This is an abridgment of the 15th cent. Saga, of which an epitome is given by Björner at the end of Rolf Krake's saga (No. 5 of the *Kämpadater*).

7. HERVARAR SAGA OK HEIÐREKS KONUNGS: in 19 chapters. Story of Hervör, who evokes the spirit of her father, Angantyr, from his barrow, in order to obtain the fatal sword Tyrfing; and of her son Heiðrekr, and his wit-combat with Gestr the Blind.

At the end the scribe, Jón Þórðarson, apologises for being unable to correct the text sufficiently. f. 146.

Two other copies of this saga are in Add. 11,108 (ff. 2, 19). Published, with a Swedish translation and Latin notes, by Olaus Verelius (Upsala, 1672); again, with Latin translation, etc., by Stephen Björnssen (Copenhagen, 1785); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. p. 411, founded by Rafn upon an Arna-Magnæan MS. (on paper, 345, 4to), which is evidently from the same sources as the present copy, and which was also (like the present copy) written in 1694. The incantations of Hervör (Hervararkviða) have been frequently reprinted *; and so have the riddles of Gestr, with the answers of Heiðrekr (Getspeki Heiðreks konungs), though generally not entire.

Additional 4860. ff. 55, 117, 209, 261.

Paper; xviiith cent. Folio.
In a collection of romantic Sagas: see vol. i. pp. 686, 846.

Four Romantic Tales. *Icelandic.*

1. Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra: in 20 chapters. Story of Hálfdan, son of King Hringr of Denmark, how he redeems a princess who had become a semi-Trold named Brana, and how she guards him like a Valkyria. f. 55.

Another copy of this saga is in Add. 11,162 (f. 145). Published as No. 9 of Björner's *Kämpadater*; and in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 559. The text agrees best with Codex D. of *Fornaldar Sögur*.

2. Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar: in 44 chapters. f. 117.

Another copy is in Add. 11,162 (f. 75). Published, with a Swedish translation, by Verelius, as the second portion of *Gothrici*

* Vigfusson is inclined to attribute the Hervararkviða (and also the strophes describing the death of Hjálmar, who had just killed Angantýr in single combat) to the poet of "the Helgi Lays" (Prolegomena, *Sturlunga Saga*, Oxford, 1878, vol. i. p. clxxxix.).

et Rolfi Westrogothiæ regum historia, the first eleven chapters of which are occupied by Gjafa-Refs saga (see Add. 4857, f. 57), called there Gautreks saga. The two sagas have been reprinted separately in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. pp. 3, 57.

3. HRÓLFS SAGA KRAKA OK KAPPA HANS: in 42 chapters. Story of Hrólfr, the hero-king of Denmark, called Kraki (name of a pole used as a rude staircase), because of his being long and thin; of his great state at Hleiðargarðr (or Leiðra, now Leire, in Seeland); and of the fall of himself and all his champions. f. 209.

Another copy is in Add. 11,162 (f. 115). Published as No. 5 of Björner's *Kämpadater*; and in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. p. 3. The present text nearly agrees with that of Codex A. of *Fornaldar Sögur*, which was written for Brynjólfr Sveinsson, Bp. of Skálholt (1639–1672). The story of Rolf has also been treated by Saxo Grammaticus, and in modern days by Torfæus (Þormóðr Torfason) under the title of *Historia Hrolfi Krakii* (Copenhagen, 1715). A copy of the Latin version by Torfæus is in Add. 11,115 (f. 2 b).

4. FRIÐÞJÓFS SAGA FRÆKNA: in 10 chapters. The source of the poem, *Frithiofs Saga*, by Bp. Esaias Tegnér. f. 261.

Other copies are in Add. 11,108 (f. 191) and 24,972 (f. 73). Published as No. 6 of Björner's *Kämpadater*; and in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 61, and again p. 488, the latter version being almost the same as the present one. This Romance has been translated into English by George Stephens, in the Introduction to his translation of Tegnér's poem (Stockholm, 1839).

Additional 4862. f. 151.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Folio.

In a collection of seven Sagas, of which the present (No. 5) is purely fictitious, but the others relate to Icelanders of the 10th and 11th centuries.

GUNNARS SAGA KELDUGNÚPS-FÍFILS: in 10 chapters. Story of Gunnar, the Fool of Keldugnúpr (a promontory in South Iceland); how he killed a thrall, and subsequently the two sons of Þorgrímr Goði (Thorgrim the Priest or Chieftain); how he betrothed himself to Helga, the daughter of Þorgrímr; how he voyaged to

Norway, and killed one of the gladiators of Hákon Jarl; and how he returned to Iceland and married Helga. *Icelandic.*

The present article is preceded by the saga of Finnbogi Rammi (the Stalwart), in which the hero fights one of Hákon Jarl's gladiators. The gladiator is called a "blámaðr" (blue man, the old Northern name for a black); he is supposed, however, to have been one of a set of half-savages sent to Hákon by the King of Hólmgarðr (Russia on the shores of Lake Ladoga, etc.).

Other copies of the present saga are in Add. 4868 (f. 117 b) and 11,123 (f. 166). Published by the bookseller Pál Sveinsson, in a volume containing *Króka-Refs saga, Gunnars saga Keldugnúpfifls, ok Ölkofra þáttr* (Copenhagen, 1866).

Additional 4863. ff. 1, 7, 337, 401.

Paper; xviiith cent. Folio.
In a collection of romantic Sagas: see vol. i. pp. 407, 847.

FOUR ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. EIRÍKS SAGA VIÐFORLA. Story of Eric the Widefarer, son of the first king of Trondhjem; who journeyed to Constantinople and India, in search of Ódáinsakr (Field of Immortality), and reached it by plunging down the throat of a dragon. f. 1.

Another copy of this saga is in Add. 11,181 (f. 26 b). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. (Copenh., 1830), p. 661; and again in *Flateyjarbók*, edited by G. Vigfusson and C. R. Unger, Part i. (Christiania, 1859), p. 29. The present text closely resembles that of *Flateyjarbók*. Ódáinsakr (or Údáinsakr) is mentioned at the beginning of Hervarar saga.

2. HÁLFDANAR SAGA EYSTEINSSONAR: in 16 chapters. Story how King Eysteinn of Trondhjem killed the King of Aldeigjuborg (Ladoga) in Russia; and how Hálfdan, son of Eysteinn, won the princess of Aldeigjuborg. f. 7.

Other copies are in Add. 11,157 (f. 74) and 24,969 (f. 119). Published as No. 11 of Björner's *Kämpadater;* and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 519.

3. GÖNGU-HROLFS SAGA: in 27 chapters. f. 337.

See the notice of another copy in Add. 4857, art. 1. lished in *Fornaldar Sögur*. vol. iii. p. 235.

4. HARALDS SAGA HRÍNGSBANA: in 14 chapters. St Haraldr, son of King Hríngr of Denmark; how he sle father in self-defence, and thus got the name of Hríng f. 401.

In his Prolegomena to the *Sturlunga Saga* (Oxford, Vigfusson says (p. lxiv.):—"To Gisli Konradsson (born 178 1876) we may ascribe the Saga of Harald Hrings-bani." this is impossible, as far as the present version is concerne this volume is entered in the Register as presented by Sir J Banks on the 9th Jan. 1778, and it is described in the *Catalogue* (1782), vol. ii. p. 892. Another copy of this sag Add. 24,971.

Additional 4867. f. 256.

Paper; XVIIth cent. Folio.

The whole volume contains eleven articles, the first ten of whi historical Sagas relating to Families and Heroes of Iceland, includi lives of Jón and Laurentius, bishops of Hólar. The eleventh is the article.

GORMS SAGA GAMLA: in 7 chapters. Story of Gormr (Gorm the Old), king of Denmark; how he entertained a lander, named Þorkell Snarsson, and further designated Att (styled "Torchillus Athelfarerus" in the Chronologia of Co Hamsfort; see Langebek's *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, p. 267); how he heard from Þorkell the tales about the dec Spirit, Útgarða-Loki; how they made an expedition toget search of him; how Þorkell was compelled to undertake a expedition alone; how he returned with a hair from the be Loki; and how King Gormr died of mortification. *Iceland*

This is an Icelandic version of the history of "Gormo father of "Gotricus," related at the end of Book viii. *Historia Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus: see the edition of Müller, vol. i. (Copenhagen, 1839), p. 420. According "Notæ Uberiores" of the same edition, vol. ii. p. 248,

adventures were probably connected by tradition with the name of the historical Gorm the Old (king of Denmark at the beginning of the 10th cent.), but ascribed to the mythical Gorm by Saxo. The story is founded upon the journey of Thor to Útgarðar, related in chapters 44–47 of the first Part of the Prose Edda: see the Arna-Magnæan edition of *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, vol. i. (Copenhagen, 1848), pp. 140–166.

N. F. S. Grundtvig, in his *Danmarks Krønike af Saxe Runemester*, 2nd edition (Copenhagen, 1855), p. 812 (in his "Register," under the head of "Lukas"), reckons this as one of the three principal legends transmitted to Saxo from England (the other two being Hadding and Hamlet) through the narrations of Lucas the Englishman, who was Clerk to Christopher, son of Valdemar the Great. Grundtvig perhaps thought that the mythical "Gormo" was derived from King Guthrum of East Anglia.

Additional 4868. ff. 2, 9 b, 34, 48, 104 b, 117 b, 125 b.

Paper; 1667. Folio.

In a collection of seventeen historical and romantic Sagas relating to Icelandic heroes; written by Magnús Þórulfsson for Magnús Jónsson of Ögr on Ísafjörðr (in the north-western peninsula of Iceland), afterwards known as Magnús Jónsson of Vígr, an island in the same fjord.

Seven Romantic Tales. *Icelandic.*

1. Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss: in 12 chapters. Story of Bárðr, son of King Dumbr of Risaland; how he was fostered by Dofri, the mountain Spirit of Dofrafjöll (now Dovrefjeld) in Norway; how he married the daughter of Dofri; how he migrated to West Iceland; how he shunned the fellowship of mankind, and lived in caves among the glaciers of Snæfell; and how he was evoked from time to time as Bárðr Snæfellsáss (*i.e.* Guardian Spirit of the mountain Snæfell). f. 2.

Other copies are in Add. 11,111 (f. 8), and 24,969 (f. 102 b). Published by Björn Marcússon, in his *Nockrer Marg-Frooder Sögu-þætter Islendinga* (Hólar, 1756, 4to), p. 163; and again by Det Nordiske Literatur-Samfund, in the series called *Nordiske Oldskrifter*, No. 27, edited by Gudbrand Vigfusson (Copenhagen, 1860), p. 1. The present text agrees with that of Marcússon.

2. GESTS SAGA BÁRÐARSONAR: in 12 chapters. Story of Gestr, the son of Bárðr the Spirit of Snæfell by a daughter of Skeggi of Miðfjörðr (in North Iceland). f. 9 b.

Another copy is in Add. 11,111 (as part of Bárðar saga). Published by Björn Marcússon, in his *Nockrer .... Sögu-þætter* (1756, 4to), p. 172; and in *Nordiske Oldskrifter*, No. 27 (1860), as part of *Bárðar saga*, beginning at its 11th chapter. The present text agrees with that of Marcússon.

3. KJALNESINGA SAGA: in 18 chapters. Story of Búi, son of Andriðr of Kjalarnes (in South Iceland); how he went to Norway, and brought away the chess-table of the mountain Spirit Dofri, and left the daughter of Dofri with child by him; how, 12 years later, he refused to recognise her son Jökull as his own child, unless the youth could vanquish him; and how he was slain by his son. f. 34.

Other copies are in Add. 11,112 (two copies, ff. 58, 86 b); and a Latin version is in Add. 11,115 (f. 92). Published by Björn Marcússon, in his *Agiætar Fornmanna Sögur* (Hólar, 1756, 8vo), p. 1; and again, in *Íslendinga Sögur*, vol. ii. (Copenhagen, 1847), p. 395. The present text agrees with that of Marcússon.

4. JÖKULS ÞÁTTR BÚASONAR: in 5 chapters. Story of Jökull, the son of Búi. f. 48.

Other copies are in Add. 11,112 (two copies, ff. 76 b, 96 b) and 24,972 (f. 20). Published by Björn Marcússon, in his *Nockrer ... Sögu-þætter* (1756, 4to), p. 182; and again, in *Íslendinga Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 461. The present text agrees with that of Marcússon.

5. KRÓKA-REFS SAGA. Story of Refr of the Crooks (equivalent to Crafty Fox), a West-Icelander; how he baffled his enemies at home, in Greenland, in Norway (at the Court of Haraldr Harðráði), and in Denmark; and how he went to Rome, and was eventually buried in a French cloister. f. 104 b.

Another copy is in Add. 11,112 (f. 52). Published by Björn Marcússon, in his *Agiætar Fornmanna Sögur* (1756, 8vo), p. 35; again by the bookseller Pál Sveinsson, in a vol. containing *Krókarefssaga, Gunnarssaga Keldugnúpfífls, ok Ölkofra þáttr* (Copenhagen, 1866); and again in No. 10 of the "Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur," edited by Pálmi Pálsson, and entitled *Króka-Refs saga og Króka-Refs Rímur* (Copenhagen, 1883). The edition of 1866 was noticed by Konrad Maurer in

the 12th vol. of *Germania* (1866), pp. 482–86. The present text agrees with that of Marcússon.

6. GUNNARS SAGA KELDUGNÚPS-FÍFLS: in 14 chapters. Story of Gunnar, the Fool of Keldugnúpr, in South Iceland. f. 117 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4862 (f. 151). Published, together with *Króka-Refs saga*, in 1866: see above.

7. ÞORGRÍMS SAGA PRÚÐA OK VÍGLUNDAR VÆNA: in 26 chapters. Story of Þorgrímr prúði (the courtly), a West-Icelander, and his son Víglundr Væni (the Fair); and the loves of Víglundr and Ketilríðr. f. 125 b.

Other copies are in Add. 11,112 (f. 100) and 24,972 (f. 2). Published by Marcússon, in his *Nockrer . . Sögu þætter* (1756, 4to); and again in *Nordiske Oldskrifter*, No. 27 (Copenh. 1860), p. 47, edited by Gudbrand Vigfusson. Translated into Danish by W. H. F. Abrahamson, in the *Skandinavisk Museum*, the 2nd vol. for the year 1800 (vol. iv. of the whole series); into Norse by Matthias Skar (Christiania, 1874); and into English by William Morris, in *Three Northern Love Stories* (London, 1875).

Additional 4874. ff. 66 b, 85 b, 93 b.

Paper; 1773. Quarto.
In a collection of romantic Sagas: see vol. i. pp. 685, 852.

THREE ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. EGILS SAGA EINHENDA OK ÁSMUNDAR BERSERKJABANA FÓSTBRÆÐRA: in 14 chapters. Story of the foster-brothers, Egill the One-handed and Ásmundr the Berserkar-killer; and their wonderful adventures in Asiatic Russia and Jötunheim. f. 66 b.

Other copies are in Add. 4884 (f. 195) and 24,969 (f. 280). Published, with versions in Swedish and Latin, by Peter Salan, under the titles of *Fostebrödernas Eigles och Asmunds Saga* and *Fortissimorum Pugilum Egilli*, etc. (Upsala, 1693); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 365.

2. KETILS SAGA HÆNGS: in 6 chapters. Story of Ketill, a Norwegian; how, after killing a dragon, he said he had just

struck a "hængr" (male salmon) in two, and so obtained the name of Ketill Hængr; and how he won the elfin sword Dragvendill from the king of Finmark. f. 85 b.

Another copy is in Add. 11,108 (f. 209). Published (together with the next article), with a Latin version by Olof Rudbeck, under the title of *Ketilli Hængii et Grimonis Hirsutigenæ patris et filii Historia* (Upsala, 1697); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 109.

3. Grímss saga Loðinkinna: in 3 chapters. Story of Grímr Shaggy-cheek, a son of Ketill Hængr; how his bride vanished on his wedding night; and how, years afterwards, he was saved by a Hag, and awoke in the night, and found his bride sleeping at his side, with the hag-hide on the ground. f. 93 b.

Another copy is in Add. 11,108 (f. 214 b). Published (together with the preceding article) by Olof Rudbeck (Upsala, 1697); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 141.

Additional 4875. ff. 10 b, 15, 22, 29 b, 56.

Paper; 1763. Quarto.
In a collection of romantic Sagas: see vol. i. p. 854.

Four Romantic Tales. *Icelandic.*

1. Sigurðar saga Fótar ok Ásmundar Húna-konungs: in 9 chapters. Story of Sigurðr Fótr (named "Foot" from his agility), king of Valland, and Ásmundr, king of Húnaland; their rivalry for the love of Signý of Denmark; and their brotherhood in arms. Said to have been written on a stone wall in Cologne. Copied 24 August, 1763. Followed by verses. ff. 10 b, 15 b.

2. Hrómundar saga Greipssonar: in 7 chapters. Copied 23 August, 1763. Followed by verses. ff. 16, 21 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 2). Published as No. 8 of Björner's *Kämpadater* and in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 365.

3. Bragða-Ölvis saga: in 5 chapters. Copied 14 Sept. 1763. f. 22.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 6 b).

4. Sturi augs saga Starfsama Ingúlfssonar: in 17 chapters.

Story of Sturlaugr Starfsami (*i.e.* Laboriosus), son of Ingólfr, chief of Naumudalr (in Northern Norway); how he went through many labours for the love of Ása the fair, his last labour being the recovery of an úrarhorn (horn of an ur-ox), which had been lost by Haraldr Gullmuðr (Gold-mouth), king of Trondhjem. Copied 27 Oct. 1763. Followed by verses. ff. 29 b–43.

Another copy is in Add. 11,161 (f. 111). Published, with a Swedish version, by Gudmund Olofsson (Upsala, 1694); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 592. The return of Sturlaugr with the horn, related in Chap. 19 of the printed copies, is here told in Chap. 13; and Chapp. 14–17 briefly relate his final adventures. The present copy, in short, appears to agree with the text of AM. MS. 171, Folio, described by P. E. Müller in his *Sagabibliothek*, vol. ii. (Copenhagen, 1718), p. 645. Some of the MSS. mention that the 6th son of Sturlaugr was Hrólfr, thus connecting this saga with Göngu-Hrólfs saga.

5. Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar: in 25 chapters. Story of Víkingr and his son Thorsteinn; of the wonders of the sword Angrvaðill and the magic ship Elliði; and how Thorsteinn settled in the Norwegian district of Sogn, and became the father of the famous Friðþiófr frækni (Frithiof the bold). f. 56.

Another copy is in Add. 11,108 (f. 160). Published, with a Swedish version and long Latin notes, by Jacob I. Reenhjelm (Upsala, 1680); again by Olof Rudbeck (about 1697–9); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 381.

Additional 4884. ff. 65, 179, 195.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto.
Bound up with other Sagas: see vol. i. p. 854.

Three Romantic Tales. *Icelandic.*

1. Áns saga Bogsveigis: in 9 chapters. Story of Án the Bow-bender, of the island Hrafnista (off the district of Naumudalr in Norway); how he got a bow and three enchanted arrows from a dwarf, and avenged himself for having been outlawed, and how his great-grandson Ingimundr settled at Vatnsdalr in North Iceland. Followed by two rhyming strophes, upon Án himself and upon his son Þórir háleggr (high-leg). ff. 65–81 b.

Published as No. 15 of Björner's *Kämpadater*, and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 325. With the latter edition the present text agrees. See also the article on "Die Ansrímur und die Anssaga," by Eugen Kölbing, in his *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte*, etc. (Breslau, 1876), pp. 187–197.

2. ÁSMUNDAR SAGA OK TRYGGVA: in 10 chapters. Story how Ásmundr was fostered by Helgi, a king of Hálogaland (in Northern Norway), who worshipped Machomet; how the king's daughter was seduced by Ásmundr, and died; how Ásmundr fled, and was outlawed; how his foster-brother Tryggvi (the son of Helgi) found him in Sicily; and how they were both converted to Christianity. f. 179.

3. EGILS SAGA EINHENDA OK ÁSMUNDAR BERSERKJABANA FÓSTBRÆÐRA: in 18 chapters. f. 195.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4874 (f. 66 b). Published by Peter Salan (Upsala, 1693); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 365.

Additional 11,108.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto.

FOURTEEN ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. HERVARAR SAGA OK HEIÐREKS KONUNGS: in 19 chapters, with a conclusion. f. 2.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 146). Published: see the next article.

2. HERVARAR SAGA, etc.: in 20 chapters, with a genealogical table. f. 19.

Published by Olaus Verelius from a MS. of which these two articles are copies (Upsala, 1672); published again by Stephen Björnsen (Copenh. 1785); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. p. 411.

3. HERRAUÐAR SAGA OK BÓSA; in 11 chapters. Story of two brothers-in-arms, Herrauðr, son of King Hríngr of East-Gautland (in Sweden), and Bósi, whose foster-mother Busla is skilled in witchcraft; how Bósi is outlawed, and Herrauðr joins him; how they are both captured and condemned, but are saved by the incantations of Busla; and how the king set them the task

of bringing him the gold-lettered egg of a monster vulture. f. 69.

Published, with Latin translation, by Olaus Verelius (Upsala, 1666); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 191.

4. ÖRVAR-ODDS SAGA: in 22 chapters. Story of Oddr the Archer, son of Grímr Loðinkinni, son of Ketill Hæng (see articles 11, 12, below); how a sibyl foretells that he will live longer than other men, but that he will be killed by Faxi, a horse in his foster-father's stable; how Oddr kills Faxi and heaps a mound over him; how he wins the name of Örvar-Oddr (Arrow-Odd); how he becomes brother-in-arms with Hiálmar, and they kill Angantýr (the father of Hervör) together with his eleven berserker brothers; how he roams over the world till he is wonderfully old; and how he then returns to his birthplace in Norway, strikes his foot upon the skull of Faxi, and is killed by a worm that creeps out of the skull. Copied at Einarsstaðir (in Reykjadalr, North Iceland), in Feb. 1714. ff. 78—104 b.

Published, with Latin translation, by Olof Rudbeck (Upsala, 1697); and again by C. Chr. Rafn, in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 159. The present text agrees with Rafn's (E.), *i.e.* AM. MS., paper, No. 173, Folio; but the biographical poem at the end (Æfidrápa) is here omitted. A shorter recension was published by R. K. Rask, in his *Sýnishorn* (1819), and republished in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 504. The description of the fight with Angantýr (which is the same as that in *Hervarar Saga*) is lost in the shorter recension. A Swedish translation, chiefly from Rask's edition, but enlarged from the MSS., was published by Johann Gustaf Liljegren, in his *Skandinaviska Fornålderens Hjeltesagor*, vol. ii. (Stockholm, 1819). Liljegren's Preface contains extracts from Suhm's Danish History, comparing Oddr with the Russian Oleg (who died 913). The death of Oleg, as related by Nestor in the first quarter of the 12th century, is precisely the same as that of Oddr. The same story is told of Sir Robert Shurland, in the Isle of Sheppey (died about 1300): see Hasted's *Kent*, vol. ii. (1782), p. 661 (*note* z); and see the tale of "Grey Dolphin" in *Ingoldsby Legends*.

5. HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GREIPSSONAR: in 5 chapters. At the end (f. 112 b) are the signatures of two owners, Torfi Jónsson of Breiðabólstað (in 1821) and his son Guðmundr. f. 105.

See the description of another copy of this Saga in Add. 4859 (f. 2). Published by Björner, etc.

6. SÖRLA SAGA STERKA: in 13 chapters. Copied by Jón Sigurðarson, at Sauðanes, 20–22 May, 1761. f. 113.

See the description of Add. 4857 (f. 61).

7. SÖRLA SAGA STERKA: in 18 chapters. f. 139. In two hands, signed at the end (f. 157 b) "Gottschalk Jonsson."

The same as the preceding Saga.

8. JÓNS SAGA UPPLENDINGA-KONUNGS. ff. 158–9.

Published by Jón Árnason, in his *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur*, vol. i. (1862), p. 284. See an account of it in the *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. i. p. 853, under the heading of "King Jón of Småland."

9. ÞORSTEINS SAGA VÍKINGSSONAR: in 29 chapters. f. 160. In two hands, ending with some notes on mediæval writers, signed "H. D. 1813" (ff. 189–190 b).

See the description of Add. 4875 (f. 56). Published by J. I. Reenhjelm (1680), etc.

10. FRIÐÞJÓFS SAGA FRÆKNA: in 10 chapters. f. 191.

See the description of Add. 4860 (f. 261). Published by Björner, etc.

11, 12. KETILS SAGA HÆNGS: in 6 chapters; and GRÍMS SAGA LOÐINKINNA: in 3 chapters. Copy completed on the 3rd Dec. 1714; in the same hand as Örvar-Odds saga. ff. 209, 214 b.

See the description of Add. 4874 (ff. 85 b, 93 b).

13. HÉÐINS SAGA OK HÖGNA, or SÖRLA ÞÁTTR. Story how King Högni of Denmark killed Sörli, a Norwegian Viking; how Högni became brother-in-arms with Héðinn, an African Viking; how Héðinn carried off Hildr, the daughter of Högni, to the island Há (Hoy, in the Orkneys); how Héðinn and Högni killed each other; and how they were revived, every day, and fought again in the sight of Hildr, for 143 years, till the spell was broken by one of the men of Ólafr Tryggvason. f. 217. At the end (f. 223 b) is the signature of Torfi Jónsson: see No. 5 (f. 112 b).

Published as a part of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, enlarged from the Latin work of Gunnlaugr the Monk, vol. ii. (Skálholt, 1690), p. 49; again, with a Latin version, by Olof Rudbeck, in the same volume with the Sagas of Ketil Hæng, Grímr Loðinkinni, and

Örvaroddr (Upsala, 1697); and in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. p. 389.

14. HÁLFS SAGA: in 18 chapters. Copied in Feb. 1718. f. 224.

See the description of Add. 4857 (f. 74 b). Published by Björner, etc.

15. SÖGU ÞATTUR AF SIGURDI GANGANDI BARÐARSINE. Story of Sigurðr, son of Bárðr, a rich Norwegian Bóndi and a great worshipper of idols; how he went in search of him whom the Christians called the Sun-King; and how he was baptized at Constantinople. ff. 241–246 b.

Additional 11,109. ff. 2, 63, 90 b, 91, 106 b, 136.

Paper; XVIIIth and XIXth centt. Quarto.

The volume contains two collections of historical and romantic Sagas, each collection consisting of six Sagas. The first collection (ff. 2–88 b) seems to be in a hand 30 or 40 years earlier than that of the second collection (ff. 89–140); but all the 12 Sagas are named in the Table of Contents (f. 1).

SIX ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. STARKAÐAR SAGA GAMLA: in 28 chapters. Story of the Danish mythical hero, Starkaðr the Old, whose name was given to the metre called Starkaðarlag (see the Arna-Magnæan edition of the Prose Edda, vol. i. p. 712), concluding with his Swan-song. A Romance of the 18th cent., founded on Saxo Grammaticus. f. 2.

Gudbrand Vigfusson says that "Snorri Biornsson, priest of Husafell (died 1803), a poet, wrote a STARKADS SAGA on the basis of the traditions and verses preserved by Saxo" (*Sturlunga Saga*, Oxford, 1878, vol. i. p. lxiv.). See some account of Snorri Bjarnarson Þorsteinsson, who died at Húsafell in his 100th year, in Jón Espolin's *Íslands Árbækur*, vol xi. (Copenh., 1854), p. 127.

2. ÞORSTEINS SAGA GEIRNEFJUFÓSTRA: in 23 chapters. Story of Thorsteinn, the foster-son of the semi-gigantic princess Geirnefja. A modern Romance. f. 63.

For some account of this Romance, see the work published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii. (Copenh. 1845), pp. 516–528.

3. GRÍMS SAGA SKELJÚNGSBANA. Story of Grímr, the slayer of a vampire named Skeljúngr, at Silfrastaðir in North Iceland; ending with a statement made by Árni Magnússon, that this story had been first written down by Jón Eggertsson. f. 90 b.

Published by Jón Árnason, in his *Þjóðsögur*, vol. i. (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 247–256.

4. HULDAR SAGA: in 25 chapters. Story of the Giantess Huld. A modern Romance, suggested by a passage in the Sturlunga Saga. f. 91.

In the passage mentioned above, Sturla is said to have pleased the queen of King Magnus Hákonarson, in the year 1263, by telling her the story of Huld the Troldwife (see *Sturlunga*, VII. 331, vol. ii. p. 270, ed. Oxford, 1878).

5. HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GREIPSSONAR: in 22 chapters. f. 106 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 2). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. pp. 363–380.

6. ILLUGA SAGA GRIÐARFÓSTRA: in 5 chapters. f. 136.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 91 b). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. pp. 648–660.

Additional 11,111. ff. 8–19 b.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Folio.
In a collection of five Sagas, of which the other four are historical.

TWO ROMANTIC TALES, fused into one, viz. (1) BARÐAR SAGA SNÆFELLSASS, and (2) GESTS SAGA BARÐARSONAR. *Icelandic.*

See the description of other copies in Add. 4868 (ff. 2, 9 b).

Additional 11,112. ff. 52, 58, 76 b, 86 b, 96 b, 100.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto.
In a collection of sixteen Sagas, of which ten are historical.

SIX ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. KRÓKA-REFS SAGA: in 7 chapters. f. 52.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (f. 104 b).

2. KJALNESINGA SAGA (or BÚA SAGA ANDRIÐARSONAR). f. 58.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (f. 34).

3. JÖKULS ÞÁTTR BÚASONAR. f. 76 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (f. 48).

4. KJALNESINGA SAGA: in 8 chapters. f. 86 b.

See above (art. 2).

5. JÖKULS ÞÁTTR BÚASONAR: in 2 chapters. f. 96 b.

See above (art. 3).

6. ÞORGRÍMS SAGA PRÚÐA OK VÍGLUNDAR VÆNA: in 15 chapters. f. 100.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (f. 125 b).

Additional 11,115. ff. 3, 92.

Paper; XVIIIth and XIXth centt.

The volume contains three Sagas in three different hands. The following are the first and third of these Sagas. The second (at f. 51) is an historical Saga, Þórðar Saga hreður.

TWO ROMANTIC TALES. *Latin.*

1. HRÓLFS SAGA KRAKA: in 25 chapters. A free translation from the Icelandic by Torfæus. Preceded (f. 2 b) by an "Epitaphium" on "Hrolfius" in 16 *Latin* lyrical lines, and also by six *Icelandic* stanzas in ballad metre. f. 3.

See the description of a copy of the Icelandic Saga in Add. 4860 (f. 209).

Þormóðr Torfason (Torfæus) was born in 1636; he was employed by King Frederic III. of Denmark in translating Icelandic MSS., and also in helping Bp. Brynjólfr Sveinsson of Skálholt to collect the Royal MSS., about 1660–2; he was made Historiographer of Norway at the accession of Christian v. in 1670; died 1719.

This translation was published at Copenhagen in 1705 (reprinted in 1715), under the title of *Historia Hrolfi Krakii . . . a Fabulis, in qvantum fieri potuit, vindicata, cumque aliis Historicis, imprimis Saxone Grammatico, diligenter collata, ... per Thormodum Torfæum*, etc. The printed edition contains a dedication

and a preface, and also 42 commendatory Latin eleg
Þorleifr Halldorsson (afterwards schoolmaster at Hóla
1713), which are not here. It does not contain the Lat
or the Icelandic verses mentioned above.

2. KJALNESINGA SAGA, or BÚA SAGA ANDRÍÐARSO
18 chapters. A translation from the Icelandic by
Snorrason, Sýslumaðr (Prefect) of Húnavatn, 1805-1813.

See the description of a copy of the Icelandic saga
4868 (f. 34).

The translation is headed:—"Hic incipit Kialn
Historia, sive (narratio) de Buio Andridi filio." At
(f. 105 b) is written, in another hand: "Þessarar útl
höfundur S. Snorrason Sýslumaðr í Húnav[atnsþingi]."
Snorrason was made Sýslumaðr of Húnavatn in 1805,
in 1813: see Jón Espolin, in his *Íslands Árbækur*,
(Copenh., 1855), pp. 2, 67. The father of Sigurðr wa
Bjarnason Jónsson, who must be distinguished from his
porary, Snorri Bjarnarson Þorsteinsson, Priest of Húsa
author of Starkaðar-saga (see Add. 11,109).

Additional 11,116.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto; ff. 31.

HÁLFDANAR SAGA GAMLA: in 46 chapters. Stor
mythical king, Hálfdan the Old, and his 18 sons, fro
names are taken the 9 denominations of lord or king
Þengill, Ræsir, Gramr, etc., and the 9 kingly families, na
Hildíngar, the Niflúngar, etc. *Icelandic.*

The earliest known form of this fiction is in Skáldsk
in the Prose Edda: see the edition of Sveinbjörn
(Reykjavík, 1848), pp. 104–5; and see the Arna-
edition, vol. i. (Copenh., 1848), pp. 516–528. Anothe
occurs in the little work called *Frá Fornjóti ok hans æt*
Part i. (separately entitled *Hversu Noregr bygðist*), cap.
(from Flateyjarbók) by R. K. Rask at the end of his
the *Edda* (Stockholm, 1818), pp. 362–5; and again in
Sögur, vol. ii. pp. 8–11.

Additional 11,117.

Paper; about A.D. 1800. Quarto; ff. 330.

GÖNGU-HRÓLFS SAGA: in 36 chapters. Copied from the Arna-Magnæan MS., paper, 4to, No. 338, in the hand of H. E. Wium (for an account of whom see the description of Add. 11,158 in vol. i. p. 858). *Icelandic.*

See the description of another copy in Add. 4857 (f. 2). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 235.

Additional 11,123. ff. 166–173 b.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto.

In a volume formed originally by H. E. Wium (see the description of Add. 11,117), containing nine articles, the first four of which are written by Wium himself, whilst the others are somewhat earlier. They are all either relating to Danish history, or else copies from historical Sagas, with the exception of the following, which is article 9.

GUNNARS SAGA KELDUGNÚPS-FÍFLS: not divided into chapters. *Icelandic.*

See the description of another copy in Add. 4862 (f. 151).

Additional 11,136. ff. 146 b–257 b.

Paper; about A.D. 1800. Quarto; ff. 112.

Forming the second part of a volume copied (and with Danish glosses added) by Hans E. Wium; the first part of it containing the Bishops' Annals of Jón Egilsson of Hrepphólar, the scribe of Oddr Einarsson, Bp. of Skálholt, 1589–1630.

BLÓMSTRVALLA SAGA: in 29 chapters. *Icelandic.* Copied by Hans E. Wium from the Arna-Magnæan MS., paper, 4to, No. 527. With explanatory glosses in *Danish.*

The two heroes of this story, Etgarð and Aki, the sons of Áki

Öldungatrausti and nephews of King Erminrekr, are introduced in the Saga of Dietrich of Bern (the Vilkina Saga); but their adventures here are quite independent. They are separated by an adventure with a dragon; they meet long afterwards in Blómstrvöll (Flower-field) in Africa; and they only recognise each other after a single-combat.

The first chapter describes how a certain Bjarni of Nidaros (or Trondhjem) went, in the middle of the 13th cent., as Envoy to the Court of Spain, and heard the story related there in German, and translated it into Norwegian. But the whole account is evidently a fiction; and the Saga is not supposed by Möbius to be older than the 14th cent.

The Saga was first edited by Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, as No. 5 of his *Altnordische Sagen und Lieder, welche zum Fabelkreis des Heldenbuchs und der Nibelungen gehören*, Breslau [1814]; his text being taken from the AM. MS., paper, No. 523. It was re-edited, separately, by Theodor Möbius (Leipzig, 1855), founded upon the text of AM. paper, No. 522; and with the text of No. 523 reprinted (in somewhat smaller type) at the end. Möbius says that No. 527 (the original of the present copy) has a text between those of 522 and 523. He prints the conclusion of No. 527 in his preface, pp. xxiv. xxv.

Additional 11,141. ff. 147 b–156 b.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto.

No. 12 of a collection of seventeen Sagas, most of them historical, written for Bjarni Petrsson of Skarð in Skarðströnd, West Iceland. No. 11 is a romantic Life of Virgil: see vol. i. p. 197.

SÖGUBROT AF NOKKRUM FORNKONUNGUM Í DANA OK SVÍA VELDI. Fragment of the stories of heroic kings of Denmark and Sweden; namely, Ivar Viðfaðmi, Haraldr Hilditönn, and Sigurðr Hríngr, ending with some mention of Ragnar Loðbrók the son of Sigurðr. *Icelandic.*

Published, with a Swedish translation, by Johan Fredric Peringskjöld (Stockholm, 1719). See also *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. (1829), pp. 361–388.

Additional 11,157. ff. 74–89 b.

Paper; A.D. 1761. Quarto.

In a collection of Romantic Sagas and Tales; see descriptions of portions of the volume in vol. i. pp. 402, 857.

HÁLFDANAR SAGA EYSTEINSSONAR: in 12 chapters. *Icelandic.* Copied, with a stanza in ballad-metre at the end, by Jón Sigurðsson, the writer of the first half of this volume; dated Sauðanes, 18–19 May, 1761.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4863 (f. 7). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 519, etc.

Additional 11,159.

Paper; about A.D. 1800. Small Octavo; ff. 90. On the last leaf is the name of an owner, "Arne Arnason."

TWO ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. GÖNGU-HRÓLFS SAGA: not divided into chapters. A leaf is wanting at the beginning. f. 2.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4857 (f. 2). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 235.

2. ILLUGA SAGA GRÍÐARFÓSTRA. Left unfinished. f. 77 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 91 b). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 648, etc.

Additional 11,160.

Paper; xixth cent. Quarto; ff. 156.

VÖLSÚNGA SAGA, RAGNARS SAGA LOÐBRÓKAR, and KRÁKUMÁL. Two mythical sagas, and the death-song of Ragnar Loðbrók (Ragnar Shaggy-breeks, the famous Danish Víking). *Icelandic.*

Copied from an early 15th cent. MS. in the Royal col
Copenhagen, which was sent to King Frederic III.
Brynjólfr Sveinsson of Skálholt; with the deficien
doubtful readings supplied from Björner's edition. T
also various readings from Björner at the end: those
to the Ragnars saga are at ff. 142–146 (here num
pp. 284–292); those belonging to "Biarkamál" (the
Krákumál, or Loðbrókarkviða, namely the Death-
ff. 146–148 (here numbered as pp. 292–296); and thos
ing to the Völsúnga saga at ff. 148 b–156 (here num
pp. 297–312).

The Völsúnga saga (story of the Völsúngar) is
paraphrase of the heroic poems in the Poetical Edda,
with a few that are now lost. The name of the race i
from Völsúngr, father of Sigmundr, father of Helgi, Sin
Sigurðr (the German Siegfried). The story of Ragnar
is connected with the Völsúngar by his marrying Aslaug,
of Sigurðr.

Published by E. J. Björner, in his *Nordiska Kä*
(Stockholm, 1737), Nos. xi., xii. Republished, and
into German and Danish, frequently. The edition in
Sögur, vol. i. pp. 113, 235, and 300, is founded upon t
MS. at Copenhagen which is mentioned above. The *S*
Volsungs, etc., is an English translation of the Völsúng
Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris (London, 1870).

Additional 11,161.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto: ff. 146.

On the reverse of the flyleaf at the end (f. 148 b) is the signa
Sigurðsson; perhaps the writer of the first part of Add. 11,157,
Sörla saga sterka in Add. 11,108 (ff. 113–138), both of which
1761. On the same page are the signatures of Steinunn Runolf
Þor. Jónsson.

Two Romantic Tales. *Icelandic.*

1. Örvar-Odds saga: not divided into chapte
cluding with the hero's Æfidrápa. Written (see f.
26 April–11 May. f. 2.

See the description of another copy in Add. 11,108 (f. 78). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 159, etc.

2. STURLAUGS SAGA STARFSAMA: in 23 chapters. Written (see f. 147 b) on 12–15 May. ff. 111–147.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4875 (f. 29 b). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 592, etc.

Additional 11,162. ff. 51–151.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto; ff. 101.

The second article bears the name of an owner, Joseph Skaptason (f. 113), probably the man whose father (Skapti Jósefsson) is often mentioned in Espólin's *Árbœkur*, and whose descendants are named under 1705, vol. viii. p. 95. The same article bears the address of Árni Þorsteinsson, Priest at Kirkjubœr in East Iceland, whose signature occurs at the end of the third article (ff. 114, 144 b); this Árni died, 75 years old, in 1829, see Espólin, xii. p. 168. In the second article there are also the signatures of Sig. Arnason, B. Sigurðsson, G. Pallsson, and Jakob Sigurðsson (ff. 113, 114, 144 b).

FOUR ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. GÖNGU-HRÓLFS SAGA: in 27 chapters. Written by Jón Sigurðsson, in Dec. 1759. f. 51.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4857 (f. 2).

2. HRÓLFS SAGA GAUTREKSSONAR: in 35 chapters. Written by Jón Sigurðsson, at Hof in Vápnafjörðr (East Iceland), 17 Dec. 1759–15 Jan. 1760. f. 75.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4860 (f. 117).

3. HRÓLFS SAGA KRAKA: in 30 chapters. With 3 stanzas in ballad metre at the end. Written by Jón Sigurðsson, in Vápnafjörðr, 10 March–20 Nov. 1760. f. 115.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4860 (f. 209).

4. HÁLFDANAR SAGA BRÖNUFÓSTRA: not divided into chapters. With 2 stanzas in ballad metre at the end. ff. 145–151.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4860 (f. 55).

Additional 11,163. ff. 50, 76 b.

Paper; xviiith cent. Quarto.

Nos. 2 and 4 of a collection of five historical and romantic Sagas. No. 5 is a version of Patient Griselda: see vol. i. p. 865.

Two Romantic Tales. *Icelandic.*

1. Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum í Dana ok Svía veldi. A modernised version of this Fragment, with some slight additions from Saxo Grammaticus; here entitled "Af Braavalla Barðaga," from the chief concluding event, the Battle of Brávalla, in which Haraldr Hilditönn was killed by Sigurðr Hringr. In 18 chapters. ff. 50–67.

See the description of a copy of the Sögubrot in Add. 11,141 (ff. 147 b–156 b).

2. Göngu-Hrólfs saga: in 29 chapters. Written by Jón Sigurðsson in April, 1774. ff. 76 b–120.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4857 (f. 2). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 235.

Additional 11,181. ff. 26 b–43.

Paper; xviiith cent. Duodecimo.

No. 4 of a collection of thirteen articles, of which the others contain miscellaneous poems, together with one Epilogue in prose.

Eiríks saga víðförla. *Icelandic.*

See the description of another copy in Add. 4863 (f. 1). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 661.

Additional 24,969. ff. 1 b, 77, 91, 102 b, 111, 119, 152, 280.

Paper; about A.D. 1730-1734. Folio.

Articles from a collection of historical, mythical, and romantic Sagas, copied by Gísli Bjarnason. See vol. i. p. 867; where, however, we were wrong in saying that the earliest date in "the volume is the 4th March, 1733": see No. 5 below, dated 24 Feb. 1731. After No. 8 the rest of the volume is occupied with a copy of Egils saga Skallagrímssonar (ff. 285–312 b).

EIGHT ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. VÖLSUNGA SAGA, and RAGNARS SAGA LOÐBRÓKAR: in 60 chapters altogether, with Krákumál at the end of chapter 55. f. 1 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 11,160. Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. i. pp. 113, 235, 300–310.

2. SKJÖLDUNGA SAGA: in 4 chapters. Story of Skjöldr, ancestor of the early kings of Denmark and Sweden. f. 77.

3. ILLUGA SAGA GRÍÐARFÓSTRA: in 5 chapters, followed by 8 stanzas in ballad metre. f. 91.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4859 (f. 91 b). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 648.

4. BÁRÐAR SAGA SNÆFELLSÁSS: in 20 chapters. f. 102 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (f. 2). Published: see *Nordiske Oldskrifter*, No. xxvii.

5. HJÁLMTERS SAGA OK ÖLVIS: in 20 chapters. Story of two Swedish heroes; their adventures in Greece and Arabia, etc. Dated 24 Feb. 1731. f. 111.

Published, with a Swedish translation, by Johan Frederic Peringskjöld (Stockholm, 1720); and again in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 453.

6. HÁLFDANAR SAGA EYSTEINSSONAR: in 22 chapters. f. 119.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4863 (f. 7). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 519.

7. ÞIÐREKS SAGA: story of Dietrich of Bern. The collection of German Romances relating to the heroes of the Heldenbuch and the Nibelungenlied, which was either formed or translated

by a Scandinavian writer of the 13th century, and wh
generally to be known as the *Vilkina saga*. The presen
not divided into chapters; but it appears to be nearly a
the printed edition, which is in 438 chapters. Dat
f. 152.

Published, with Latin and Swedish translations, b
Peringskjöld, under the title of *Wilkina Saga* (Stockholm
and republished by Carl Richard Unger, under the title
Diðriks konungs af Bern (Christiania, 1853).

8. EGILS SAGA EINHENDA OK ÁSMUNDAR BERSER
FÓSTBRÆÐRA: in 11 chapters, imperfect in the mi
disarranged at the end. Dated 1733. ff. 280–284 b.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4874
Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. iii. p. 365.

Additional 24,971.

Paper; about 1800. Octavo; ff. 19.

HARALDS SAGA HRÍNGSBANA: in 15 chapters, of w
first two and a half are wanting. *Icelandic.*

See the description of another copy in Add. 4863
This is the same version of the Saga, though a little di
worded and divided.

Additional 24,972. ff. 2, 20, 73, 82–83 b.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto.

In a collection of eleven historical and romantic Sagas, one
(Fertrams Saga) is described in vol. i. p. 872.

FOUR ROMANTIC TALES. *Icelandic.*

1. ÞORGRÍMS SAGA PRÚÐA OK VÍGLUNDAR VÆNA
chapters, the first three of which are half defaced. f. 2.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (

Published by Björn Marcússon, in his *Nockrer Sögu-Þætter* (1756, 4to), p. 15.

2. JÖKULS ÞÁTTR BÚASONAR: in 5 chapters. f. 20. At the end is the signature of Daði Nielsson (f. 25 b), the same who wrote the titlepage of Add. 24,969 after the year 1773.

See the description of another copy in Add. 4868 (f. 48). Published by Marcússon, p. 182.

3. FRIÐÞIOFS SAGA: in 11 chapters. f. 73

See the description of another copy in Add. 4860 (f. 261). Published in *Fornaldar Sögur*, vol. ii. p. 61.

4. ORMARS SAGA FRAÐMARSSONAR. Story of Ormar, who obtained the sword Bírtíngr from the ghost of his father Fraðmar, and slew the giant "Biartmar," and won Ása the daughter of King Hríngr of Gautland. ff. 82–83 b.

This is a prose rendering of Ormars Rímur, of which an abstract, together with some extracts (from two MSS. of the 15th cent.), is given by Svend Grundtvig, as an illustration of the Danish ballad of Orm Ungersvend og Bermer Rise, in the Appendix (pp. 775–7) to vol. iii. of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (1862). Grundtvig gives the giant's name as Bjarkmarr.

Additional 11,177.

Paper; XVIIIth cent. Quarto; ff. 64, having from 24 to 34 lines to a page.

ÍSLENZK FORNKVÆÐI. A collection of poems, 75 in number, most of them heroic ballads translated from the Danish; closely resembling the collection in the Gizurarbók (an Arna-Magnæan MS., No. 147, 8vo). *Icelandic.*

The Collections of Danish Popular Ballads ("Folkeviser") began to be formed, as far as can be ascertained, in the middle of the 16th century. There are now only two small scraps older than that time. The first consists of two lines alone, written in Runic characters, together with musical notes, at the end of a Scanian Code of Laws ("Skaanske Lov"). The MS. is in the Arna-Magnæan Collection (No. 28, 8vo), and is written

throughout in Runes, in two hands, which (according t
Goth Thorsen, the editor) are of the late 13th and ea
centuries.* Thorsen prints the two lines in his supple
Essay thus: "drömde: mik: æn: diöm: i: nat: um
ok: ærlik: pæl:" *i.e.* "I dreamed a dream last night of
noble furs." It is uncertain whether these two lines belon
version of any extant ballad. The other fragment is in
the Linköping Gymnasium (No. 59, quarto), and contains
seven stanzas of "Ridderen i Hjorteham" (the Knight
disguise of a Hart), probably written before 1500.† T
köping MS. stands as No. 1 in the list of 38, drawn up b
Grundtvig in the 2nd edition of his Prospectus ‡ of *D*
gamle Folkeviser. His No. 2 is "Karen Brahes Folie
taining 200 ballads, written in various hands after 154
important MS., unknown to the previous editors, had belo
various ladies of the allied families of Brahe and Giøe
reached the Convent of Odense, founded by Karen Brahe i
Grundtvig goes on to describe eight more collections as
the 16th century; among which are two which belonged
Svaning, father-in-law of the first editor, Anders Sørense
Of the remaining 28 numbers in Grundtvig's list, 20 a
by him as between 1600 and 1670 or thereabouts; the
rather later, ending with 1716. Most of these MSS. are
the Royal Library at Copenhagen. A more detailed acc
fifteen of them has been given by Christian Molbech, *E*
biographiske Samlinger (Copenhagen, 1851), pp. 10–48.

Anders Sørensen Vedel is certainly the name, of all
most closely connected with the history of Danish balla
ture. Vedel was born at Veile (on the Kattegat), wh
father, Søren Sørensen, was a merchant and town-counc
3rd Nov. 1542. He was educated at the cathedral s
Ribe. He became travelling tutor to Tyge Brahe (mo

* The MS. has been photolithographed by the Arna-Magnæ
mission, and published as *Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift No*
Codex Runicus (Copenh., 1877); and the text is followed by an
the use of Runes in MSS., by P. G. Thorsen.

† Printed in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 67, headed
Grundtvig—"Haandskrift fra omtrent 1450, i Linköpings Biblioth

‡ *Prøve paa en ny Udgave af Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (Cope
4to).

monly known as Tycho Brahe), who was only four years younger than himself; and they left Copenhagen for Leipzig on 14th Feb. 1562. Tyge pretended to devote himself to law; and he had to hide his astronomical books from Vedel. They returned home in 1565; but they were again together in Wittenberg, where Vedel took his Master's degree, in 1566. He was made a Court Preacher in Copenhagen in August, 1568. He began a Danish translation of Saxo Grammaticus about 1570, and published it in 1575.* In the following year (1576) Tyge Brahe received from the Danish king, Frederic II., a grant of the little island of Hveen, in the Sound, three Danish miles from Copenhagen; and he began to build there his famous château, Uraniborg.† In 1577 Vedel married Marine Svaning, then only fifteen, the daughter of Hans Svaning the Royal Historiographer; but she died on 29th July, 1578. In the latter year (1578) the portrait of Vedel was painted by Tobias Gemperlin, of Augsburg, an artist in the service of Tyge.‡ Vedel edited the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Adam of Bremen in 1579. In the following year the post of Historiographer was taken away from Hans Svaning (b. 1503, d. 1584) and given to his son-in-law, Vedel, together with the succession to a canonry at Ribe. Vedel now removed to Ribe; married his second wife, a daughter of the Bishop of Ribe, in 1581; and received from the Bishop a house known as Liliebjerget. Vedel, it is probable, often visited Tyge at Uraniborg; but one of his visits, which began on 13th June, 1586, is specially recorded. On 27th June they were visited by Queen Sophia (wife of Frederic II. and mother of the prince who was afterwards Christian IV.); and she was detained there by bad weather for three days. In the course of their table-talk Tyge

* It was republished (3rd edition), by the Samfund til den danske Literaturs Fremme, at Copenhagen, in 1851; and a 2nd edition of Caspar Frederik Wegener's Life of Vedel (originally published in 1846) was appended to it.

† See *Tyge Brahe*, by F. R. Friis (Copenhagen, 1871), pp. 60, 62, 64, etc.

‡ See *Tyge Brahe*, p. 105. A portrait of Vedel (but without the painter's name) is engraved in the *Illustreret Dansk Litteraturhistorie* of P. Hansen, vol. i. p. 376, in the 8th Part (Copenhagen, 1884). On the next leaf (p. 378) two facsimiles of his handwriting are given, one of which is his signature, as owner of a book, latinised into "Andreas Velleius." In Nyerup and Kraft, *Almindeligt Litteraturlexicon* (Copenhagen, 1820), p. 642, Vedel's three names are latinised "Andreas Severini Vellejus"; but no authority is given.

Brahe informed the Queen that Vedel had a large collection of those ballads which she so much admired. She requested Vedel to send her a copy of some of them. He begged for time to choose and transcribe them; but five years elapsed without his doing so. The Queen however (who meanwhile had become Queen-Mother by the death of Frederic II. and the accession of Christian IV., on 4th April, 1588) had not forgotten the promise, and more than once she had reminded Vedel of it through her Court-Mistress, Beate Bille, the mother of Tyge Brahe. At last he felt (as he says in his Dedication) that he had no excuse for any more delays, for he had set up a printing-press at his own house, the Liliebjerg, at Ribe. He accordingly chose a hundred ballads, and printed them, with a Dedication to Queen Sophia, and with Introductions to many of the ballads, in the year 1591, the story of the Queen's visit to Uraniborg being told in the Dedication. The volume is divided into three Parts; the first Part having 26 ballads of old Heroes (the special "Kæmpeviser"); the second Part having 55 ballads of Danish Kings and Queens; and the third Part having 19 ballads of Danish Knights.

Two of the MSS. used by Vedel belonged to his father-in-law, Hans Svaning. They are both at Copenhagen: and they are now reckoned as Danske Selskabs Bibl., No. 91, 4to, and Kongelike Bibl., gl. kgl. Saml., No. 2397, 4to. Vedel has here inserted many corrections, and on the margins he has added many verses, which he used for his edition. Some of the verses were doubtless derived from recitation or from other MSS., but some were probably composed by Vedel himself. He has endeavoured, in some of his printed Introductions, to localize this or that tradition; and it must have pleased him to fix the scene of "Frue Grimild og hendis Brødre" (Nos. 7, 8, and 9) in Tyge Brahe's island, Hveen.* There are only two complete copies remaining

* He quotes a fabulous Chronicle of Hveen, which has been printed by Svend Grundtvig in the Introduction to his No. 5, "Grimilds Hævn" (Grimild's Revenge): see *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, vol. i. pp. 38–44. The ballad is a Danish version of the catastrophe of the Nibelungenlied. "Grimild" (as Vedel calls her, following the chronicle, where she is "Gremild," whilst the MSS. of the ballads make her "Kremold") is the German "Chriemhild." In the Eddic poems the catastrophe is very different. The lady is named Guðrun; and, instead of killing her brothers, she tries to save them from her second husband, Atli.

of Vedel's Liliebjerg edition, one in the University Library at Copenhagen and the other at Upsala: see P. Hansen, in his *Illustreret Dansk Litteraturhistorie*, vol. i. (Part 3, Copenh., 1883), p. 129. Hansen has given a sheet (before p. 97) containing facsimiles of the title-page, and of a page from the middle of the Copenhagen copy. The title-page is as follows:—"*It Hundrede vduaalde Danske Viser / Om allehaande merckelige Krigs Bedrifft / of anden seldsom Euentyr / som sig her vdi Riget / ved Gamle Kemper / Naffnkundige Konger oc ellers forneme Personer begiffuet haffuer / aff arilds tid indtill denne neruærendis Dag. Prentet vdi Ribe paa Liliebierget / aff Hans Brun. Anno M. D. ixc.*" These hundred heroic ballads were reprinted, with very few alterations, as the first half of Peder Syv's "Kæmpe-Viser," in 1695.

Vedel's book has sometimes been called "Hundredvisebogen" (The hundred-ballad-book), or "Kæmpebogen"; and the latter name has been latinised into "Codex Gigantum."* He omitted the ballads of domestic interest, though he wrote Introductions to 20 of them, evidently intending to produce another volume; but he died, without completing this project, in 1616. It was not till 41 years later that 30 of these "Elskovsviser" (Love-ballads) were published, with Vedel's 20 Introductions, under the title of *Den i. Part Tragica* (Copenhagen, 1657). Sandvig, in his Introduction to Part i. of *Levninger*, etc. (1780), says that *Tragica* was edited by Peder Syv; but this appears to be wrong. It is pretty clear, according to F. W. Horn,† that *Tragica* was edited by Mette Gjøe. This is stated by her contemporary Albert Bartholin (in his posthumous work *De scriptis Danorum*, edited by his brother Thomas Bartholin in 1666, p. 101), and repeated by Thurah, Worm, and others; whilst Árni Magnússon, without mentioning her name, remarks that the editor was "en Frue." Mette Gjøe (b. about 1609, d. 1664) came of a noble family, which was connected with that of Brahe for many generations.‡

* By Hans Mikkelsen Ravn, in his *Rhythmologia Danica* (Copenhagen, 1649), p. 112. See the biographical work by Fr. Winkel Horn, *Peder Syv* (Copenhagen, 1878), p. 128.

† *Peder Syv*, pp. 126–7.

‡ See *Historiske Efterretninger om velfortiente Danske Adelsmænd*, translated into Danish from the *Portraits historiques*, etc. of Tycho Hofman, and increased by the translator, Berthel Christian Sandvig, in 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1777–9, 4to). The genealogical Table of the Gjøe family is in vol. i., opposite to p. 149; and that of the Brahe family is in vol. iii., opposite to p. 1.

Her father was Henrik Gjøe, of Tureby.* Her mother, Birgitte, was daughter of Axel Brahe, the youngest brother of Tyge Brahe; her brother Falk was grandfather (through his daughter Susanne) of Karen Brahe, the foundress of Odense Cloister (in 1716); and her sister, Anne Gjøe, was the lady who left her fine library (including the famous "Karen Brahes Folio") to her grand-niece, Karen Brahe. Three of the ballads in *Tragica* were republished in vols. i. and ii. of Abrahamson's collection (1812), as Nos. 17, 96, and 100; and the remaining 27 in vol. iii. (1813), as Nos. 111–137.

The second great printed collection of ballads was 104 years later than that of Vedel, and could not therefore have been used by the Icelandic translator of the present series. But it will be as well to give a short account of the second editor, as he reprinted Vedel in the first half of his own volume, and this is the earliest edition of Vedel that is accessible to the English public. Peder Pedersen Syv (or Siuff) derived his name from the parish of Syv in Ramsø Herred, not far from Roskilde. He was born, his father being apparently a substantial yeoman, on 22nd Feb. 1631. He went to school at Roskilde; and he took his Bachelor's degree at Copenhagen in 1654. In 1658 he was made Rector of the school at Næstved, on the western side of Præstø Amt, Seeland; and he soon raised the character of the school. Anne Gjøe, then about fifty years old, was living at Næstved; and Syv was allowed the run of her library. In 1663 he was ordained Priest, obtaining the church of Hellested, on the north-eastern side of Prestø Amt. He married the widow of his predecessor, and they had three daughters, who survived them. His wife died in 1699, and he himself on 18th Feb. 1702. His first work of any importance was an Essay, published in 1663, on what he calls "det Cimbriske Sprog," by which he means the Germanic languages, dealing more especially with the formation and orthography of Danish. He brought out two volumes of Proverbs and Popular Sayings in 1682 and 1688; and lastly, his collection of ballads appeared in 1695. It is in two Divisions;

* In the topographical work by L. Both, *Danmark* (2 vols. 1871–2), the lordship of Tureby (near Dalby, in Prestö Amt) is said to have been obtained (in exchange for another property) by Henrik "Gøye" in 1604 (vol. i. p. 236).

the first containing Vedel's hundred ballads, in three Parts (as Vedel himself had arranged them), and the second (called the Fourth Part) the hundred ballads added by Syv. The title-page begins like that of Vedel, "Et hundrede udvalde Danske Viser," etc., and goes on—"Forøgede med det andet Hundrede Viser," etc. A more handy title is given on the plate preceding the title-page;—"200 Viser om Konger Kemper oc Andre."

The next published collection of ballads was that of Berthel Christian Sandvig (b. 1752, d. 1786) and Rasmus Nyerup (b. 1759, d. 1829), entitled *Levninger af Middelalderens Digtekunst*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1780, 1784). The ballads in *Levninger* are chiefly romantic.

The comprehensive edition of ballads, entitled *Udvalgte Danske Viser*, in 4 vols. with a 5th vol. of Dissertations (vols. i. and ii. in 1812, vols. iii. and iv. in 1813, and vol. v. in 1814), will be referred to here under the name of Abrahamson, though in point of fact that editor died in the first of those years. Werner Hans Fredrich Abrahamson (b. 1744, d. 1812), a Captain of Artillery, and a writer upon military as well as literary subjects, was assisted from the first by the antiquaries, Rasmus Nyerup and Knud Lyne Rahbek (b. 1760, d. 1830),* and they completed the work. Some Danish writers allude to it under its title and others (as far as the last three vols. are concerned) under the names of Nyerup and Rahbek; but Svend Grundtvig has preferred the name of Abrahamson. Vols. i. and ii. contain the heroic and historical ballads, derived from Vedel and Syv; vol. iii. contains the first class of Romances, taken chiefly from *Tragica* and from Syv, with some from *Levninger*, and a few from broadsheets and MSS.; and vol. iv. contains the Romances that end happily, from Syv, *Levninger*, and other sources.

The great edition of Danish Ballads, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, has been left still incomplete, on account of the untimely death of the editor. Svend Grundtvig was the son of the great preacher and poet, Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (often distinguished from the son as Pastor Grundtvig), who was born 8 Sept. 1783 and died 2 Sept. 1872. Svend himself was born

* The portraits of these three editors are in P. Hansen's *Illustreret Dansk Litteraturhistorie*, vol. ii. (1885), pp. 90, 92, 114.

9 Sept. 1824. In 1839 his father obtained a MS. of Danish poems, dated 1656 (reckoned in Svend Grundtvig's list as No. 27), containing 155 poems, 70 of them being "Kæmpeviser." This MS. first called Svend's attention to the defects of the printed editions, and he now looked up the various MSS. used by Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek. He soon determined to devote his life to this subject (as he said himself, on the occasion of taking his Doctor's degree at Upsala in 1877). His first fruits were two Parts of English and Scottish Ballads turned into Danish, in 1842. He visited England, together with his father, in 1843, and published two more Parts of his translations in 1846. On his return from England (1843–4) he wrote (in the *Dansk Folkeblad*) a couple of articles on a new edition of "Danmarks Kæmpeviser." He laid his views before the literary society called the *Samfund til den danske litteraturs fremme*; and at their instigation he published his "Prøve" in Aug. 1847 and again (with a supplement) at the end of the same year. His views were combated by Chr. Molbech, Niels Matthias Petersen, and most of the older class of critics and editors, chiefly on the grounds of their being pedantically strict and too extensive. In 1848 he enlisted in the army, served in Slesvig, and obtained a commission as Lieutenant. During the truce, in Oct. 1849–May, 1850, he obtained leave of absence for Copenhagen, and persuaded the Society (*til d. danske l. fremme*) to sanction his plans. He returned to the army, and won a cross of the Danebrog at the battle of Isted, 25 July, 1850. In Feb. 1851 he returned to Copenhagen; and the first Part of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* appeared in Jan. 1853, other Parts following in 1854–6. In Dec. 1858, he married Laura Bloch; but they had no children. In 1862 N. M. Petersen died; and Konrad Gíslason succeeded him as Professor of Northern Mythology, whilst Kristen Jensen Lyngby and Svend Grundtvig were appointed Extraordinary "Docenter." Grundtvig's first lectures were upon the Lays of the Edda; and this subsequently (in 1868, and in 1874) led to his printing the text of the *Sæmundar Edda* for the use of his pupils. He retained his military commission till 1863, when he retired as Captain. He served again in 1864 and 1868; but he finally left the army in 1879. He gave every promise of living, like his father, to a very advanced age, but he was not quite 59 when he was seized with an attack of European cholera, and died

the next day, 14 July, 1883.* His great work, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, appeared as follows:—vol. i., containing the "Kæmpeviser" (Heroic Ballads), in 1853; vol. ii., the "trylleviser" (Ballads of enchantment, etc.), in 1856; vol. iii., the Historical Ballads, in 1862; vol. iv., Miscellaneous Ballads, Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4, in 1869 and 1870–2–6, and Part 5, still under revision at his death, in Oct. 1883; vol. v., Parts 1 and 2, in 1877 and 1878.

Svend Grundtvig has inserted a few of the Icelandic ballads in the above work; and, in conjunction with the Icelandic patriot and antiquary, Jón Sigurðsson (b. 1811, d. 7 Dec. 1879), he has edited 55 Icelandic ballads, and half of a 56th ballad, in a separate work. They were published by the Nordiske Literatur-Samfund, as three numbers (xix. xxiv. and xxvi.) of "Nordiske Oldskrifter," forming the 1st vol. and half the 2nd vol. of *Íslenzk Fornkvæði* (Copenhagen, 1854, 1858, and 1859). The ballads are derived from several MSS., of which the most important are (1) Gizurar-bók (now in the Arna-Magnæan collection, No. 147, 8vo); (2) No. 1141 of the New Royal Collection; and (3) Gísla-bók. The first of these three was written in 1665 by Gizur Sveinsson, Priest at Álptamýri on Arnarfjörðr (in the North-western peninsula). The references in *Íslenzk Fornkvæði* are headed "Giss. Sv."; but we have preferred "Gizurar-bók." The second MS. (Royal 1141, Folio) is a copy of a volume formed for Magnús Jónsson of Vigr (in the North-western peninsula) in 1699 and 1700. It is referred to in *Íslenzk Fornkvæði* as "Kgl. fol." The third MS. was written in 1819. It was lent by the owner, Gísli Ívarsson of Ísafjörðr (in the North-western peninsula), to the Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab, and it was fully described in the Journal of that Society, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51 (Copenhagen, 1852), pp. 219–255. It is referred to in *Íslenzk Fornkvæði* as "G. Ív."; but we have preferred "Gísla-bók."

The editors of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* have given (vol. ii. pp. 385–392) an account of the popular songs of Iceland, under the heading of "Danz ok Visur." The "danz" was in high favour by the end of the 11th century. It is described by various writers, from the 13th down to the 18th century, as a song—often of a wanton character—sung alternately by a man

* See the little volume by Frederik Barfold and others, entitled *Svend Hersleb Grundtvig* (Copenhagen, 1883).

and a woman, holding each other's hands, or else sung by a leader and followers, with a burthen in chorus; and accompanied with swayings of the body and stampings of the right foot. There is no specimen remaining of the "danz": "but (the Editors go on to say) we know many of the verses which, *being favourite and well known and setting the tune*, were used as refrains for the 'Visur' on epic subjects..... From a selection of their burdens, which we give below, a good idea of the mediæval 'Danz' may be gathered" (p. 389). Again:—"It will be manifest that the *Dance* may be clearly marked off from the *epic* Visur [that is, the Ballads], to which some modern writers have given the name 'fornkvæði.' These never had a deep popularity in Iceland. We have only one collection, that gathered and composed by Gizur." This was the owner of the first of the three MSS. described above. Gizur Sveinsson (b. 1603, d. 1683) was son of Sveinn Símonarson, Priest of Holt on Önundarfjörðr (North-western peninsula), and elder brother of Brynjólfr Sveinsson, Bp. of Skálholt (b. 1605, Bp. 1639, d. 1675), who presented some of the finest Icelandic MSS. to the Royal Library of Copenhagen, one of them being the famous Codex Regius of Sæmundar-Edda. Gizur was Priest at Álptamýri (a place mentioned above, p. 89) in 1628–1679. He sent his ballad-book to Jón Arason, Priest of Vatnsfjörðr on Ísafjörðr (also in the North-western peninsula), who himself translated two ballads from the German (Nos. 1 and 2 of the present copy); and from the next owner it passed to Árni Magnússon. In *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51 (p. 220, *note*), it is added that Páll Vídalín had a copy made of it; and that it would be an advantage to find the copy, as there is now a gap in the original book, so that articles 24–38 are lost (probably answering, in part, to artt. 26–39 of the present MS.). The editors of *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, in continuing their notice of the "Visur" (p. 389), remark: "One doubts indeed whether they were anything more than an attempt on the part of Gizur and his friends to imitate the ballads of the Continent or the British Islands"; and again (p. 390), "The numerous Danicisms, the foreign form of the epic 'Visur,' suffice to prove their origin."

Of the 75 articles in the present volume articles 1, 2 are translated from the German; art. 5 is a ballad from an Icelandic Saga; artt. 26, 46, 48, 49, 63, 65, 66, 67, 74 are Icelandic Tales and Songs; artt. 29, 33, 60, 64, 71 are ballads of a general

character, which may have been invented by the writers; art. 35 is a ballad on the death of Tristram; and artt. 58, 68 are Æsopic Fables. The remaining 55 articles are either derived from Danish Ballads, or at least attached to that branch of literature. Thirteen of them indeed appear to have been translated from Vedel's edition (published in 1591); these are artt. 36, 38–41, 53–57, 69, 70, 73.

1. The Wife of a Roman Count, who disguised herself as a monk and rescued her husband from a Turkish prison. Translated from a German ballad by Jón Arason of Ögr (b. 1606, Provost in North Ísafjörðr, 1636–1673). In 32 eight-line stanzas. Beg.: "J Róm bió rýkur Greýfe." f. 1.

Gísla-bók, No. 67. For the German ballad, which is entitled "Der Graf im Pfluge," see *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, edited by Ludwig Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano (3 vols., Heidelberg, 1806–8), vol. i. p. 330. For the name of the Icelandic translator, see the next article, and see *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51 (printed at Copenhagen in 1850–2), pp. 232–3.

2. The Count's Daughter, who was ready to die for her lover, and was forgiven by her father. Another translation from the German by Jón Arason. Headed: "Kuæði 2 af sama Síra J[óni] A[ra] S[yni] ort og vr Þýsku vtlagt." In 18 four-line stanzas. Beg.: "Ein Greýfa dotter, fögur og fýn." f. 3 b.

Gísla-bók, No. 66.

3. "Kuæðe af Magnuse Joonssyne." Magnús Jónsson deceives Elen and marries Ingigerðr; Elen's two sons (by a former husband) avenge her. In 27 stanzas. Beg.: "Vilie þier nockuð hlýða mier." f. 4 b.

Printed in *Íslenzk Fornkvæði*, vol. i. p. 230. See also Gizurarbók, No. 1; and Gísla-bók, No. 1.

4. "Kuæðe af Tou og Supfaralýn." Ballad about Tove the Mistress, and Sophia the Queen, of Valdemar the Great. In 38 stanzas. Beg.: "Valldemann j landenu lætur gulleð slá." f. 5 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 188. Gizurar-bók, No. 2; and Gísla-bók, No. 2. The Danish ballad, "Valdemar og Tove," a somewhat different version, is No. 44 of Syv, No. 95 of Abrahamson, and No. 121 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*.

5. "Kuæðe af Gunnare á Hlyðarenda." Death of Gunnar;

versified from a passage in Njáls-saga. In 20 stanzas. Beg.: "Gunnar hiet bonde á Hlyðarenda." f. 7 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 132. Gizurar-bók, No. 3; and Gísla-bók, No. 3.

6. "Kuæðe af Gunnlauge og Sigurðe." Sigurðr is rejected by Sigríðr, the sister of Gunnlaugr; he brings his own sister, "Setzelia," up from his ship, to outshine her. In 10 stanzas. Beg.: "Sigurður lender skipunum við syna ey." f. 8.

Gizurar-bók, No. 4; and Gísla-bók, No. 4.

7. "Kuæðe af Herra Jóne og Asbyrne, bræðrum tuejm." Jón returns from Jerusalem, and saves his brother from prison. In 21 stanzas. Beg.: "Herra Jón og Asbiörn þeir voru bræður." f. 8 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 253. Gizurar-bók, No. 5. Omitted, by some accident, in Gísla-bók, though the next ballad is reckoned as No. 6 (see *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51, p. 220). In the Danish version, "Den broderlige Kierlighed," the brothers are Karl and Thord: see *Levninger af Middelalderens Digtekunst*, vol. i. (Copenhagen, 1780), No. 17, p. 116.

8. "Kuæðe af Elýnu og Andrise Stýgssyne." Andres comes in his ship, and persuades Elena to leave her father and mother. In 16 stanzas. Beg.: "Stóltts fru Elena stóð vnder loptsinnz sala." f. 9 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 6 (of which the first 4 stanzas are printed in Abrahamson, vol. v. p. 72); and Gísla-bók, No. 6.

9. "Kuæðe af Olafe Liljuroos." Ólafr is smitten with a "sax" (*i.e.* short sword) by an Elfwoman; he rides home, and dies in his mother's arms. In 24 stanzas. Beg.: "Olafur reýð með björgumm framm." f. 10 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 4. Gizurar-bók, No. 7; and Gísla-bók, No. 7. The Danish version, now known as "Elveskud," is in Syv, No. 87; and in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 47.

10. "Kuæðe af Herra Býrne og Ingegerðe." The Bride of Björn refuses to supplant his concubine, Ingigerðr. In 34 stanzas. Beg.: "Herra Biörn og Ingegerður, toluðu þaug sier gamann." f. 11 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði (under the title of "Elja Kvæði"), vol. ii. p. 110. Gizurar-bók, No. 8; and Gísla-bók, No. 8. An old

Danish version is printed in *Íslenzk Fornkvæði*, vol. ii. p. 107. See also "Slegfred og Brud" in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 255 (vol. v. p. 1).

11. "Kuæðe af Sigmunde." Sigmundr gives a love-philtre to Ingigerðr; but, instead of drinking it herself, she gives it to a sow. In 18 stanzas. Beg.: "Sigmundur fyrer austann folld." f. 12 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 66. Gizurar-bók, No. 9; and Gísla-bók, No. 9.

12. "Kuæðe af Nichulaase." Nicholas is poisoned in a cup of wine by his brother Peter. In 18 stanzas. Beg.: "Árla morguns kluckan söng." f. 13 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 84. Gizurar-bók, No. 10; and Gísla-bók, No. 10.

13. "Kuæðe af Herra Paana." Páni is attacked in his house and killed by Eirík and his brothers, on account of his having carried off their sister Lucia. In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Eýrekur rýdur á hauginn vpp." f. 14.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 181. Gizurar-bók, No. 11; and Gísla-bók, No. 11. An early Danish version is printed in *Ísl. Fornk.*, vol. i. p. 178; and the hero is there called "Palle." In the Swedish version, printed by Arwidsson, No. 83, he is called "Palne."

14. "Kuæðe af Herra Kóng Simóne." King Simón is holding a Thing, when he is denounced for rape by Ingigerðr and is executed. In 15 stanzas. Beg.: "Standið upp eðla Hofmenn." f. 14 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 225. Gizurar-bók, No. 12; and Gísla-bók, No. 12. There are two Danish versions, in which the King only appears as the judge; in the one, published by Vedel, iii. 17, the offender is "Herr Tidmand"; in the other, published by Abrahamson, No. 63 (vol. ii. p. 47), the offender is "Ebbe Galt," and he is the king's nephew.

15. "Kuæðe af Jngu lýfstuttu." Inga the Little is married to a Knight, but sickens to death on the seventh day; she tells the Knight to go to "Hvnavýk," and woo a maiden there, who is just like herself. In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Jnga litla vt j lond." f. 15.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 222. Gizurar-bók, No. 13; and Gísla-bók, No. 13. The Danish version, now known as "Inger-

lille og Herr Tord," was printed in *Levninger*, vol. ii. (1784), No. 15 (p. 113); and thence in Abrahamson, No. 216. A Swedish version is in Arwidsson, No. 131.

16. "Kuæðe af Gunnlauge." Gunnlaugr sails to "Ölvers skiær," and woos the daughter of King Eirſkr of Sweden. In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Hustruinn talaðe við sinn son." f. 15 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 14; and Gísla-bók, No. 14.

17. "Kuæðe af Frunne Stáfró." Kári is carried off by the mountain Elfwoman Stáfró; but he escapes in the end and charms her into stone. In 24 stanzas. Beg.: "Salómón og Káre, Þeir voru bræður báðer." f. 16.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 61. Gizurar-bók, No. 15; and Gísla-bók, No. 15. Allied to the Danish and Swedish ballads of Peter Gudmanson and the Dwarfs; see *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 35, and Arwidsson, No. 146.

18. "Kuæðe af Loga og Jngu." Inga goes to the Danish king, and chooses Logi to be her husband. In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Vng var hun Jnga, Hun reýð sig til þýnga." f. 17.

Printed, from Gizurar-bók, under the heading of "Jomfruen paa Tinge," in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, vol. iv. (1870), p. 299. Gizurar-bók, No. 16; and Gísla-bók, No. 16.

19. "Kuæðe af Boothillde." Pètr, the father of Bóthild, is threatened by the king's marshal, Logi, and consents to give up his daughter to him; Bóthild herself kills Logi, and goes into a convent. In 12 stanzas. Beg.: "Byr eirn Bóndin upp með á." f. 17 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 17; and Gísla-bók, No. 17. Quite a different subject from that of "Bóthildar kvæði" in *Íslenzk Fornkvæði*, vol. ii. p. 22.

20. "Kuæðe af Herra Petre Hára og Asbýrne Snara magum." Asbjörn the Swift intrigues with the daughter of Pètr the Hoary, and kills her father and his men at her chamber-door. In 16 stanzas. Beg.: "Herleger sueýnar higgið að Frvr." f. 18.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 164. Gizurar-bók, No. 18; and Gísla-bók, No. 18. In *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 131 is a ballad entitled "Esbern Snare," but with quite a different subject. In the Introduction to this Danish ballad (vol. iii. p. 182) Svend Grundtvig says that the present Icelandic ballad may possibly have been a sequel.

21. "Kuæðe af Hnvt j Borg og Sueyne konge." Knútr (here

called "Hnvtur") of Borg is killed at his bridal feast by King Sveinn; the bride pretends to yield to the King, but stabs him in bed. In 39 stanzas. Beg.: "Sueýrn kongur á skeýðunum." f. 18.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 294. Gizurar-bók, No. 19; and Gísla-bók, No. 19. The Danish version, now called "Knud af Borg," was printed by Syv, No. 18. It is No. 125 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. iv. p. 121).

22. "Tafl Kuæðe." A Lady plays at tables with five knights, her suitors, and wins everything from them; but she herself is won by the Page, Limiki. In 28 stanzas. Beg. "Það er so fagurt vmm sumartýd." f. 19 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 38. Gizurar-bók, No. 20; and Gísla-bók, No. 20. The Danish version is headed "Om Ganger-Pilten" in Syv, No. 36. It is No. 238 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, where it is entitled "Tærningspillet" (vol. iv. p. 403).

23. "Af Styg og Regisu." Sir Stígr casts a love-charm upon the Princess Regisa, when meaning to charm another lady. In 25 stanzas. Beg.: "Riddare Stýgur fór á skóga." f. 20 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 54. Gizurar-bók, No. 21; and Gísla-bók, No. 21. The Danish version, under the title of "Ridder Stigs Bryllup," is No. 76 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. ii. p. 301).

24. "Af Rogvalldi og Gunnhillde." Gunnhildr, the wife of King Dietrich ("Þiðrick"), is accused of adultery by the King's brother Rogvaldr (more correctly Rögnvaldr); she stands the ordeal, and he sinks to hell. In 28 stanzas. Beg.: "Það var einn so blýðann dag." f. 21.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 80; where it is headed "Gunnhildar Kvæði." It is also printed in section F of No. 13 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, under the general heading of "Ravengaard og Memering" (vol. i. p. 211). Gizurar-bók, No. 22; and Gísla-bók, No. 22.

25. "Af Frvnne Kristýnu." Kristín is courted by the Danish King; the Queen orders her men to burn her; but they carry her instead to a heathen King; and she converts this King, and marries him. In 35 stanzas. Beg.: "Vilieð þier nockuð hlýða mier." f. 22.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 198. Gizurar-bók, No. 23; and Gísla-bók, No. 23.

After this ballad there is a gap in Gizurar-bók; and the next page of that copy now begins with the second half of the second stanza of its No. 39 (No. 37 of Gísla-bók), which answers to No. 40 of the present MS. The Danish version of this ballad is in Syv, No. 72; and in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 128.

26. "Sniálz Kuæðe." Hrafn, a shipwrecked man, is well received at the court of Sniáll, king of Hálogaland (the extreme north of Norway); he finds that the king disappears mysteriously every night; he follows the king, and sees him leap into a lake, and leaps after him; the king meets his mother, an Elf-woman, at the bottom of the lake. In 49 strophes of Icelandic epic metre. Beg.: "Fyr atte eg mier fostrv væna, Sv kunne vel til kuæðiz að hlyða." Some of the strophes are added on the margin, in a later hand, and among these is the first strophe of No. 68 of Gísla-bók. f. 23.

This is usually known as "Snjá-kvæði." It is thus called in Gísla-bók, No. 68; and in our Add. 11,173 (f. 102). The king is there called Snjár (snow). In Saxo Grammaticus, Book viii. (ed. 1839, pp. 415–420), there is a king of Denmark named "Snio"; and upon this name Torfæus, in his *Series Dynastarum*, etc. (1702), p. 329, makes the following remarks: "Alias in nostris antiqvitatibus [*i.e.* in Icelandic writings] commemoratur *Snær*, vel, uti aliâ dialecto effertur, *Sniar* (in Germ. Snorrii versione Danicâ *Snio* dicitur) antiqvissimus Finlandiæ Rex, qui circa Christi nati tempora vixerit." The allusions here made by Torfæus are to the *Heimskringla*, first saga in the collection, namely Ynglinga-saga, cap. 16, where the Swedish king Vanlandi is described as marrying Drífa, the daughter of Snær the Old, king of Finland; and to the Danish translation of Heimskringla by Peder Clausson, entitled *Snorre Sturlesøns Norske Kongers Chronica* (Copenhagen, 1633), p. 12.

27. "Sophiu kuæðe." Queen Sophia tells King Valdemar that his sister Kristín has borne children to her cousin Burtleifr: the king calls Kristín to join him in the hall, and reproaches her to death. In 44 stanzas. Beg.: "Walldemar sagðe vmm sialtann siá." f. 24 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 171; Gísla-bók, No. 24. The Danish version, "K. Waldemar i og hans Søstre," is No. 41 in Syv (p. 59); and No. 126 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*.

28. "Af Margretu og Eilyf siskinum." Margaret, daughter

of the king of Denmark, meets her unknown brother Eilyf in a wood, and is ravished by him. In 42 stanzas. Beg.: "Vilieð þier nockuð hlýða mier." f. 25 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 100. Gísla-bók, No. 25. In the introduction to the printed copy (*Ísl. Fornk.*, vol. i. p. 92) Svend Grundtvig has given a Danish translation of his own, in antique style.

29. "Ænska výsann." A knight rescues his lady-love from Death, in the shape of a dragon, and carries her himself to the land of Death; he is told that he must return to the world for a time. In 18 stanzas. Beg.: "Enska vísann hvn er sig so löng." f. 27.

Gísla-bók, No. 26. In *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1847 (p. 162) there is the description of another copy in 15 stanzas; and mention is there made of a Fragment (containing 10 stanzas) in AM. 622, 4to. (16th cent.), which begins "Suenska vísan hún er laung."

30. "Af Vallara Systrabana." Two sisters are killed by a tramp; he tries to seduce the third sister, but is killed himself by her father. In 29 stanzas, preceded by the burthen. The burthen begins: "Skýn á skilldi." The narrative begins: "Þorkell á sier dætur tuær." f. 27 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 110. Gísla-bók, No. 27. In the Danish version, No. 164 of Abrahamson (vol. iii. p. 392), entitled "Hr. Truels's Døttre," the three sisters are killed by their three brothers, who have been stolen and bred by outlaws.

31. "Magna dans." Magni is sleeping with Svíalín, the Swedish king's daughter, when he is surprised and killed by the King; Svíalín bears a son, whom she names Magni, and who avenges his father. In 56 stanzas. Beg.: "Magni siglir vmm salltann siá." f. 28.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 325. Gísla-bók, No. 28. Only known in Icelandic.

32. "Ásu dans." Ása is turned out of doors by her father, Gunnar, because she will not name her lover; she is refused shelter by her sister, Signy, because she will not give up her betrothal ring; but she is received by her fostermother, and bears a son, Magnus; and, when the boy is twelve years old, his father, Petr, meets him, and marries Ása. In 88 stanzas. Beg.: "Gunnar a sier dætur tuær." f. 29 b.

Gísla-bók, No. 29. An abstract is given by Svend Grundtvig in the introduction to No. 269 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. v. p. 228), under the heading of "Liden Gjertrud og Hr. Börge."

33. "Kistu dans." A king's daughter shuts her lover up in a chest, meaning that they should be buried together; but she is frightened by thieves, who let the lover out. In 21 stanzas. Beg.: "Herra einn hellt heýður og magt." f. 31.

Gísla-bók, No. 30.

34. "Af Málfrýðe." Málfríðr, daughter of Lady Kristín of Scania, marries Asbjörn of Seeland; she bears eleven daughters; she is with child again, and begs Asbjörn not to leave her, because it has been foretold that she shall die with the twelfth child; he ridicules her fears, and goes to his ship; but he dreams of her, and he returns in haste, and finds her dead. In 22 stanzas. Beg.: "Kristýn situr j skáney." f. 32.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 210. Gísla-bók, No. 32. The Danish version, "Esben og Malfred," is No. 26 of *Tragica*, and No. 133 of Abrahamson (vol. iii. p. 208).

35. "Af Tristram og Ýsodd." Death of Tristram before the landing of Iseult the Fair, Iseult the Black having told him that the ship bore a black sail. In 30 stanzas. Beg.: "Frýr og herleger sueýnar." f. 32 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 198. Gísla-bók, No. 31.

36. "Kuæðe vmm Greýfa Gunelýn, sem sló Tiluentún j hel, og yfervann Jvar blá, og feck hanz systur Salenta, og giorði Brullaup til hennar." Count Gunelyn slays Tilventún, and conquers Ívar the Blue, and marries Salenta, the sister of Ívar. The ballad concludes with a burlesque account of the wedding. In 36 stanzas. Beg.: "Það var Greýfe Herra Guneleýn." f. 33 b.

Gísla-bók, No. 33. It seems to be quite literally translated from the Danish ballad published by Vedel, Part i. No. 6, under the heading:—"Om Grefve Guncelin/hvorledis hand slog Tilventin ihiel / og ofvervant Herr Ifver Blaa / og fick hans Søster Salenta / og giorde siden et merckeligt Kæmpe-Bryllup med hende" (see Vedel, and Syv, 1695, p. 50). This ballad is merely described in Abrahamson, vol. v. (1814), p. 59. Under the title of "Greve Genselin" it is No. 16 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. i. p. 222).

37. "Af Herra Jóni og Ragnfrýðe." Ragnfríðr has warning

dreams of the death of Jón; her brothers, the sons of Bjarni, find him in the church, and kill him outside on the kerbstone. In 25 stanzas. Beg.: "Herra Jón og Ragnfrýður, töluðu þau sier gaman." f. 34 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 169, where it is called "Bjarnasona Kvæði." Gísla-bók, No. 34. The Danish version, "Fru Bodild" is No. 8 of *Tragica*, No. 116 of Abrahamson, and No. 144 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. iii. p. 327).

38. "Af Sueyne Vonvið." Sveinn Vonvið, urged by his mother, Adelin, leaves home to find the slayer of his father, King Esmer; he meets and kills the "dýrakall" (Wild-beast-keeper), who boasts of having slain Esmer; he asks a series of riddles, which are answered by a herdsman; finally he returns home, and kills twelve witches, and also his own mother. In 74 stanzas. Beg.: "Sueyrn Vonvið situr j bve." f. 35 b.

Gísla-bók, No. 35. It seems to be literally translated from Vedel, Part i. No. 16. See *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 18.

39. "Vmm Mummering litla." Mummering overthrows many champions for slighting him as a dwarf; at length Vidrich Verlandsson himself (the German "Wittich") meets him, and neither can get the better of the other, if they fight till doomsday. In 19 stanzas. Beg.: "Mummering var hinn minst[e] mann, Sem fæddur var j Kong Karlz land, mýn fegursta jómfrv." f. 38.

Gísla-bók, No. 36. It seems to be a literal translation of the ballad called by Vedel "Mimmering Tandt" (Part i. No. 18). See *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 14 (vol. i. p. 214).

40. The Ghost of Hedeby. The Ghost tells the Ballad-writer that he has been killed by his wife. In 16 stanzas. Beg.: "Jeg reyð mik vmm velldi." f. 38 b.

Gizurar-bók, reckoned as No. 39, the first stanza and a half wanting; and Gísla-bók, No. 37. It seems to be literally translated from the Danish ballad, "Hedebyes Giengangere," printed by Vedel, Part ii. No. 5. See *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 91 (vol. ii. p. 498).

41. "Vmm óluckulegar gifftingar Greyfans dottur." The daughter of a Count of Vendel relates how she was carried off and left in a wood by a wolf, and fostered by a hind; and how she was three times married, but each time widowed by violence. In 25 stanzas. Beg.: "Jeg var fædd j bure, a meðal frv og mey." f. 39.

Gizurar-bók, No. 40; and Gísla-bók, No. 38. It seems to be translated from the text of the ballad headed "Grefvens Daatters af Vendel ulyckelige Giftermaal," Vedel, Part ii. No. 11. A 26th stanza (taken from some other MS.) was added by Syv, which is not translated here. See the remarks of Svend Grundtvig, in his Introduction to "Grevens datter af Vendel," No. 285 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. v. p. 374).

42. A maiden relates how she was addressed by a young knight; how she told him she was an orphan; and how he proved to be her brother, her only relation. In 10 stanzas. Beg.: "Skipinn liggia hier við sand"; and the 2nd stanza begins: "Jómfrý gech til brunna." f. 39 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 41; and Gísla-bók, No. 39. The Danish version, now known as "Svend og hans Søster," was published by Syv, No. 70. It is No. 202 of Abrahamson.

43. "Af Ólofu og hennar syne." A King finds a child exposed, and carries it in to his daughter Ólöf; he questions her about a horse and its rider that have been at her bower door; he shows her the head, foot, and hand of her lover; she invokes fire upon her father's head, and it breaks out and burns his house and him. In 25 stanzas, preceded by the burthen. The burthen begins: "Vngan leýt eg hofmann j harla fögrumm runne." The ballad begins: "Kongurenn reýð með steýne fram." f. 40.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 340. Gizurar-bók, No. 42; and Gísla-bók, No. 40. A Danish version, of much later character, now known as "Det hurtige Svar," was published by Syv, No. 73. It is No. 204 of Abrahamson, who gives extracts in his notes (vol. iv. pp. 362–4) from two other versions, that resemble the Scotch song of "Hame cam our gudeman at e'en."

44. "Ásu kuæðe." Ása releases a criminal, who says that he has violated ten maidens, and now he will violate the eleventh. In 8 stanzas. Beg.: "Ása geck vmm stræte, far vel fley." f. 40 b.

Published (from Gizurar-bók) by Svend Grundtvig, in his Introduction to "Kvindemorderen," No. 183 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. iv. pp. 4–5). Gizurar-bók, No. 44; and Gísla-bók, No. 41.

45. "Vpplyfgunar kuæðe." A Burgher's son awakes a King's daughter from apparent death. In 22 stanzas. Beg.: "Dögling átte drottning dýrra stietta." f. 40 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 45; and Gísla-bók, No. 42.

46. A dance-song, in 8 stanzas, beginning "Gunnar [mistake for Gumnar] hafa hier gamann j kueld." f. 41 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 46; and Gísla-bók, No. 43.

47. "Kristýnar kuæðe." Kristín relates how she was exposed in her infancy; and how her husband was killed. In 12 stanzas. Beg.: "Jeg var skorinn j silke og j skarlatz treý." f. 42.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 154. Gizurar-bók, No. 47; and Gísla-bók, No. 44. This is another version of the same subject as that in our No. 41. See the remarks of Svend Grundtvig, in his Introduction to "Grevens datter af Vendel" (vol. v. p. 375), where the first 8 stanzas of the Icelandic text are given from Gizurar-bók.

48. "Þóru Lióð." Thorkell, son of a Danish chief named Thorleifr, is keeping the feast of Yule, when a giantess named Thóra enters; he gives her hospitality till summer, and she weaves a sail for him. In 26 strophes of epic verse. Beg.: "Heyrt hafa þióðer Þorleyfz geteð." f. 42.

Gizurar-bók, No. 48; and Gísla-bók, No. 45.

49. "Kringeluefiu výsur." A Peasant has a daughter named Gullinhöfða; he loses his wife; he meets a damsel in a wood, who calls herself "Krýngelnefia" (as the name is rightly written in the text, meaning Funny-nose), and she goes home with him; after some time she wishes to marry off her stepdaughter; she sees some Danish warships and invites their commander, the king's son Ásmundr, into their cottage; Ásmundr is struck with Gullinhöfða. At this point the scribe stops. In 24 strophes of epic verse. Beg.: "Mun eg frá kalle kunna að segia." f. 43.

Gizurar-bók, No. 49; and Gísla-bók, No. 46, where the heading is "Kringilvefju vísur" (see *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51, p. 228). In the catalogue of the MSS. of the Icelandic Literary Society, by Sigurður Jónasson (Copenhagen, 1869), p. 217, there is a line quoted from the last strophe of "Kringilnefju kvæði," which shows that a fuller version still exists. The whole strophe has been printed by Konrad Maurer, in his *Isländische Volkssagen* (1860), p. 291.

50. "Af Þorkele og Margretu." Thorkell marries Margret; she confesses that she has already borne three sons; he turns out to be the unknown father. In 25 stanzas. Beg.: "Þorkell rýður sig vnder eý Far vel Fleý." f. 44.

Gizurar-bók, No. 50; and Gísla-bók, No. 47.

51. [Draum-] "Kuæðe." A girl tells her dreams; her stepmother says she will marry the King of Scania. In 13 stanzas, preceded by the burthen. The burthen begins: "Fagurt sýngur suanurenn vmm sumarlánga týð." The stanzas begin: "Stiupmoðer raðtu drauminn minn." f. 45.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 55. Gizurar-bók, No. 51; and Gísla-bók, No. 48. All the various versions are discussed by Svend Grundtvig, in his Introduction to "Møens Morgendrømme," No. 239 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. iv. p. 415).

52. "Af Kristýnu og Asbyrne." Kristín works an embroidered coat for Asbjörn, and sends it to him, when he is at the Thing; he receives it as a pledge of their marriage. In 16 stanzas, preceded by a stanza containing the burthen. The burthen stanza begins: "Gulle ber hun spentann skó." The ballad itself begins: "Kristýn beiddj móðer sýn." f. 45.

Islenzk Fornkvæði, vol. ii. p. 211. Gizurar-bók, No. 52; and Gísla-bók, No. 49. The Danish version was published by Syv, No. 40, "Herr Asbjørn Snare." See also *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 131, "Esbern Snare"; where the present ballad is quoted in the Introduction (vol. iii. p. 181), and Svend Grundtvig remarks (p. 182) that the other Icelandic ballad on Asbjörn Snari (our No. 20) may be regarded as a continuation of the story.

53. "Af Spanialandj og Miklagarðj." Knútr of Mikligarðr (a name generally given to Constantinople) and his brother, little Þètr Benediktsson, are both killed by the King of Spain; Benedikt, the son of Knútr, kills the king, and carries the king's daughter, Dagmey, home with him (said in the 52nd stanza to be to Denmark, and in the 53rd to be to Mikligarðr). In 54 stanzas. Beg.: "Spanialand og Miklagarður, Það liggur so lángt af leýðj." f. 45 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 53; and Gísla-bók, No. 50. It seems to be a literal translation of the Danish ballad, published by Vedel, Part iii. No. 1, under the heading "Spanie Land og Mycklegaard." This is No. 168 of Abrahamson, who calls it "Knud af Myklegaard," and who prints the first stanza of the Icelandic version in his vol. v. p. 75.

54. "Af Herra Eyrekj og Ingebiörgu." Íngibjörg, a Swedish princess, comes to Denmark, to be married to King "Eyrek": she obtains her first boon, that the daughters of Marsk Stig

should be released from prison. In 18 stanzas. Beg.: "Það var hann Herra Eyrek kóngur." f. 47.

Gizurar-bók, No. 54; and Gísla-bók, No. 51. It seems to be a literal translation of the Danish ballad, published by Vedel, Part ii. No. 37, under the heading: "Dronning Ingeborg / Erick Menveds." This is Abrahamson, No. 83, headed "Marsk Stigviserne, No. 9"; and it is No. 153 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, headed "Erik Menveds Bryllup (1296)."

55. "Palli bár og lyður, 3 bræður, drap[u] huör annan," *i.e.* "Palli, Bár, and Lýður, three brothers, slew each other." In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Lýður rýður á þingeð framm." f. 48.

Gizurar-bók, No. 55; and Gísla-bók, No. 52. It seems to be a literal translation of the Danish ballad, published by Vedel, Part iii. No. 4. This is No. 139 of Abrahamson.

56. "Tvla quæðj." "Thule Vagnsson," disguised as a girl, avenges his father's death, by killing Sir "Grásueynn" before St. Mary's altar in Lund. In 32 stanzas. Beg.: "J. Lunda kyrkiu hefst ein stefna." f. 48.

Gizurar-bók, No. 56; and Gísla-bók, No. 53. It seems to be a literal translation of the Danish ballad, published by Vedel, Part iii. No. 9. For the question as to the locality of Vedel's "Lunde," see Svend Grundtvig's remarks, in favour of its being the famous Lund in Scania, in his Introduction to No. 143 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, headed "Tule Vognsön og Svend Graa (ved 1275)," vol. iii. p. 313.

57. "Kong Byrge j Suyarýke liet suellta tuo sýna bræður j hel j fangelse," *i.e.* "King Birger in Sweden let his two brothers starve to death in prison." In 58 stanzas. Beg.: "Frv Ingebiorg þria bræður átte." f. 49 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 57; and Gísla-bók, No. 54. It seems to be a literal translation of the Danish ballad, as altered by Vedel, Part ii. No. 39. See the remarks on Vedel's alterations, in two notes by Svend Grundtvig, in his Introduction to No. 154 of *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (vol. iii. p. 458), where the ballad is headed "Kong Birger og hans Brödre (1317–18)."

58. "Feðga reýsa" (Journey of the Father and Son). Fable of the old man and his son, and their ass. In 31 stanzas; preceded by three lines, the third of which forms the burthen. The three introductory lines are: "Eg veyt hier ej so vænan mann, j veralldar þessu ryke, að getj hann gjort so ollum lyke." f. 51.

Gizurar-bók, No. 58; not in Gísla-bók. In *Ant*
skrift for 1849–51, p. 230, *note* 2, the authorship of
ascribed to Björn of Skarðsá, the Annalist (b. 1575,

59. "Af Ribballd og Gullbrvn." Ribbald is ri
his sweetheart, the king's daughter, Gullbrún; a
them, and arouses the king, who pursues them; R
Gullbrún not to cry out his name while he is figh
her father and brother; she cries to him to stay his
receives his deathblow. In 38 stanzas; preceded by
taining the burthen. The two introductory lines
blakar laufeð á þann linda, allt er óhægra að
binda." The ballad itself begins: "Heyrðu
frýða." f. 52.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, vol. i. p. 129. Gizurar-bók,
Gísla-bók, No. 55. The Danish version, now know
og Guldborg," was published by Syv, No. 88. It
Danmarks gamle Folkeviser (vol. ii. p. 338).

60. "Af skógarmanne og hanz vnnustu" (of t
i.e. Outlaw, and his Sweetheart). They escape fro
in a boat, but are forced to swim to land; he is atta
horsemen, and killed; she stabs the horsemen in th
28 stanzas. Beg.: "Vpp j hæsta turne." f. 53.

Gizurar-bók, No. 60; and Gísla-bók, No. 56.

61. "Tóa" (more correctly Tófa) exposes her b
raven takes him up and drops him into the lap of h
knows him, by the palm of his hand, to be the chil
he carries the child to her, and strikes her on the
blood runs down on her fur cloak. In 21 stanzas.
situr jnne." f. 53 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði (F., taken from a Royal MS.,
from the Gísla-bók), vol. ii. p. 9. Gizurar-bók,
Gísla-bók, No. 57. Some of the features of this bal
in the Norse ballad, "Unge Vaakukadd," No. 19 of
edited by Sophus Bugge, *Gamle Norske Folkeviser*
1858), pp. 93–4.

62. "Af Gauta og Magnhillde." Lady Magnh
husband, Gaute, that she dreads crossing a certain
an iron bridge thrown across it; but the bridge
Magnhilld is drowned; Gaute seizes his harp,
wonderfully that all things listen to him, and the

Magnhilld is floated up on the shore. In 21 stanzas. Beg.: "Gaute og hun Magnhilld frý." f. 53 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, No. 3, "Gauta kvæði," vol. i. p. 17. Gizurar-bók, No. 62; and Gísla-bók, No. 58. In the Danish and other Northern versions the Water-spirit appears in person, and restores the Bride alive to the Harper. See "Harpens kraft," in Abrahamson, No. 53; and in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 40 (vol. ii. p. 63; vol. iii. p. 820; vol. iv. pp. 810, 815). The Icelandic versions seem to be most closely allied to the Norse version published by Magnus Brostrup Landstad, in his *Norske Folkeviser* (Christiania, 1853), No. 51, "Gaute og Magnild," p. 469.

63. "Grýlu kuæde." A nursery song about Grýla, the hag who eats naughty children at Christmas-time. In 32 stanzas. The first stanza is: "Hier er kominn grýla hun giægist vmm hól, hun mun vilia huyla sig hier vmm jól." f. 54.

Gizurar-bók, No. 63; not in Gísla-bók. Vigfusson, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (vol. i. p. 357), mentions Grýla, as depicted as a kind of Goblin-Fox with fifteen tails, and he quotes *Sturlunga-saga* (vii. ch. 44), "Her ferr Grýla í garð ofan, ok hefvi á ser hala fimtán." Other songs about Grýla are given in the second edition of the collection of small poems called *Snót* (Reykjavík, 1865), pp. 286, 295, 298. See also the collection of legends by Jón Arnason, *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur*, vol. i. (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 218–221. In the *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–1851 (p. 231, note) the present song is ascribed to Guðmundr Erlendsson, who was Priest at Fell in Slèttuhlíð (in Skagarfjarðar sýsla, North Iceland), in 1634, and died 1670.

64. "Výn kuæde." Wine-ballad, telling how a fiddler was thrown, when dead drunk, into a grave dug for those who had died of the plague. In 20 stanzas, preceded by a short burthen-stanza. The burthen-stanza begins: "Til vara bið eg huor vopnameyður." The ballad itself begins: "Vtannlandz j eirnum stað." f. 55.

Gizurar-bók, No. 64; and Gísla-bók, No. 59.

65. Song, in form of a dialogue between Ólöf and her brother Magnús; in which she advises him never to go out without his staff. In 8 eleven-line stanzas; preceded by a four-line stanza containing the burthen. The burthen-stanza is: "Ólöf talar Magnús minn, mitt það ráðeð er, hafðu stafinn hiá þier þinn huört sem þu fer." The body of the song begins: "Grýðar völur

greýnt var mier" (an allusion to Gríðar-völr, the staff which Thor received from the giantess Gríðr, as related in Skáldskaparmál; see Egilsson's edition of *Snorra-Edda*, p. 60). f. 56.

Gizurar-bók, No. 65; not in Gísla-bók.

66. "Hauks kuæðe." A song on the same theme, between Brýnka and her brother Haukr. In 6 fourteen-line stanzas; preceded by a four-line stanza containing the burthen. The burthen-stanza is: "Brýnka talar við bróður sinn, beýning sæk þu mier, hafðu stafinn haukur minn, huört sem þu fer." The body of the song begins: "Bryngerður j Brúða Reýt, býrte eg fyrst j kuæðj, ættfolk hennar eg ekki veýt, og ekkert barna sæðj." f. 56 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 66; not in Gísla-bók.

67. "Lundunar kuæðe." A song in praise of Lundún, a small farm in Borgarfjörðr in South Iceland; ascribed (see below) to a local poet of the 17th century, named Bjarni Jónsson. In 15 twelve-line stanzas. Beg.: "Lasta eg ekki Lundun, lofleg er su borg." f. 57.

Gizurar-bók, No. 6; not in Gísla-bók. Another copy is described, and the first two stanzas are printed, in *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51 (pp. 19–20).

68. "Af Tóu og Krumma." Fable of the Fox and Crow. In 24 strophes of epic verse. Beg.: "Margann forleinger j famen [fámenni?], sem vanist hefer hiá vyrðum að duel[ja]." f. 58 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 69 (headed "Skaufala bálkr"); not in Gísla-bók. No. 68 of Gizurar-bók is called "Tóu kvæði"; but it is not the Fox and the Crow, but the Fox who persuaded the Bear to lick honey from a hollow oak.

69. "Af Nichulase og Herra Eyrek Brvn." Nichulas Baggason is feasting with Eyrek the Brown; he claims one of the serving-men, as being a dependant of his own; the two Lords fight, and kill each other. In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Það var hann Nichulas Baggason, hann biður leggja söðul á hest." f. 59.

Gizurar-bók, No. 70 (wanting the first 7 stanzas); Gísla-bók, No. 60 (with a 12th stanza added at the end). It seems to be a close translation of the Danish version, published by Vedel, Part iii. No. 5, entitled "Nilaus Baggisøn og brune Herr Erick." In Syv's edition of Vedel (1695, pp. 372–3) the stanzas are

wrongly reckoned as 12, the numbers going from 8 to 10. In Abrahamson (see vol. v. p. 62) the ballad is omitted as too insignificant.

70. The Maiden in the bird-skin; whose lover fed her with flesh cut from his breast, and thus restored her to her own shape again. In 8 stanzas. Beg.: "Jeg tók øxe vppá mitt bak." f. 59 b.

Gizurar-bók, No. 71 (the last in that collection); and Gísla-bók, No. 61. It seems to be a close translation of the Danish version, published by Vedel, Part ii. No. 10, and afterwards known as "Den omskabte Jomfru:" see Abrahamson, No. 36. See also Svend Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 56, "Jomfruen i Fugleham."

71. Ballad, how a Girl rescues her brother from the prison of a Count, and leaves the Count's Mistress in the brother's place. In 18 stanzas. Beg.: "Heýrðu það mæta móðer." f. 60.

Gísla-bók, No. 62.

72. Ballad, how Sir Pètr kills Sir Bjørn, the lover of his sister Kristýn, and how she dies of sorrow. In 11 stanzas. Beg.: "Herra petur talar við skeýnkesueýna sýn, vær skulum gánga fyrir sunnan Rýn." f. 60.

Gísla-bók, No. 63.

73. Ballad, how two sisters disguise themselves as young men and kill "Erlind," the slayer of their father. In 23 stanzas. Beg.: "Sýna spýria syster vann." f. 60 b.

Gísla-bók, No. 64. It seems to be closely translated from the Danish version published by Vedel, Part iii. No. 7, except that the first line of the Danish burthen is "for den, der mig hafver lofvet i Løn," whereas in the present Icelandic ballad it is "Vnder viðinum væna." Two other Danish texts are given by Grundtvig in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, No. 193, headed "Döttre hævne Fader" (vol. iv. p. 114).

74. "Lukkuspráng." A didactic poem, in 90 stanzas. Beg.: "Árið gott með auðnu og list yfer þig mun koma fyrst." f. 61.

Similar (but apparently different) poems, entitled "Lukkusprang" (Fortune's Web), are in the library of the Icelandic Literary Society: see *Skýrsla um Handritasafn hins Íslenzka Bókmentafèlags*, by Sigurður Jónasson (Copenhagen, 1869), pp. 155, 170, 181, 202.

75. "Kuæðe 74 [Lukkuspráng not being reckoned] af Hryngi

Kongi og Alexander." Alexander carries off the daughter of King Hríngr; the father attacks Alexander in his own house and cuts off his right hand and both his feet. Imperfect, ending with the 23rd stanza. Beg.: "Hrýngur hiet sá kóngurinn." The 23rd stanza is mutilated; it begins "Hiuggu þeir hann Alexander." At the top of the page the scribe has inserted the burthen: "Alex[ander] l[ætr] b[yrðíng] b[úa]." f. 64 b.

Íslenzk Fornkvæði, No. 36, "Alexanders kvæði," vol. ii. p. 13; the 23rd stanza in the present MS. is there (p. 17) stanza 25. Gísla-bók, No. 65.

Additional 11,173. ff. 101–144 b.

Paper; about 1800. Quarto; ff. 44, having 14 to 18 lines to a page, most of these lines, however, being (metrically considered) only half-lines.

Bound up with other MSS., containing Eddic poems, and commentaries upon them.

Two Northern Fairy-tales, turned into verse, in the old epic metre. Transcribed, and furnished with Danish glosses, by H. E. Wium (for some account of whom see the description of Add. 11,158 in vol. i. p. 858). *Icelandic.*

1. Snjás-kvæði. Story of Snjár, king of Hálogaland (the extreme north of Norway). In 48 strophes. ff. 102–114 b.

In the other copy (see the description of Add. 11,177, art. 26, f. 23) the king is called Sniáll. There is here an introductory strophe which is not in the other copy. The title here is: "Sniás qvæði, et Digt fra Middelalderen, handler om underjordiske Folk, og er forfattet i de Tiders Smag." f. 101. The introductory strophe begins: "Þeige þú Oddný" (with the marginal gloss "Guðrún"), "Þér vil ek gamna." The second strophe begins: "Fyrre átti ek mér fóstru væna." f. 102.

2. Kötlu-draumr (Dream of Katla). Story of Katla, who was the wife of Márr, a chieftain of North-western Iceland, but who was violated in a trance by an Elf named Kári. In 102 strophes; with 4 additional strophes at the end, taken from another MS. ff. 115–144 b.

Márr, the chief man of Reykjanes in Barðastrandar-sýsla (in

N.W. Iceland), returns from the Althing, and finds his wife Katla just recovered from a trance of four days. She reluctantly confesses that an Elf-woman named Alvör has led her away in a dream, and brought her to the Elf Kári, the son of Alvör. Márr consoles her, and is kind to the boy Kári, whom she bears to the Elf. She bears a son named Ari to Márr himself. The boys are brought up together. They quarrel at a feast, and Ari calls Kári "whore's son" (f. 136). Katla's brothers say that she has dishonoured them; but Márr defends his wife. In the end Kári is sent to be fostered elsewhere, and becomes famous for science and astrology; while Ari succeeds to the chieftainship.

In Landnámabók (called by Möbius "Liber aboriginum Islandiæ") the wife of Márr is named Þorkatla. It is there said that Ari left three sons, who continued the race; but that he himself disappeared at sea. But it is added that Hrafn Hlymreksfari (Rafn, the voyager to Limerick) had visited Hvítramannaland (White-men's-land in America, supposed to have been Florida) and had seen Ari there. And it is further added (on other authority) that Ari was much esteemed by the Indians, but not allowed to leave the country. Landnámabók, as might be expected, makes no mention of Kári.

Reykhólar, the seat of the chiefs of Reykjanes, is described by P. E. K. Kålund, in his *Beskrivelse af Island*, vol. i. (Copenhagen, 1877), p. 515; and at p. 517, *note*, some mention is made of Kötlu-draumr. The story is told, in prose, under the head of "Álfar" (Elves), in the first part of the collection of Jón Árnason, entitled *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og Æfintýri* (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 59–64. The present poem corresponds very closely to the prose tale; but the latter contains some additions about Kári the Younger, his quarrelling with his grandmother Alvör, and his killing her with a magic flame; whereas the poem ends altogether happily. The title here given by Wium is—"Kötlu-Dramr, et Digt fra Middelalderen" (f. 115); and he adds six short rhyming verses in Icelandic (f. 115 b).

The first strophe of the poem is:—

"Már hefir búit manna göfugastr,
nýtr höfdinge á nesi Reÿkia,
hans frá ek qvinna Katla héti,
sú var menia-ná" (with the marginal gloss of "Fruentimmer") mannanna stórra." f. 116.

This poem, in 61 strophes, forms No. 175 of Gísla-bók described in one of the periodicals of the Society of Northern Antiquaries, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift* for 1849–51, p. 252. There are other copies of various length, some having only about 50 strophes, while some have 88.

EASTERN LEGENDS AND TALES.

Additional 17,299.

Vellum; xiith century. Folio; ff. 113, having 26 to 28 lines to a page. With initials in green, in red, and in yellow-brown.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. A spiritual Romance, relating how Josaphat, son of a pagan king in India, was converted to Christianity by Barlaam, a hermit from the desert of Sennaar; how the young Prince converted his father, and became a Hermit himself, and how Barlaam and Josaphat were regarded as Saints. Adapted from the legendary Life of Buddha. Originally written in Greek of the seventh or eighth century, and ascribed here (and elsewhere) to St. John of Damascus, who is said to have ended his life in the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem, dying there in the latter half of the eighth century. Probably translated into Latin in the eleventh or twelfth century. Not divided into chapters, but into 132 paragraphs, each distinguished by a coloured initial. *Latin.*

In a Greek Life of John of Damascus (commonly ascribed to John, Patriarch of Jerusalem in 963–9) it is stated that his ancestors continued openly to profess Christianity and to assist their fellow-Christians in Damascus, and yet were employed by the Saracens in places of trust; and it is added that his father, more especially, held high office and showed religious zeal. It was Baronius, we believe, who first (in his *Annales*, An. 690, No. xiv.) *

* Cæsar Baronius (d. 1607) published his *Annales Ecclesiastici* at Rome, in 12 vols., 1588–1593. For the reference to Sergius as the father of John,

suggested that this zealous Christian, the father of John, was the same as the Sergius who is mentioned in the Chronographia of Theophanes (d. 818) under the year of the world (Alexandrian era) 6183, and in the Latin version of the same Chronographia, by Anastasius the Vatican Librarian (d. after 869), under the sixth year of the Emperor Justinian II. (i.e. 69$\frac{9}{7}$). It is there said that "Ἀβιμέλεχ" (i.e. Abdelmelik, Caliph, at Damascus, in A.D. 685–705) had intended to remove the pillars of the Church at Gethsemane, in order to place them in the Mosque at Mecca, but that he had been dissuaded from this purpose by a most eminent Christian, Sergius, son of Mansur (an Arabic name, meaning Redeemed), his Financial Minister and intimate friend.* Under the year 6221, Theophanes mentions John himself as a son of Mansur (*ὁ τοῦ Μανσούρ*), and says that he was then a monk and an eminent teacher, residing in Damascus, "*ἐν τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν Δαμασχῷ.*" The whole passage is thus rendered by Anastasius, under 721: "Porro in Syria penes Damascum Joannes Mansur presbyter et monachus, cognomento Chrysorroas, doctor optimus vita et verbo præfulsit" (De Boor, vols. i. p. 408, ii. p. 264; Migne, vol. cviii., cols. 824 and 1364). Under 6226, Theophanes speaks of a certain Theodore, as a son of Mansur, who was then banished into the desert; and here the phrase "*Θεόδωρος ὁ τοῦ Μανσοὺρ*" is rendered by Anastasius "Theodorus Mansur" (De Boor, vols. i. p. 410, ii. p. 266; Migne, vol. cviii., cols. 828 and 1366). Again, under 6234, Theophanes describes how the Emperor, Constantine Copronymus, anathematized John of Damascus, derisively calling him "Manzer" (Jewish for Bastard), instead of his "grandfather's" (or perhaps "ancestral") name, Mansur. The Greek phrase, "*ἀντὶ τοῦ παππικοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Μανσούρ,*" is rendered by Anastasius "pro Mansur, quod est avitum nomen eius" (De Boor, vols. i. p. 417, ii. p. 271; Migne, vol. cviii., cols. 841 and 1370). Lastly, under 6245,

see the edition, with commentaries by Ant. Pagi, in 38 vols. (Lucca, 1738–59), vol. xii. p. 115.

* Pointed in this sense by Carl de Boor, in his edition of Theophanes (Leipzig, 1883), vol. i. p. 365, thus: "*ὁ τοῦ Μανσοὺρ, γενικὸς λογοθέτης καὶ λίαν φίκειωμένος τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀβιμέλεχ.*" But pointed thus in the older editions: "*ὁ τοῦ Μανσοῦρ γενικὸς λογοθέτης*" (see Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. cviii., col. 741). The latter reading is supported by the Latin of Anastasius, "qui erat generalis Mansur logotheta" (see De Boor, vol. ii. p. 232; and Migne, vol. cviii., col. 1338).

Theophanes records the anathemas of the Council of Constantinople, of A.D. 754, pronounced against Germanus (previously Patriarch of Constantinople, but forced to resign in 730), George of Cyprus, and John of Damascus, son of Mansur (*τὸν Μανσοὺρ*, translated by Anastasius, "nepotem Mansur") (De Boor, vols. i. p. 428, ii. p. 280; Migne, vol. cviii. cols. 861, 1377). It will be observed that the kinship between Mansur, Sergius, and John, is still left a little uncertain. But, upon the whole, we may safely follow Baronius in surmising that the father of John mentioned by his biographer was the Sergius of Theophanes. Most (if not all) modern critics hold the same view. We may especially refer to Michel Lequien, the best editor of his works (2 vols., Paris, 1712). See the Life inserted by Lequien between the "Dissertationes" and the "Opera," vol. i. p. iii. of the Life, *note;* and see Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. xciv., cols. 435–6.

St. John of Damascus was a warm defender of the sacred Images against the two Emperors Leo the Isaurian and his son Constantine Copronymus; and this controversy has afforded the only precise dates in his biography. Leo issued an edict against Images in 726, and held a Council on the same subject in 730; and the first two of John's Discourses on the Images were in reply to these proceedings (Lequien, vol. i. pp. 307, 330; Migne, vol. xciv., cols. 1232, 1284). We have already spoken of the Council of 754, in which John was anathematized, in company with two others. It is almost certain that one of these, the ex-Patriarch Germanus, was dead; for he is mentioned in a letter from Pope Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo, written before his deposition in 730, as being then ninety-five (Joh. Harduinus, *Acta Conciliorum*, Paris, 1714, vol. iv., col. 10); and it is asserted by Prof. Jos. Langen (*Johannes von Damaskus*, Gotha, 1879, p. 21) that all three must at that time have been dead, in view of the closing words: "*Ἡ τριὰς τοὺς τρεῖς καθεῖλεν.*" These anathemas were repeated (for the purpose of their being revoked) in the Second Council of Nicæa (at which Theophanes the Chronographist was present), in A.D. 787; and it is there noted that *Μανσοὺρ* was a name given scoffingly ("*ὑβριστικῶς*") to John, although he was a man who had left all to follow Christ, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Arabia (Harduin, vol. iv. col. 437). It may fairly

be inferred then, that, if he was not actually dead in 754, he had ceased to hold any official position.*

The Greek Life (professedly founded on an earlier Arabic Life), which is commonly ascribed to a Patriarch John of Jerusalem (963–9), states that, upon the death of his father, John of Damascus was appointed "Πρωτοσύμβουλος," Chief Councillor (Migne, vol. xciv. col. 449). It then relates how the Emperor, Leo the Isaurian, persuaded the Caliph that John was a traitor; how John had his right hand struck off, and how it was restored to his arm by the Virgin, and how he retired to the monastery of St. Sabas near Jerusalem and there completed his great theological works. We have seen that, under the year 6221 (A.D. 729 according to the usual reckoning, but by Anastasius reckoned as 721), Theophanes says that John was a monk in Damascus. It is quite probable that he may have ended his days at St. Sabas, but this legendary Life is the only authority for the fact.

His authorship of Barlaam and Josaphat (or Joasaph, as the hero was originally named) is much more doubtful. Max Müller, indeed, says that the objections seem to him very weak (*Selected Essays*, vol. i. p. 533); and Langen argues that the doctrines and the favourite authorities found in the Romance are precisely the same as those in the undoubted works of John of Damascus (*Joh. von Damaskus*, p. 254). But these views and assertions have lately been combated by Hermann Zotenberg in his *Notice sur le Livre de Barlaam et Joasaph* (Paris, 1886). The latter maintains, moreover, that the formal ascription of the work to John of Damascus rests entirely upon the conjecture of the old Latin translator. He enumerates fifty-three Greek MSS., from the 11th to the 17th century. A few of those that he has not seen have been insufficiently described; but it seems plain that at least thirty MSS. (of the 11th to the 15th century) merely call the author John, a Monk of St. Sabas; that two MSS. (11th and 15th centuries) call him Euthymius the Iberian (a native of a part of Georgia); that eight MSS. (16th century) call him John of Sinai; and that it is not till the 16th century that five titles are found (in two cases added to older MSS.) which call him

* Prof. Max Müller has made a curious slip in his delightful Essay on the Migration of Fables, saying that Sergius and his son John of Damascus served under the Caliph Almansur at Baghdad (i.e. in 754–775): see *Selected Essays* (1881), vol. i. p. 532.

John of Damascus. Lastly, Zotenberg tries to show that the style of the Romance is more classical than that of John of Damascus; and that the work bears traces of the religious controversies in Syria at an earlier period, namely the first half of the 7th century.

The title, obtained by a collation of the oldest MSS., is given by Zotenberg (p. 5) thus: "*Ἱστορία ψυχωφελὴς ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιόπων χώρας, τῆς Ἰνδῶν λεγομένης, πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν μετενεχθεῖσα διὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ, ἀνδρὸς τιμίου καὶ ἐναρέτου μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα.*" It will be observed that this title represents John as bringing the work himself to Jerusalem, from that inner region of the Æthiopians which is called that of the Indians. Zotenberg remarks (pp. 62, 63) that in the preface and the epilogue, on the other hand, the author says that the narrative had been related to him by certain Indians (to whom he applies the same designation as that given in the title), that they had translated it (only in conversation, that is evident) from trustworthy records, and that he had written it down as he heard it. It appears probable that something has fallen out of the title, and Zotenberg (p. 63) suggests the insertion of *καὶ συγγραφεῖσα* before "*διὰ Ἰωάννου.*" The title, he says (p. 5), is in some copies completed by the words "*ἐν ᾗ ὁ βίος Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ τῶν ἀοιδίμων καὶ μακαρίων.*" In the MSS. of the 16th century, he adds (p. 6), the title ends, "*συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασχηνοῦ.*"

The present copy of the old Latin translation is entitled "Liber gestorum barlaam et iosaphat seruorum dei. editus greco sermone a iohanne damasceno uiro sancto et erudito." It omits the Preface (mentioned above) and also the first paragraph of the work itself, describing the position of India with regard to Egypt and Persia, and noticing the preaching of St. Thomas. The Latin work begins abruptly. It may be summarised in this manner. At a time when Christianity had spread in India, and many monasteries had been established, there arose a persecuting king, named Avennir. In the middle of his persecutions an only child is born to him, a son, who is named Josaphat. Chaldæan astrologers come up to his natal feast. They say that he will be the most eminent of all his race; but one of them, the greatest of the astrologers, adds that he will become a Christian. King

Avennir sends the child to a distant city, and places him in a palace that is a little world of luxuries, and where even his teachers are gay young people. At last, when Josaphat has grown up, he presses his father hard to let him see something of the outer world. The king gives him leave, sending outriders to clear the way. But one day, in spite of all their care, Josaphat sees two wretched beings, a blind man and a leper (f. 10 b); and another day he sees a tottering old man (f. 11). He enquires about these things, and he learns that there is little hope of escaping disease, and none at all of escaping old age, except by death. Meanwhile, in the desert of Sennaar (in Mesopotamia) there is a Hermit of the name of Barlaam (f. 12), to whom the state of Josaphat's mind is divinely revealed. He disguises himself as a merchant, and takes ship for India. He reaches the palace of Josaphat, and applies to one of the young teachers there, informing him that he brings a wonderful gem, which can only be seen by pure eyes; and this introduces the first Apologue (f. 12). He now obtains a series of interviews with Josaphat, and unfolds to him the doctrines of Christianity. Barlaam discourses in favour of asceticism, of which he names St. Anthony (5th century) as the great representative (f. 35 b). He mentions his own age (f. 49). He displays his rugged shirt, and shows the dreadful marks left upon his body by fasting and exposure (f. 51). He dissuades Josaphat from following his example, at least for some time, but he teaches him the Nicene Creed and baptizes him (f. 54). He leaves the palace, and returns to the deserts (f. 60). King Avennir is at last informed of his son's conversion. He fails to capture Barlaam; and, after a vain attempt to deceive Josaphat with the feigned apostasy of a false Barlaam, he consults a magician named Theodas (f. 82). Theodas recommends him to try the wiles of women, and relates the Apologue of the Devils who catch men (f. 83 b). A scene of temptation follows, and Theodas exerts all his magic arts; but he ends by being converted by Josaphat, and burns his books (f. 93). Avennir now divides his kingdom, and gives half to Josaphat. The Christian half flourishes and the pagan half decays. Avennir himself is converted. He retires to a hermitage, and dies there four years later (f. 99 b). Josaphat, after closing his father's eyes, returns to his capital, abdicates his power, and appoints a successor named Barachias (f. 103). He puts on a rugged under-

shirt, and sets out alone for the wilderness. He faces Satan in various forms; and he is two years before he can find Barlaam (f. 105). They meet at last, and live long together (f. 105 b). Barlaam dies in the arms of Josaphat, and is buried by him (f. 109 b). Josaphat lives many years alone, and his dead body is found by another hermit, and laid by the side of Barlaam (f. 111). They are both translated by King Barachias to the great church in India, which Josaphat had founded, and miracles are worked at their tomb (f. 111 b). The writer concludes with hoping that he and his readers may deserve to be saved through the intercession of Saints Barlaam and Josaphat: "ut in parte sanctorum qui ab initio placuerunt domino computari mereamur precibus et intercessione barlaam et iosaphat beatorum de quibus est narratio" (f. 112).

The Life of Josaphat (it is now well known) is nothing but an adaptation, by a Christian monk, of the legendary Life of Buddha. The principal Sanskrit work upon this subject is entitled the Lalita-Vistara (Diffusion of Joys).* In chapter vi. we are told how the Bodhisatva (the Being destined to become one of a long series of Buddhas) enters the womb of his earthly mother. She is the Queen of a King of northern India, the Chief of a tribe called the Sakyas, whose capital, Kapilavastu, now utterly destroyed, is supposed to have stood near the site of Fyzabad in Oude. She has a dream, which leads the Brahmins to declare that the expected child will either be a great monarch, or else a great ascetic and a Buddha. The King has other warnings that he is destined to lose his son. He builds him three palaces, and surrounds him with pleasures, in hopes of

* Published by the Asiatic Society, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1877). The editor, Rájendralála Mitra, has also published an English translation of the first fifteen chapters, headed *Memoirs of the Early Life of Sákya Siñha* (Calcutta, 1881–1886). A French translation also has been published by Ph. Ed. Foucaux, as the sixth volume of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*; he calls it "L'Histoire du Bouddha Çakya-Mouni depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa prédication" (Paris, 1884). A Tibetan version had previously been edited, together with a French translation, by Foucaux (Paris, 1847–8). For an account of these and other works see the little volume by T. W. Rhys Davids, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, entitled *Buddhism* (1887), pp. 11–15. Most of the writers call the young prince either Siddhārtha, or Sākya-Sinha (Lion of the Sakyas), or Sākya-Muni (Sage of the Sakyas); but Rhys Davids prefers to call him by "his family name," Gautama (pp. 27–8).

keeping him at home. But in chapter xiv. we are told how the Prince gets leave to drive out of his palace grounds. The King proclaims that every offensive object must be kept from the sight of the Prince. But on his first drive (out of the eastern gate) he sees an "emaciated, old, decrepit person" (English translation, p. 257). On his second drive (out of the southern gate) he sees "a diseased person, dried up, overcome with fever" (p. 258). On his third drive (out of the western gate) he sees "a dead man on the road, with a shroud over him, and followed by his kinsmen, all crying, weeping and moaning" (p. 259). On his fourth drive (out of the northern gate) he sees "a Bhikshu" (a religious mendicant) "standing calm, quiet, . . . and cheerfully bearing both his alms-bowl and his vestment" (pp. 259, 260). He resolves to become a "Bhikshu" himself, that so he may feel no dread of age, disease, or death. The women tempt him, and the guards watch him, in vain; and he escapes, and enters upon his destined career as a Buddha.

The date of the Lalita-Vistara is uncertain; but the substance of it is constantly referred to by a Chinese pilgrim, Fah-Hian, who visited the sacred places not long (according to Samuel Beal) after A.D. 400.* When he reaches the city of Kapilavastu (which was then already "a great desert"), he says: "In the place where stand the ruins of the palace of Sudhôdana (the father of Buddha) there is a picture of the Prince-apparent and his mother, (supposed to be) taken at the time of his miraculous conception. . . . Towers have been erected on the following spots —where the royal Prince left the city by the eastern gate, where he saw the sick man, and where he caused his chariot to turn

* *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India* (400 A.D. *and* 518 A.D.), *translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal* (London, 1869). A later Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who wrote in the year 629 A.D., described a great number of memorial towers, most of them ascribed to the great king Asoka; and he mentions four of them outside the four gates of Kapilavastu, containing figures of "an old man, a diseased man, and a Sraman" [an Ascetic]: see S. Beal's *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), vol. ii. p. 18. The king Asoka just mentioned established Buddhism in Northern and Central India, and introduced it into Ceylon, about 250 B.C. For his Life, and for his Edicts engraved upon rocks and pillars, see General Alexander Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* (London, 1854), pp. 93–123; and for other authorities on the same subjects, see Edward Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India*, vol. i. (London, 1885), pp. 185–6.

and take him back to his palace" (p. 85). It is thus evident that some portion of the Romantic Life of Buddha was at least three centuries older than the Greek Barlaam and Joasaph.

The great popularity of the present work in Europe was naturally due to the Latin translation. This is of uncertain date; but it exists in MSS. of the 12th century. A still greater popularity was given it, when it was abridged by Vincent de Beauvais, and inserted (about 1250) in his *Speculum Historiale*, Lib. xv. capp. 1–64. Of the eleven non-biblical Apologues related in the course of the work, one (No. 8, King and Happy Poor Couple) has been omitted by Vincent; and accordingly this one has been omitted (we believe) in all the other Abridgments. It is omitted in the Abridgment in Add. 18,929 (ff. 52–69); and in the still shorter Abridgment placed (about 1270–80) by Jacobus de Voragine in his Legenda Aurea, No. 8 and also No. 10 (Tame Kid) have been omitted. Both Barlaam and Josaphat were treated as Saints in the Legenda Aurea, and likewise in the Catalogus Sanctorum of Peter de Natalibus (d. about 1370); and they were so regarded during the rest of the Middle Ages, though it seems that they were not fully canonised until the time of Gregory XIII., when that Pope sanctioned a revised edition of the Martyrologium Romanum, in a licence dated 14 Jan., 1584.* Their day was fixed as the 27th November. The critics were still divided as to the truth of their History and as to its authorship by John of Damascus. Both these points were favourably treated by Leo Allatius (b. 1586; went to Rome, 1600; Librarian at the Vatican, 1661–9) in the Prolegomena prefixed to Lequien's edition of John of Damascus (see Sections xliv.–liii.).

The Legenda Aurea could hardly have been known to the young Marco Polo in the year 1271, when (at the age of 17) he left Venice with his father and uncle, on their way to China. Otherwise he would probably have been familiar with the story of Josaphat, and would have recognised him in Buddha. Marco returned in 1295, and his Travels were written in 1298. In his Book iii. chap. 15 (according to Col. Yule's division) he gives some account of "Sagamoni Borcan"; this name is a hybrid,

* In 1583, according to Emmanuel Cosquin, *Revue des Questions historiques*, tome 28 (Paris, 1880), pp. 579–600.

composed of the Sanskrit "Sakya-muni," with the affix Burkhan, or "Divinity, which is used by the Mongols as the synonym of Buddha."* He tells of the Prince's being shut up in a palace; of his first sight of a corpse; and of his first meeting an aged man (the sights occurring in that order). But it was not till three hundred years later (so far as we know at present) that any comparison was made between the two Princes. In Book vi. chap. 2 of the *Decada quinta da Asia* (licensed at Lisbon in 1602, published in 1612) the Portuguese historian Diogo do Couto alludes to the passage in Marco Polo about the king's son named "Sogomombarcao" (f. 122, col. 2). Do Couto then proceeds to relate the story himself: how the astrologers foretold that the new-born Prince would become an ascetic; how he was secluded in a palace till eighteen years old; how he obtained four glimpses of the outer world; how the first day he met a cripple, the second day a decrepit old man, the third day a corpse borne upon a bier, and the fourth day an ascetic, superior to disease and age and death. The Prince (continues the historian) migrated to Ceylon, where he led such a holy life, that he was adored like a god. He was known by various names; his original name was "Dramá Rajo,"† but his favourite name, after he became a saint, was "the Buddha," which means the Wise ("O Budaõ, que quer dizer sabio," f. 123, col. 1). When first Do Couto saw this history (he says, "Vendo nos esta historia," as if he had read it), he wondered at its resemblance to that of Josaphat. He adds that, when he was in the Isle of Salsette (close to Bombay), he visited the admirable Pagoda there, containing many halls hewn out of the solid rock (the rock-temples in the Kánhari Caves); and here he asked a very old inhabitant (probably a convert), what he thought about the object of this architectural work; and the old man answered that it was undoubtedly made by the father of St. Josaphat, for the purpose of bringing up his son in seclusion. And, as the story informs us (concludes Do Couto) that Josaphat was the son

* From the note on this passage by Col. Yule. See also the remarks of J. P. Guillaume Pauthier, in his edition of the original French text (Paris, 1865), in which the chapter is numbered as Chap. CLXVIII. of the whole work (pp. 588–595); and in which the Mongol word is spelled "Borcam."

† Probably meant for Dharma Rajah (king of divine law); for the meaning of Dharma, see the remarks of Gen. A. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 102–5.

of a great king in India, it may well be, as we have just said, that he was the Buddha, of whom they relate such marvels.

Thus the connection between Buddha and Josaphat (though with their proper positions towards each other reversed) was fully established by Diogo do Couto. But in later days it had been so completely forgotten again that it was overlooked even by Theodor Benfey, when (in 1859) he published his great work upon the Panchatantra. In his first volume, the Introduction, he mentions the present Romance as one of the many stories of Buddhistic origin; and he specifies Barlaam's fifth Apologue (Man pursued by Unicorn) as stamped with marked Buddhistic features (Section 17, pp. 82–3); and in the Appendix attached to his second volume (p. 527) he remarks that his views had just been confirmed by two Chinese versions of the same Apologue, translated by Stanislas Julien in *Les Avadânas* (3 vols. Paris, 1859), vol. i. pp. 132, 191. He was acquainted with various works on Buddha that contained the turning-point of his life, the Four Signs*: see, for instance, the *Manual* of Spence Hardy (London, 1853), pp. 154–5. But he just stopped short of the curious discovery. His Preface is dated Göttingen, 18 Feb., 1859. Five months later two articles on *Les Avadânas* appeared in the *Journal des Débats* (21 and 26 July, 1859), written by Edouard Laboulaye. In the second article the writer mentions the two Chinese versions of Man pursued by Unicorn; and he then goes on to show that the framework of Barlaam and Josaphat is taken from the Legend of Buddha. He ends:—"Or, cette histoire si caractéristique, ces rencontres si particulières, c'est le roman même de Josaphat. Ce n'est pas le hasard qui peut amener de telles ressemblances, il y faut reconnaître l'action de l'Orient."

At the beginning of the next year Jules Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire published *Le Bouddha et sa religion* (Paris, 1860). His first chapter is a life of Buddha (3–47). His early life is chiefly compiled from several versions (in various Indian dialects, in Chinese, etc.) of the Lalita-Vistara (pp. 4–37). This French text, so far as it relates to the Four Signs, etc., was soon afterwards quoted by Felix Liebrecht, and compared with passages

* More often known as the Four Visions; because, according to the Buddhistic writers, all the figures, including the corpse, were shapes assumed by a Deity in order to turn Buddha back from a garden of delight and convert him to asceticism.

from his own German text of Barlaam and Josaphat (published he says, in 1847). Liebrecht's Article appeared in Ebert's *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, vol. ii., Part fo April–June (Berlin, 1860), pp. 314–334; and it has ever sinc been quoted as the principal authority for the origin of th present Romance.

Although the framework of the Romance was very popular i the Middle Ages, the Apologues that are told in it were stil more popular. We will follow Zotenberg in reckoning these a eleven, ten told by Barlaam, and one by Theodas the magician They are as follows:—

1. (Gem). Barlaam, the Hermit, inspired by heaven, leave the deserts of Sennaar, puts on worldly clothes, and comes t India as a merchant. He tells Josaphat's Pædagogue that h has a gem, which will give health and wisdom, but the sight o which can only be borne by pure eyes. f. 12 b.

2. (Trumpet of Doom). A king springs out of his gilde chariot, and falls at the feet of two mendicants. His brothe rebukes him, and hears the trumpet of doom sound at his gat that night. The king says that the mendicants were th messengers of God, much more to be feared than any messenge of man. f. 13 b.

This king has been compared with the great King Asoka see Benfey's *Pantschatantra*, vol. i. p. 408; Liebrecht, *Jahrbuch* pp. 328–9; and Eugen Braunholtz, *Die erste nicht-christlich Parabel des Barlaams und Josaphats* (Halle, 1884). The trumpe of doom is introduced into the Gesta Romanorum, cap. 143.

3. (Four Caskets). The same king encloses putrid bones i two golden caskets, and precious gems in two foul caskets, an sets them to be chosen by his courtiers. f. 14 b.

See Benfey, i. 408; Liebrecht, pp. 329–330; and Braunholtz Compare the Gesta Romanorum, capp. 109 and 251. These ar the caskets that are introduced into Dolopathos, and into th Merchant of Venice.

4. (Nightingale). An archer catches a nightingale; it pro- mises to tell him three wise counsels; and he lets it go, and i mocked by it. f. 26 b.

Inserted by Petrus Alfunsi in his Disciplina Clericalis: see Royal 10 B. xii., f. 16 b. And see Gesta Romanorum cap. 167. See Benfey, i. 380, ii. 543; and Liebrecht, p. 332.

5. (Unicorn). A man pursued by a unicorn falls half-way down a pit, and just saves himself by clinging to the branches of a shrub that springs out of the side; but he sees two mice, one white and the other black, gnawing away the roots, and looking down he sees a dragon below, gaping to receive him; and yet, the next moment, remarking that a little honey distils from the shrub, he forgets his certain destruction in the sweetness of the honey. The shrub is the man's term of life, and the two mice are day and night. f. 36 b.

This most famous Apologue figures in almost all the collections, amongst others in Gesta Romanorum, cap. 168; and see Benfey, i. 80 and 407, and ii. 528, and Liebrecht, pp. 330–1.

6. (Man with three Friends). A man, summoned for debt, is deserted by his two dearest friends, but assisted by the third friend, who has been little esteemed. f. 37 b.

Similar tests of three Friends are found in Gesta Romanorum, capp. 129, 238. See Liebrecht, p. 332.

7. (King for one year). A State is accustomed to elect a new king yearly, and at the end of his term to dismiss him in beggary; but one king sends the royal treasures into exile before him. f. 39.

See Liebrecht, p. 333.

8. (King and Happy Poor Couple). A king and his minister remark a poor couple, dancing and singing in a cellar. f. 44 b.

9. (Rich Youth and Poor Girl). A youth leaves home to escape a rich match; he chooses a poor girl, but her father proves to have a hidden treasure. f. 46.

10. (Tame Kid). A tame kid strays among wild goats; but it is brought home, while its companions are slaughtered. f. 51.

11. (Devils who seduce Men). A prince has been brought up for ten years in a rock-palace; when he is allowed to come out, he is taught the names of various objects by one of the courtiers; and he tells the king that he is best pleased with the "Devils who seduce Men," *i.e.* Women. f. 83 b.

In Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Day iv. Introd.*; and see Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1840), vol. i., p. clxxiv.

The general heading is as follows:—"Incipit liber gestorum

* See another version of the story among the Exempla of Odo of Cheriton in Arundel 231, vol. i., f. 203 b.

barlaam et iosaphat seruorum dei . editus greco sermone a iohanne damasceno uiro sancto et erudito." f. 1.

Begins:—"Cvm cepissent monasteria construi . ac monachorum congregari multitudines ⁊ et illorum uirtutum et angelice conuersationis felix fama fines orbis occuparet . et usque ad indos peruenireṭ ⁊ eosdem ad similem zelum excitauit ⁊ ita quod multi eorum omnia desererent ac peterent deserta ⁊ et in corpore mortali conuersationem susciperent angelorum. Rebus igitur sic bene se habentibus . et aureis ut ita dicam pennis multis in cęlum uolantibus ⁊ surrexit quidam rex in eadem prouincia . auennir nomine." f. 1.

After relating the death of Josaphat the last paragraph of the story itself begins thus:—"Preciosum uero corpus illius quidam uir sanctus qui habitationem non procul ab eo fecerat qui et ad barlaam iter illi prius ostenderat . diuina quadam edoctus reuelatione ipsa hora dormitionis eius aduenit . et sacris laudibus honorificans illum . lacrimasque effundens signum erga illum dilectionis et omnia alia perficiens quę christianis sunt legitima ⁊ in sepulchro patris barlaam posuit eum . nam eorum simul esse corpora in terra ⁊ quorum in cęlis perhenniter erant animę iunctę. Precepto etiam cuiusdam terribilis per uisionem fortiter in mente illum contestantis adquiescens heremita . qui eum sepelierat . ad regnum iudeorum [for "indorum," altered mistakenly into "iudeorum"] pergere contendit . et ad regem barachiam peruenit ⁊ omnia sibi manifesta de beato iosaphat facit," etc. f. 111.

It ends:—"Et omnes uidentes et audientes angelicam iosaphat conuersationem . et a puericia inestimabilem eius ad deum amorem mirabantur glorificantes in omnibus deum ⁊ qui cooperatur diligentibus se . et maximis illos glorificat donis et uirtutibus." f. 112.

The whole work concludes with two short paragraphs. The first of these begins:—"Hvc usque finis presentis sermonis . quem secundum uirtutem meam scripsi ⁊ sicut accepi a uenerabilibus uiris qui ueraciter illum tradiderat mihi," etc.; and it ends, "cum patre et spiritu sancto nunc et semper et in secula seculorum Amen." f. 112.

The other concluding paragraph begins, "Conuersus ad te deum," etc.; and it ends, "multiplica mihi fidem . mentem guberna . spirituales cogitationes accende . et ad beatitudinem

tuam perducere dignare per ihesum christum filium tuum. Amen." f. 112.

To this is added the colophon: "Explicit liber de gestis barlaam et iosaphat seruorum Dei." f. 112.

The edition supposed by Brunet (see his *Manuel*, under the head of "Joannes Damascenus") to have been published at Spire agrees with the present copy; only the printed edition does not contain the prayer that forms the last paragraph here. At the end of the Latin edition of the Works of Joannes Damascenus, published at Basle in 1539, is the same version of Barlaam and Josaphat, and it contains the paragraph in question.

Harley 3958. ff. 2–103 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Folio; ff. 102, of which 64 are written in double columns, and 38 are not, having 30 lines to each column or page. With initials in red and blue.

The MS. contains the following articles, all in Latin: (1) The last leaf of a Life of St. Alexius. f. 1. (2) The present article. f. 2. (3) The Life of St. Brendan. f. 103 b. (4) A series of signs of the weather, etc., at the end of which is inscribed "Liber sancte marie fontis frigidi" [St. Mary, Caldwell, in Bedfordshire?]. ff. 121 b, 122. To these articles some religious notes have been added. ff. 122 b, 123. Bound up with another MS. (ff. 124–272), containing sermons by Petrus Comestor.

Barlaam and Josaphat. In 131 paragraphs, distinguished by coloured initials. *Latin.*

The points of division are, with five exceptions, the same as those in Add. 17,299.

The title begins on a mutilated leaf, which contains a fragment of the Life of St. Alexius. It is as follows: "Incipit liber gestorum barlaam et josaphat seruorum dei greco sermone editus a Johanne damaceno uiro sancto et erudito." f. 1 b. The Romance begins: "Cum cepissent monasteria construi. ac monachorum congregari multitudines: et illorum uirtutum et angelice conuersationis. felix fama. fines orbis occuparet. et usque ad indos perueniret," etc.... "Surrexit quidam rex in eadem prouincia. auennir nomine." f. 2. Josaphat's meeting

with the sick and the dead are at ff. 10 b, 11. The eleven Apologues are at ff. 12, col. 2; 13 b, col. 2; 14, col. 2; 24 b, col. 2; 33 b; 34, col. 2; 35 b; 40 b; 41 b, col. 2; 46, col. 2; and 77 b. After relating the death of Josaphat, the last paragraph of the story itself begins thus: "Preciosum uero corpus illius quidam uir sanctus qui habitacionem non procul ab eo fecerat. qui et ad barlaam iter illi prius ostenderat," etc. f. 103. Ends: "Et omnes uidentes et audientes angelicam iosaphat conuersationem. et a pueritia inestimabilem eius ad deum amorem. mirabantur glorificantes in omnibus deum ⁊ qui cooperatur diligentibus se. et maximis illos glorificat donis et uirtutibus." f. 103 b. The whole work concludes with two short paragraphs. The first begins: "Hucusque finis presentis sermonis." f. 103 b. Ends: "cum patre et spiritu sancto. nunc et semper et in secula seculorum amen." f. 103 b. The other concluding paragraph is a prayer, beginning: "Conuersus ad te dominum deum." It ends: "Multiplica mihi fidem ⁊ mentem guberna ⁊ spirituales cogitationes accende ⁊ et ad beatitudinem tuam perducere dignare. per ihesum christum filium tuum. Amen." f. 103 b. Colophon: "Explicit liber de gestis Barlaam et Josaphat seruorum dei." f. 103 b.

Harley 5293.

Vellum; xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 57, in double columns, having 35 to 37 lines to a column. With initials in red and blue.

Barlaam and Josaphat. Imperfect at the beginning, and at two points in the middle. Originally divided into about 145 paragraphs, of which 100 are now left. *Latin.*

Most of the Paragraphs correspond to those of the other copies; but, in the latter half, the divisions are more frequent, so that there are fourteen more separate Paragraphs here than in the others. The first two or three leaves have been lost; and the copy now begins in the middle of the persecution of Christianity by King Avennir, before the birth of his son Josaphat, with the words: "... inueniretur perquiri fecit. Post aliquantulum uero temporis hi qui ad inquisitionem illius directi fuerant.

ut senserunt in desertis eum habitationem habere ⁊ perscrutantes inuenerunt eum. Quem comprehendentes regis tribunali exhibuerunt." f. 1. Josaphat sees the two sick men and the aged man at ff. 6 b, col. 2, and 7. After this the Paragraph introducing Barlaam begins, and breaks off with the lines: "applicuit ad ciuitatem in qua regis filius palacium habebat. Ibique multis diebus commoratus . diligenter inquirebat de eo ⁊ et de his qui ministrabant." f. 7 b, col. 2. Several leaves are here lost, which must have contained nineteen full Paragraphs (for the missing passages, see Add. 17,299, ff. 12–34 b). The next Paragraph (part of Barlaam's discourse) begins imperfectly: "oporteret . Et rursus qui in conuersatione debilior erat." f. 8: see the Basle edition, 1539, p. 38, line 2. This Paragraph ends with the fifth Apologue (Unicorn), ff. 9 b, col. 2, 10. The sixth and seventh Apologues occur at ff. 10 b, 11 b. There is another gap after f. 15. The last lines are: "Ait uero senex Apud hominem impossibilia sunt ista," f. 15 b, col. 2: see the Basle edition, 1539, p. 48, line 14. Several leaves are lost, which must have contained twenty-three full Paragraphs (for the missing passages, see Add. 17,299, ff. 44 b–55 b). The next Paragraph (a continuation of Barlaam's discourse) begins imperfectly: "in sensum uenerit ⁊ labore tamen multo et sudore liberatur." f. 16: see the Basle edition, 1539, p. 60, line 4. The departure of Barlaam is at f. 19. The eleventh Apologue (Devils who seduce Men) is at f. 36. After relating the death of Josaphat, the last Paragraph of the narrative begins: "Preciosum uero corpus illius . quidam uir sanctus qui habitationem non procul ab eo fecerat . qui ad barlaam iter illi ostenderat." f. 56 b. Ends: "Et omnes uidentes et audientes angelicam iosaphat conuersationem . et a puericia inestimabilem eius ad deum amorem ⁊ mirabantur glorificantes in omnibus deum ⁊ qui cooperatur diligentibus se ⁊ et maximis illos glorificat donis et uirtutibus." f. 57. The whole work concludes with one short Paragraph, beginning, "Hvcusque finis presentis sermonis," and ending, "cum patre et spiritu sancto ⁊ nunc et semper . in secula seculorum Amen." f. 57. This last leaf is torn in half from top to bottom; so that it is not improbable that there was originally a second column, containing the prayer ("Conversus ad te," etc.) which is found in other copies.

Royal 11 B. iii. ff. 345–348 b.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Quarto; ff. 4, having 43 to 46 lines to a page. The whole MS. contains:—

1. Several theological treatises ff. 1 b, 9,276 b, 281.
2. Directions for reckoning the Calendar. f. 329.
3. Vision of St. Paul. f. 334 b.
4. Rules for Confession, by Robert Grosseteste, etc. f. 334 b.
5. Extracts from Seneca, etc. f. 337.
6. The present article. f. 345.
7. Short comments on various texts, followed by a description of the feathers on the symbolical wings of a cherub, etc. f. 349.
8. Three hymns in *French*, the first beginning "[A]ve duz ihesu," the second being on the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and the third beginning "Hey amour." ff. 359 b–361.

The volume formerly belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. Extracts from the Romance. *Latin.*

The first extract relates to the persecution of the Christians by King Avennir at the beginning of the Romance. It is headed: "Qualiter persequebatur monachos . et post de archisatrapa eius conuerso ad fidem." Begins: "Quidem regis archisatrapa . dignitate et anime constantia." f. 345. Ends: "surge ergo et fuge ex oculis meis." f. 345 b.

This is followed by an abridged Extract, relative to the birth of King Avennir's son, Josaphat, and other Extracts. Josaphat meets the Leper, the Blind Man, and the Aged Man, at f. 346. All the eleven Apologues are here given at ff. 346–348 b. The last of these (Devils who seduce Men) begins: "Quidam rex filios mares non poterat habere." Ends: "que tirannica res est amor mulieris." To this is added the conclusion of Theodas (addressed to King Avennir): "Et tu igitur non putes aliter te posse superare filium tuum nisi hoc modo." f. 348 b.

Additional 18,929. ff. 52–69.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 18, in double columns, having 28 lines to a column. With red initials.

The MS. formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt. It contains the following articles, all in *Latin*:—

(1) "Liber de terra sancta," by Burchardus, a Dominican. f. 1. (2) The present article. f. 52. (3) Treatise on climates, etc. f. 69 b. (4) Miracles of the Virgin Mary. f. 79. (5) "Formula honeste uite": a collection of notes, upon the divisions of the universe, the natures of animals, etc.; followed by Homilies, Lives of Saints, etc. ff. 87–102 b.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. An Abridgment. *Latin.*

This Abridgment has been still further abridged for the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine.

The present copy is divided into forty-five paragraphs, indicated by red initials. It begins: "Barlaam cuius historiam iohannes damascenus compilauit . operante in eo diuina gracia sanctum iosaphat regem ad fidem conuertit." f. 52. Josaphat meets the Leper, the Blind Man and the Aged Man, at f. 54, cols. 1–2. The first seven Apologues are at ff. 54 b, col. 2; 56; 56 b; 56 b, col. 2; 57 b; 57 b, col. 2; 58 b. Ap. 8 is omitted. Ap. 9 is at f. 58 b, col. 2. Ap. 10 (Tame Kid) is included in this copy, f. 60. Ap. 11, f. 63 b, col. 2.

The last paragraph of the narrative begins: "Idem uero heremita per uisionem iussus . ad regem barachiam peruenit," etc. It ends: "Plurima autem miracula tam in sanacione languidorum quam in conuersione incredulorum . et tunc et deinceps per sanctos famulos suos christus operatus est." f. 69. To this is added a short paragraph, beginning, "Contingat igitur nobis," and ending, "precibus et intercessione barlaam et iosaphat . beatorum . de quibus est narracio in christo ihesu domino nostro . cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum Amen." f. 69.

The first six paragraphs of this Abridgment agree pretty closely with the text in the Legenda Aurea: but after this the latter has been a good deal more abridged. In Royal 12 E. i. (ff. 182–191) there is a 13th or 14th century copy of the same text throughout as that in the Legenda Aurea.

Royal 12 E. i. ff. 182 b–191.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Small Quarto; ff. 9, having 24 lines to a page. With the first initial in red.

The MS. to which the present article belongs (ff. 116–197) contains Lives of Saints, and a few theological miscellanea. It is bound up with other MSS., containing a treatise on arithmetic ("algorismus"), written in 1451 (ff. 1–22 b); Prayers and Religious Sentences (ff. 23 b–68 b); and a Herbary, with medical receipts, etc. (ff. 69–115 b); all of the 15th century.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. The Abridgment used by Jacobus de Voragine in his Legenda Aurea. *Latin.*

This author was born at Varaggio, on the Gulf of Genoa, about 1230; he became a Dominican in 1254; Provincial of Lombardy in 1267; Archbishop of Genoa in 1292; and he died 14 July, 1298. He wrote a Chronicle of Genoa, which is printed in part by Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. ix. (Milan, 1726), coll. 5–56; and also several theological works. But by far his most famous work is the collection of Lives of Saints, abridged from the earlier Lives and known as Legenda Aurea.

There are seven full MSS. of the Legenda Aurea in the British Museum containing copies of the present article. These seven (all of them 14th cent.) are as follows, with the place of Barlaam and Josaphat indicated by the numbers of the leaves: Add. 11,882 (dated 1312), ff. 293–298 b, col. 2; Add. 14,089, ff. 342–348 b; Harley 3657, ff. 209, col. 2–213; Egerton 666, ff. 407–413 b; Burney 348, ff. 247 b–251; Add. 18,858, ff. 195 b–200 b; and Stowe 249, ff. 229, col. 2–233, col. 2. The text of these articles contains an outline of the story, and nine out of the eleven Apologues; those that are omitted being No. 8 (King and Poor Couple) and No. 10 (Tame Kid). In one of our three separate copies, however, No. 10 has been inserted: see description of Add. 18,929, ff. 52–69.

In the first half of the 14th century many of these Lives were translated into French prose, and others added, by Jean Belet; but he omitted Barlaam and Josaphat. Another Légende Dorée,

founded upon the first one, was written by the monk Jean de Vignay soon after 1333; and it was dedicated by him to the Queen of Philippe de Valois, Jeanne de Bourgogne, who died in 1348.* Of this work we possess four MSS., all containing the Barlaam and Josaphat. These are: Additional 16,907 (dated 1375), ff. 288–292, col. 2; Royal 19 B. xvii. (dated 1382), ff. 336–341; Egerton 645 (15th cent.), ff. 380, col. 2–385, col. 2; and Stowe 945 (16th cent.), ff. iiij^{xx}xii–iiij^{xx}xviii b (old folioing).

Of the Golden Legend, in English prose, translated from the French of Jean de Vignay in 1438, we possess two MSS. that contain Barlaam and Josaphat, both of the 15th century. These are: Egerton 876, ff. 296–301 b; and Harley 4775, ff. 237–241 b, col. 2.

The text of the present MS. begins: "Barlaam cuius hystoriam Johannes damascenus diligenti studio compilauit. in eo diuina gratia sanctum Josaphat regem ad fidem christi conuertit." f. 182 b. Ends: "Quod audiens rex barachias illuc cum multo exercitu uenit. et corpora reuerenter assumens in ciuitatem suam transtulit. Ad quorum tumulum miracula multa fuerunt." f. 191.

The *Legenda Aurea* is said to have been first published at Basle, about 1470. In the edition published at Venice in 1483, the Barlaam and Josaphat is at ff. ccvi, col. 2–ccix b. The *Légende Dorée*, by Jean de Vignay, was first published at Lyons in 1476 (see J. Ch. Brunet, *Manuel*, tome iv., 1843, p. 688, under the heading of "Voragine"). In the edition printed at Paris (?), about 1480, the Barlaam and Josaphat is at ff. cccxlviii–ccccliii, col. 2; and in the edition of 1483 it is at ff. cclxv, col. 2–cclxix b. The English *Golden Legend* was first "Fynysshed" by Caxton at Westminster, on 20 Nov. 1483; it contains a Barlaam and Josaphat at ff. cccciiij–ccccvij, b, col. 2, but not the same text as that of our MSS. The latter was printed from Egerton 876, with collations from Harley 4775, by Carl Horstmann, in the "Programm" of the Gymnasium at Sagan (in Silesia) in 1877. Horstmann has given an account of these and other MSS. in his *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. cxxx–cxxxviii.; and it is here (p. cxxxii.) that he prints the passage that has supplied the date of composition, 1438, which is

* See the rather conflicting remarks made by Paulin Paris, in his *Manuscrits François*, tome ii. (Paris, 1838), pp. 89–90 and 328–330.

mentioned above. It occurs in a Colophon in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce 372, f. 163), where the work is entitled "the gilte legende: the which is drawen out of Frensshe into Englisshe, the yere of oure lorde a MCCCC and XXXVIII, bi a synfulle wrecche, whos name I beseche Ihesu Criste .... that hit mai be written in the boke of euerlastinge life. Amen."* Horstmann is probably right in preferring this account to that given in Harley 630, f. 365, col. 2 (an imperfect collection, not including Barlaam and Josaphat), where the work is stated to have been "compiled and drawen into Englisih bi worthi clerkes and doctours of divinite suengly after þe tenur of þe latin."

Harley 5394. ff. 6–11 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Octavo; ff. 6, having 34 lines to a page. With the first initial in blue.

The MS. containing the present article is now divided, and the two portions stand in separate parts of the volume. The articles are as follows:—

(1) "Liber venerabilis Bede de figuris verborum"; first three leaves of the treatise (see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. xc., cols. 175–183). f. 3. (2) The present article. ff. 6–11 b. (3) The last leaf and a half of Bede's treatise "de figuris" (see Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. xc., cols. 183–6). ff. 59–60. On the last leaves of the same MS. (ff. 60 b–61 b) are added some tables and calculations, headed "Composicio de ponderibus." In the middle of the volume is inserted a "Liber de terre partibus" (ff. 12–58 b). Two leaves, taken out of the old binding, are placed at the beginning and end of the whole volume (ff. 1, 62); they contain passages from the Alexandreis of Gautier de Lille (or de Châtillon), books vi. and viii. (see Migne, tom. ccix., cols. 525–8, and 546–9).

Barlaam and Josaphat. The Abridgment used by Jacobus de Voragine in his Legenda Aurea. *Latin.*

It is headed: "Incipit vita sanctorum barlaam et iosaphat." Begins: "Barlaam cuius historiam iohannes damascenus diligenti studio compilauit. operante in eo diuina gratia. sanctum esephat (*sic*) regem ad fidem conuertit." f. 6. Ends: "Quod audiens rex barachias illuc cum multo exercitu uenit et corpora reuerenter

* This Colophon had already been printed, in the Catalogue of the Douce Collection (Oxford, 1840), p. 65.

assumens in ciuitatem suam transtulit . ad quorum tumulum multa miracula fuerunt." f. 11 b. Colophon: "Explicit vita sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat."

Arundel 330. ff. 71 b–75.

Vellum; xivth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 4, in double columns, having 41 lines to a column. With the first initial in red.

The whole MS. contains a collection of Lives of Saints, entitled "Passionale," the present article being added as a sort of Appendix. Bound up with other MSS. (ff. 79–195 b), which relate to Theology and to Canon Law. The volume formerly belonged to the Carthusians of Mayence: see ff. 1, 78 b, 79.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. An Abridgment. *Latin.*

It is headed: "Excerpta de Barlaham." But it is, in fact, an abstract of the Romance. Begins: "Multiplicatis habitaculis seruorum dei in egipto. Rex indie auennir contra eos persecucionem mouit." f. 71 b. Ends: "Barachias cum maximo comitatu aduenit et inuenit sancta corpora integra . et claro nitore glorificacionem iam pretendebant . miroque fragrabant odore. Que cum summa gloria secum detulit . et in prima ciuitate quam iosaphat erexerat . regali more sepeliuit . ubi immemora miracula per eorum merita dominus operatur." Colophon: "Explicit Barlaham." f. 75.

Cotton, Caligula A. ix. ff. 195–216.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Small Quarto; ff. 22, in double columns, with 32 to 37 lines to a column. With initials in red.

The volume begins with Lazamon's Brut (ff. 3–194); and under that head it is described in the *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. i. p. 268.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. A metrical version, in 2,953 octosyllabic lines (one line having been omitted). By an Anglo-Norman poet, who names himself at the end as "Chardri." *French.*

Nothing more is known of Chardri, except that he is the author of two other poems in this volume, one of them being the Legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (ff. 216 b–229 b), and the other a Dialogue between an Old Man and a Youth, called "Le petit plet" (ff. 249, col. 2–261, col. 2). His language, and one or two allusions, indicate his being a resident in England, probably before the death of King John (1216).

The heading, in red, is as follows: "Jci comence la vie de seint Josaphaz." The poem then begins:—

"Ki vout a nul bien ætendre
Par essemple poet molt aprendre.
A dreite veie de salu.
Ceo ad len suuente feiz veu.
Ki genz sunt par un respit.
Amendez plus ki par lescrit.
Austin. v de seint Gregoire." f. 195.

The narrative begins with line 79, thus:—

"En Jude esteit a icel tens:
Vn rei ki fu de mut Grant sens.
Aruennir fu cist apelez:" f. 195 b.

Josaphat sees the Leper and the Blind Man at lines 592–3 (f. 199, col. 2), the Old Man at line 621 (f. 199, col. 2). Barlaam is first mentioned at line 677 (f. 199 b, col. 2). The first Apologue (Gem) begins at line 716 (f. 200). The other Apologues are omitted. The missing line would properly have come after line 7 of f. 214, col. 2. See the printed edition (p. 68), where the missing line is indicated by dots, and is reckoned as line 2,670.

The narrative ends with telling how the tidings of Josaphat's death in the desert were brought to his successor, King Barachie; and how the bodies of the two Saints were translated by the king to the cathedral church built by Josaphat. The last lines of the narrative are:—

"Si fist mut richement porter.
Icel tresor kil out mut cher.
En la cite v il maneit.
E en leglise ke fere aueit.
Josaphaz quant primes i vint.
Par ki crestiente reuint.

Fist mestre le cors mut richement.
Od grant pople e od grant Gent.
A cele Grant translatiun.
Fist deu par sun seintisme nun.
Granz miracles por lur amur.
E fet vnkore deske a cest iur." f. 215 b, col. 2.

The conclusion, containing 44 lines (numbered 2911–2954 in the printed edition), begins:—

"Seinnurs ore poez ben entendre.
Ki uout sun tens en ben despendre.
E amer deu a sun poer.
Mut en aura riche loer." f. 216.

Ends:—

"Ici finist la bone vie.
De Josaphaz le duz enfant.
A ceus ki furent escutant.
Mande chardri. saluz san fin.
E au uespre e au matin. Amen.
Explicit." f. 216, col. 2.

Edited, from the present MS., collated with MS. 29 of Jesus College, Oxford, by John Koch, in Wendelin Foerster's *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, vol. i. pp. 1–75. Koch's volume bears the title, *Chardry's Josaphaz, Set Dormanz und Petit Plet* (Heilbronn, 1879). It was closely, but favourably, reviewed by Adolfo Mussafia in Dr. Gröber's *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vol. iii. (Halle, 1879), pp. 591–607.

Royal 20 B. v. ff. 157–172 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Folio; ff. 16, in double columns, with 38 to 53 lines to a column.

The present article is bound up with two other MSS. The first (ff. 1–156 b) contains the New Testament in *French*, Hymns in *Latin* and *French*, etc.; one of the concluding articles being the Virgin Mary's Narrative of the Passion, in *French* (ff. 147–156). The other (ff. 173–189) contains verses beg., "Suscipe viuendi doctrinam proficiendi," followed by three other articles in *Latin* (ff. 175, 177, 181).

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. An Abridgment; imperfect at the end. *French.*

It begins: "[E]n la terre de Inde feust vn Roy gom apela auenir qui feust molt grand en richesses et en puysance . il estoit honuretz par grandesse de corps et par bealte de volt . et auoit tant come ly pleust de richesses terriens, et des choses trespassables, mes de touz les biens qui partynent a lalme estoit estranges et poures, qar il estoit paeens et de tot abandonez a cotyuer les idles, et nestoit nuylle rien qui li fausist quant al corps . ne qui sa ioye amenusast ; fois ke vne chose soulement qil naueit nuyl heir . Cesti Roy hay et pursiwi les crestiens sur tote rien quanqil poeit, et lur fist tant des mals et vileynges come il sauoit purpenser. Apres que cesti Roy Auenir auoit longement vesquy en tiel errour ; auynt qil out vn tresbeal fitz." f. 157.

For a copy of the fuller French text, of which this seems to be an abridgment, see Egerton 745 (ff. 131–199). After the usual introductory sentences (translated from the Latin) beg.: "An cel temps que les eglises," etc., that copy goes on, "Si auint que il ot en ynde i roy," etc. (f. 131, col. 2). For a couple of sentences it then agrees with the present copy; but presently it is fuller again. The birth of the king's son, for instance, does not occur before f. 135.

The present copy breaks off in the middle of the wiles devised by King Avennir and the magician Theudas, for the purpose of seducing the king's son Josaphat from Christianity. Theudas has just been relating to the king the Apologue of "les diables qui deceyuent les gentz." After this Apologue, and the application of it made by Theudas, the Romance proceeds thus: "Le Roy fist ostier toux les mynystres que son fitz auoit, et en lur leu

fist mettre beles puceles. Lenfant nauoit a ky parlier, ne ou regardier fors que a celes puceles qui li entiserent toux temps a luxure et al pecher. Le diable qui feust mandee del lenchantour tampta lenfant dedeynz et les beles puceles continuelment par dehors. Mes il se dona tut a dieux et a deuocion par quoi il receust." f. 172 b.

The Apologue told by Theudas is in Egerton MS. 745 at f. 180, and is very little fuller than here. But the succeeding passage, quoted above, is considerably shorter than the corresponding one in the Egerton MS. at f. 180 b, cols. 1–2.

Egerton 745. ff. 131–199.

Vellum; xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 69, in double columns, having 29 lines to a column. With illuminated initials; and with a miniature at the beginning of the present article (f. 131), which represents Barlaam instructing Josaphat.

The MS. contains the following articles, all in *French*:—

1. Life of St. Eustace, in verse. f. 10.
2. Treatise on the Ten Commandments, etc. f. 25.
3. Life of St. Denis; imperfect at the beginning. f. 41.
4. Lives of St. Martin of Vertou (near Nantes), St. Gildas, and Edward the Confessor. ff. 73, 78 b, 91.
5. The present article. f. 131.
6. The Distiches of Cato, and "Doctrinal le Sauuage," both in verse. ff. 199 b, 207, col. 2.
7. A treatise, headed "les moralitez." ff. 213 b–232 b.

Barlaam and Josaphat. An Abridgment. *French.*

The present copy is divided into 75 paragraphs, each indicated by an illuminated initial. The text is abridged, but it contains all the eleven Apologues (ff. 141, col. 2, 142 b, 143, 148 b, col. 2, 151 b, col. 2, 152 b, 153 b, col. 2, 156, col. 2, 157, col. 2, 160, 180). The first Rubric is written at the foot of the preceding page, thus:—"Ci sensieut balaam et iozaphas." f. 130 b.

The Romance begins:—"An cel temps que les eglises et les mousters furent commencie a edefier ou non nostre seigneur ihesu crist. et que li saint home commencierent a seruir nostre seigneur par diuerse maniere dordre monial. si sespandi la beneuree renommee par toutes les parties du monde. et quant ele se fu moult espandue. et tant quele fu paruenue iusques en inde.

vne grant partie des ẏ[n]diens deguerpirent toutes choses terriennes et sensuirent es desers . iluec recurent en cors mortel conuersion dangre. Et en dementres que ces choses se tenoient ainsi en bon estat et que li pluseurs sen aloient es cieulz aussi comme en uolant de penes dorees. Si auint que il ot en ynde i roẏ qui fu apelez avennir." f. 131.

It is at this point, the first mention of Avennir, the father of Josaphat, that the abridged version in Royal 20 B. v. (ff. 157–172 b) begins. The first extract in the Appendix to the French metrical version (by Gui de Cambrai), edited by Hermann Zotenberg and Paul Meyer for *Der litterarische Verein* of Stuttgart (1864), p. 347, agrees with the foregoing passage pretty closely.

The fifth Apologue (Unicorn) begins thus: "Il auint que vns hom vit lunicorne et senfoui dedeuant lui quil ne les deuorast," etc., fol. 151 b, col. 2; and it ends: "touz ces periz mist il en oubli . et sabandonna du tout a auoir la goute de miel. Ceste samblance que ie tai dite apartiennent a touz ceus qui a la traison de la presente uie sabandonnent," fol. 152, col. 2; see the second Extract in the Stuttgart volume, pp. 349, 350.

The eleventh Apologue (Devils that seduce Men) begins thus: "il fu iadis uns roẏs qui ne pouoit auoir nul enfant malle dont il fu moult courouciez . si auint toutes uoies quil ot vn filz," etc., fol. 180; and it ends: "Li roys se merueilla moult durement de la parole de lenfant." f. 180 b.

It is with this Apologue, and the passages that immediately follow it, that the abridged version in Royal 20 B. v. breaks off imperfectly.

The last paragraph of the story itself begins thus: "Atant sesueilla iozaphas moult liez et moult ioianz et rendi graces a nostre seigneur de toutes les choses quil li avoit demonstrees . et il demoura en cel hermitage toute sa uie." f. 198, col. 2. It ends: "et i fist nostre sires ihesu crist assez de miracles et de uertuz . a lonneur et a la gloire de son saint nom . pour quoi moult grant multitude de genz qui encore costiuoient les ydoles laissierent leur desloiaute et recurent la loẏ et la creance nostre seigneur ihesu crist qui vit et regne par touz les siecles des siecles." f. 199.

To this is added a short paragraph, beginning: "Cil qui la vie de ces ij preudommes sorent et virent . la me distrent et ie

lescriz en latin en la maniere meimes quil la me retrestrent." f. 199. Ends: "que ie et tuit cil et toutes celes qui empres moi la liront et orront i aions preu aus cors et aus ames. Amen." f. 199. Colophon: "Explicit de iozaphas et de balaam." f. 199, col. 2.

An account of two MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, and one MS. in the Vatican, which contain copies closely agreeing with the present one, is given in the edition of the French metrical version, referred to above, together with three long extracts, pp. 347–352. For the last two paragraphs see pp. 350–352.

Additional 10,902. ff. 1–17 b.

Paper; 1414. Folio; ff. 17, in double columns, having 27 to 29 lines to a column. The rest of the volume (ff. 18–36) is occupied by a theological treatise.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. An abridged version, not brought down to the deaths of the Saints, and imperfect at the beginning, by the loss of about six leaves. Followed by a Discourse upon the Passion and upon the Virgin, which is attached to the Romance by the opening sentence, and which ends with the colophon: "Finitus est iste liber per manus Nicolai pauscher, Anno domini M° ccccxiiii. die xxvii. mensis Februarij." *Italian.*

At the beginning of the volume (between the fly-leaf and f. 1) there is inserted a note by Paul Meyer, saying (amongst other things), "Cette rédaction de la légende de Barlaam et Josaphat est identique avec celle que T[elesforo] Bini a publiée dans ses *Rime et prose del buon secolo della lingua*" (Lucca, 1852), pp. 124–152. The phrase "identique" is a little too strong. Not only is the end left slightly incomplete, but there are a few verbal changes (mostly for the sake of abridgment) throughout the Romance.

The first seven leaves are disarranged. They ought to be placed in the following order:—f. 6, (gap), ff. 2, 3, 4, 5, (gap), ff. 1, 7. The earliest passage occurs in the middle of the old

Astrologer's prediction, that the new-born Josaphat will turn Christian. It begins: "nouelle chel uostro figliuolo dia essere christiano e dia essere coluj chi de distrugere ei uostri dei e sera ribello a tutti i uostri preti e del idoli E uoj messere lo re ne douete portare molto dolore e da uoi dia essere contrario." f. 6. The present copy continues the passage for five lines more; and, in this instance, it is more diffuse than the text of Bini, where it is merely as follows: "Poi io v'ho a dire maggior novelle del vostro figliuolo. Sappiate che ei dee esser cristiano, e dovete avere di lui grandissima doglia, e dee esser colui che dee disfare tutti i vostri tempii, e anche disfarà i tempii degli idoli vostri" (p. 125, col. 2). After a gap of some leaves (which must have contained the account of Josaphat's meeting the diseased and aged men) the next leaf here begins "romito che auia nome Barlam" (f. 2); answering to the printed edition, p. 128, col. 2. The same page of this copy introduces the first Apologue (the Gem). After f. 5 b, there is another gap (answering to pp. 133–136, col. 2); and thus the rest of Barlaam's Apologues have been lost. Only three others indeed (Nos. 2, 3, 4) have been given in the printed edition. Theudas is not named here, but is only called "vno sauio strolago" (f. 9 b); his Apologue, of the Prince who loved "la femina" under the name of "demonio" (Devils who seduce Men) is on the next page (f. 10, col. 2); answering to the printed edition, p. 142. The present copy then continues without any gaps; and the text is very similar to the printed text, till it reaches the meeting of Barlaam and Josaphat in the desert, when it ends abruptly. Josaphat is accounting for the great change in his personal appearance, saying that it is due to the hardships of the desert, and he concludes: "Inpercio padre mio tempriego che tu mabbia recommandato in verso idio nelli tuoj oracionj." This conclusion is not found in the printed edition (p. 149, col. 2). The Romance itself then ends: "E barlam sil amaestro e deli la regula e lordine inpercio che potesse possedere la uita eterna" (f. 17 b, col. 2). This also is not found in the printed edition; but the Romance is there continued for more than two pages (pp. 149–152).

The theological Discourses then begin: "Or stando e demorando Josafat col suo padre santo Barlam molti di e Barlam sil insingno e amaestraua E disse volendo pensare nella vita eterna te conuiene leuare lanimo tuo da ogni cosa temporale acio che

piu tosto tu possa piacere a dio e nelle sopradette cosa piu deuotamente meditare Ma specialmente la passione e lo di che fo morto el nostro signore yhesu Cristo." f. 18.

Additional 10,288.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Quarto; ff. 88, in double columns of 26 lines to a column. With initials in red and blue. Together with two fragments of a leaf from another MS. at the end (ff. 157, 158). To these have been added (about the year 1800) 64 paper leaves to supply the deficiencies in the vellum MS. At the beginning (ff. 1–4) are four more paper leaves of notes, etc., three of which are in the handwriting of Eschenburg.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. Three vellum fragments of the poem by Rudolf von Ems (flourished about 1220–1254), containing 9146 lines; with the deficiencies supplied on paper, in the handwriting of Johann Joachim Eschenburg (d. 1820). Together with a leaf from another vellum MS. of the same poem, at the end of the volume. *German.*

Rudolf, of Hohen-Ems in the Tyrol (or rather the Vorarlberg), was a Squire in the service of the German Counts of Montfort (also in the Vorarlberg). According to Carl Goedeke (*Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1884, pp. 119–128), Rudolf's principal poems were written in the following order: (1.) Der gute Gerhard, perhaps before 1220; often edited. (2.) The present poem, between 1220 and 1223. (3.) Wilhelm von Orlens; only partially edited. (4.) Saint Eustachius (or Placidas); lost, but mentioned in Rudolf's Alexander. (5.) Troja, also only known by name. (6.) Alexander; six books remaining, unedited. (7.) Weltchronik; edited by Aug. Fried. Chr. Vilmar, Marburg, 1839. This last poem ends with 1254, when Rudolf appears to have died in Italy, which he had entered with the Emperor Conrad IV.

Eschenburg calls the author "Rudolf von Montfort" (f. 1 b). One of the paper leaves, added by Eschenburg, contains Rudolf's own account of the history of the poem. He states that this narrative ("māre") was found by "Johannes von domasca,"

written in Greek, and was turned by him into Latin. It was brought into Germany, continues Rudolf, and given him to turn into German verse by a Cistercian Abbot, who is here called "Von Capelle apt paide" (f. 6, col. 2), but who is called in the printed editions "abbet Wîde." This alludes to Guido, Abbot of Cappel near Zurich, said by some to have been Abbot from 1220 to 1223, but by others from 1220 until 1243. See the authorities quoted by Franz Pfeiffer, in the Preface to his edition of this poem (Leipzig, 1843), pp. viii–ix. At the conclusion (which is supplied in the present copy upon paper leaves) Rudolf repeats his former mistake, saying that the work had been found written in Greek, and had been translated by "Johannes" (Damascenus) into Latin (f. 155 b); he repeats also, more emphatically, that he himself read it in Latin, and translated it at the request of the Abbot and Monks of Cappel (ff. 155 b, col. 2–156); and he alludes to his former poem, Der gute Gerhard, saying, "Da ich das puch offenbörte Von dem guten gehorte," etc. (f. 156 b). See Pfeiffer's edition, col. 404, ll. 31–32; where the words are printed "dô ich daz mære enbarte von dem guoten Gêrharte."

The MS. to which these three fragments belonged was found in a Lutheran cloister (apparently in Lüneburg), in the early years of the eighteenth century. It fell into the hands of a bookbinder, who sold portions of it to patch up an organ; and several German verses were still to be seen, years afterwards, glued to the bellows and the pipes. The remaining fragments were at last transmitted to Christian Friedrich Schmid, Rector of St. John's School in Lüneburg (1726–46); and his son, and eventual successor, Conrad Arnold Schmid (Rector, 1746–89), sent a short description of them, together with an extract of 196 lines, to a periodical conducted by Johann Christoph Gottsched, called *Beyträge zur critischen Historie der deutschen Sprache*, Bd. vii. (Leipzig, 1741), pp. 406–414.* These particulars are derived from the Notes of Eschenburg; but the Notes are followed by a leaf in the hand of Conrad A. Schmid (f. 3). He gives in it a very brief account of the Greek Barlaam of John of Damascus, and its two Latin translations; and further on he

* For the management of this periodical, see Carl Bartsch's edition of August Koberstein's *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (5 vols., Leipzig, 1872–3), vol. iii. p. 52, note 3.

says:—"Ich habe dies mscr. membranaceum in dem Catal. der bibliottec des sel. vaters sub N. 4494 in Quarto also recensirt: Antiqua Paraphrasis Theotisca rhytmica," etc. (f. 3 b). Conrad A. Schmid seems to have published this catalogue of his father's books, for Eschenburg refers to it for a description of the present MS. in the following terms: "In dem Catal. Biblioth. *Chr. Fr. Schmidii* (Luneb. 1748, 8) steht S. 737 folgende Nachricht von diesem Codex: Antiqua Paraphrasis," etc. (f. 1).

From the library of the Schmids these fragments probably passed direct to J. J. Eschenburg, who, at the death of the younger Schmid (1789), was writing papers for various magazines, which he afterwards collected as *Denkmäler altdeutschen Dichtkunst* (Bremen, 1799). He was born at Hamburg, 7 Dec., 1743; and he is mentioned by Goethe (*Aus meinem Leben*, Book viii.) as a fellow-student at Leipzig (in 1765–7): see *Goethes Werke*, vol. xi. (Stuttgart, 1882), p. 322. After leading an active literary life he died 29 Feb., 1820. On the inner side of the first board belonging to the cover of this volume Eschenburg has written an account of the paper insertions, and has signed it with his name. He says that he copied them from a paper MS. in the Town Library of Hamburg, which had formerly belonged to the Uffenbach Library; that is to say, to the library formed by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, of Frankfurt (b. 1683, d. 1734).

Among the notes on the fly-leaves there is one (f. 1 b) that mentions the volume edited by Johann Jacob Bodmer, called *Chriemhilden Rache*, etc. (Zurich, 1757), and states that it contains some extracts from two MSS. of this poem (marked A. and B. in Pfeiffer's edition); and Eschenburg has added a footnote, to the effect that the name of the author was "Rudolf von Montfort."

At f. 4 Eschenburg has copied twenty lines from the first page of the First Fragment (see f. 12); and he has set them side by side with a corresponding extract from the Hamburg (or, as Eschenburg calls it, the Uffenbach) MS., in order to compare the differences of language.

1. The three vellum fragments are as follows:—
   (A.) Fragment i. consists of 8 leaves, containing 832 lines, ff. 12–19 b. They relate the birth of Josaphat; his meeting with the Blind Man and the Leper (f. 16, col. 2), and with the Old Man (f. 16 b, col. 2); and

the arrival of Barlaam, and his Apologue of the Gem (f. 19). The fragment begins:—

"Ich sol der truwe lonen dir
Di du hast irzeiget mir." f. 12.

Ends:—

"Als her in seite . di sede her
Do was des iuncheren ger." f. 19 b, col. 2.

See both the printed editions, ll. 719–1550, at cols. 19, l. 19–40, l. 10.

(B.) Fragment ii. consists of 48 leaves, containing 4992 lines, ff. 41–81 b. These leaves are divided into six quires, of eight leaves each, respectively marked vi.–xi. It begins with some of the discourses of Barlaam, introducing the following Apologues:—No. 5 (Unicorn). f. 46 b, col. 2;—No. 6 (Three Friends). f. 48, col. 2;—No. 7 (King for one year). f. 51;—No. 8 (King and happy Poor Couple). f. 55, col. 2;—No. 9 (Rich Youth and Poor Girl). f. 49 b, col. 2;—No. 10 (Tame Kid). f. 65. It ends with the preparations for the public discussion between the Christians and the Pagans.

This fragment begins (in the middle of a reply made by Josaphat):—

"Vnde cristus touf vntphahen
Vil gerne werden gutes knecht
Ob her mith dorch min vnrecht
Nicht vortriben wil von ime." f. 41.

Ends (in the middle of a speech of King "Auennir"):—

"Als ir gelidet dise not
Vnde den lasterlichen tot
So machich alle di kint
Di in vweren konne sint
Vremeden luten vndertan
Daz si muzen iemer han." f. 88 b, col. 2.

See lines 3994–8996 of Köpke's edition (1818), col. 101, line 14–col. 226, line 16; and lines 3996–8998 of Pfeiffer's edition (1843), col. 101, line 16–col. 226, line 18. Thus both printed

editions contain, in the corresponding passage, eleven lines more than the present copy.

(C.) Fragment iii. consists of 32 leaves, containing 3322 lines, ff. 121–152 b. The quires (four in number) are numbered xvi.–xix. It deals with the story from Josaphat's resistance to the fiends sent by the enchanter "Theodas" down to Josaphat's dream by the side of the grave which he had dug for Barlaam. It begins (in the middle of the tempting visions beheld by Josaphat):—

"So wunnichliche daz her iach
Daz vleislich ouge ny gesach
So wunsches richen ougenglast." f. 121.

Ends:—

"Do im der engel scar bekam
Vnde er di lichten crone sach
Josaphat der gute sprach
Wem sûlen di lichten crone
Dir sol eyn zu lone
Die hat den lichtensten schin
Vm den vil lieben vater din
Daz du den bekertest
Vnde den gelouben lertest . . ." f. 152 b, col. 2.

See lines 12,247–15,610 of Köpke's edition, col. 307, line 27–col. 391, line 30; and lines 12,351–15,714 of Pfeiffer's edition, col. 310, line 11–col. 394, line 14. Thus both printed editions contain, in the corresponding passage, 42 lines more than the present copy. And yet, if the quires are numbered properly, the last line here ought to be about line 15,800 of the complete MS.; a larger number than it bears in either of the printed editions.

2. The passages copied by Eschenburg from the Uffenbach MS. at Hamburg are:—

(a.) First part of the poem, from "Alpha et o Künig sabbaoth" down to "Mir habent gelaidet zu aller zeit." ff. 5–11 b, col. 2.

Answering to the first 718 lines, in both printed editions, at cols. 1–19.

(b.) Lines from "Wie er gesach disen man" down to "Mit hasse gar versmahen." ff. 20–40 b, col. 2.

See lines 1551–3993 of Köpke's edition, col. 40, line 11–col. 101, line 13; and lines 1551–3995 of Pfeiffer's edition, col. 40, line 11–col. 101, line 15.

(c.) Lines from "In dienstleicher arbait" down to "Das velt er geplümet vant." ff. 89–120 b, col. 2.

See lines 8997–12,246 of Köpke's edition, col. 226, line 17–col. 307, line 26; and lines 8999–12,350 of Pfeiffer's edition, col. 226, line 19–col. 310, line 10.

(d.) Lines from "Darnach durch maniger sele leben" down to the last line of the poem, "Alpha et O chunich Sabaoth." ff. 153–156 b, col. 2.

See lines 15,611–16,060 of Köpke's edition, col. 391, line 31–col. 402, line 40; and lines 15,714–16,164 of Pfeiffer's edition, col. 394, line 15–col. 406, line 12.

At the end of the volume is inserted a leaf, cut in two, of another vellum MS. of this poem. It is in double columns, and each column originally contained 31 lines; but, since the leaf has been cut, the lower half has been clipped in the middle, so that three lines have been lost out of each column, and the whole leaf contains 112 instead of 124 lines. It is wrongly bound at present. It begins:—

"Vns den bvrgeren git." f. 157 b.

Ends:—

"Mit dem almvosen swenden." f. 157.

See lines 5255–5377 of Pfeiffer's edition, col. 130, line 34–col. 133, line 35.

The lines upon this leaf are collated (in the hand of Conrad A. Schmid) with the corresponding passage in the more perfect copy, beginning f. 52, col. 2, line 8, and ending f. 53, col. 2, last line but one.

This poem was edited by Fr. Karl Köpke, *Barlaam und Josaphat von Rudolf von Montfort* (Königsberg, 1818); and by Franz Pfeiffer, as third volume of "Dichtungen des deutschen Mittelalters," *Barlaam und Josaphat von Rudolf von Ems* (Leipzig, 1843). The introductory notes of Eschenburg (on the inside of the cover, and on ff. 1, 2) have been published by John Koch, in an article on the present MS., in Höpfner and Zacher's periodical, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. 13 (Halle, 1882), pp. 78–89. Koch does not print the leaf written by Conrad A.

Schmid (f. 3); and he notes it as doubtful whether it was written by father or son. He must have overlooked the end, where the writer speaks of having himself described this MS. as No. 4494 Quarto of his late father's Library. Koch prints a few extracts from the three fragments; and also the whole of the mutilated leaf at the end of the present MS.

Additional 10,287. ff. 86–99 b.

Vellum; early xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 14, having 27 lines to a page. This MS. is entirely in *Dutch*. It contains:—

1. The Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Creed, etc. f. 2 b.
2. Religious Meditations, upon Death, etc. f. 7.
3. The present article; followed by Lives (also translated from the Legenda Aurea) of SS. Adrian, Furseus, Pelagia, and Thais. ff. 86, 99 b, 104, 106 b, 108 b.
4. Story of a son of a Count of Blankenberg, who turns Dominican, translated from Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. 28. f. 111.
5. Life of Saint Euphrosina. f. 113.
6. Passage translated from Cæsarius of Heisterbach. f. 123.
7. Lives of SS. Patrick and Alexius. ff. 124, 127 b–132 b.

Barlaam and Josaphat. Translated from the Abridgment used by Jacobus de Voragine in his Legenda Aurea. *Dutch.*

Headed: "Hier beghint die Hystorie van barlaam ende Josaphat." Begins: "Barlaams Historie screef iohannes damascenus. Want barlaam bekeerde bi der gracien gods iosaphat den coninc totten gheloue gods." f. 86. The Apologues are, as usual, Nos. i.–vii., ix., and xi., ff. 89, 89 b, 90, 90 b, 91, 92, 92 b, 93, 97. Ends: "Ende doe die coninc barachias dat hoerde so voer hi derwert mit enem groten heer, ende hi nam weerdelike hoer lichame . ende voer dese in sijn stede Ende tot horen graue geschien vele miracule." f. 99 b.

The same version as that printed in the *Passionael*, or *Die gulden legende*, Part i., Winter-Part (Antwerp, 1505), ff. xliii.–xlviii.

Harley 5619.

Paper; about 1600. Quarto; ff. 216, having 23 lines to a page.

ΒΑΡΛΑΑΜ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΑΣΑΦ. A modernised text. *Greek.*

The text has been so completely modernised that this copy cannot be regarded as a specimen of the original work. The old Latin translation, from which all the other European versions, except the Greek, were more or less directly derived, has therefore been placed first, and the series of Barlaam and Josaphat is concluded with the present manuscript.

The young Prince, Joasaph, encounters the two diseased men (the one maimed and the other blind) at f. 22; and the man crippled with age at f. 22 b. Barlaam is introduced at f. 24; and he has his first interview with Joasaph at f. 27.

The eleven Apologues occur as follows:

1. The marvellous Gem. f. 24 b.—2. The King's Brother and the Trump of Death. f. 27 b.—3. The Four Caskets. f. 28 b.—4. The Fowler and the Nightingale. f. 49 b.—5. Man pursued by Unicorn. f. 68 b.—6. Man with three Friends. f. 70.—7. King for one year. f. 72 b.—8. King sees happy Couple in a cellar. f. 84.—9. Youth renounces riches for the sake of a Poor Girl. f. 86 b.—10. Recapture of the half-tamed Goat. f. 96 b.—11. The Devils who seduce Men. f. 160 b.

Title: "*Βίβλος Βαρλαὰμ. Σὺν λαμπρῷ ἰωάσαφ. Ἱστορία ψυχοφελὴς . ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν αἰθίοπων χώρας τῆς λεγομένης ἰνδίας. Τὴν ὁποῖαν τὴν ἐξηγήθηκαν τινὲς ἄνδρες τίμιοι. Οἵτινες ἦλθασιν ἀπὸ τὴν ἰνδίαν Εἰς τὴν ἱερουσαλήμ. Εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα. Καὶ ἔγραψε τὴν ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννης ὁ δαμάσκηνος.*"

The introductory paragraph begins: "*Ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος παυλος λέγει, οὕτως. Ὅσοι πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι εἰσὶν υἱοὶ θεοῦ.*" f. 2. Towards the end of the paragraph the author says of the story: "*τὴν ὁποῖαν μου τὴν ἐξηγήθηκαν τινὲς ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἦσαν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐσωτέραν χώραν τῶν μερόπων τὴν λεγομένην ἰνδίαν,*" and so on. ff. 3–3 b.

The narrative begins: "*Ἡ χῶρα ὁποῦ λέγεται τῶν ἰνδῶν κείτεται ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τὴν αἴγυπτον μακρὰ.*" f. 3 b.

The narrative ends: "*καὶ ὅλοι ἐκεῖνοι ὁποῦ ἔβλεπαν καὶ ἀκούασι τὴν ἰσάγγελον ζωὴν καὶ διαγωγὴν τοῦ ἰωάσαφ . καὶ τὸν διάπειρον πόθον ὁποῦ εἶχε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παιδόθεν . ἐθαύμαζαν καὶ ἐδόξαζαν τὸν θεόν . ὁποῦ βοηθεῖ πάντοτε ἐκεινῶν ὁποῦ τὸν ἀγαποῦσι . καὶ τοὺς ἀντιμεύγει μὲ* [*sic*] *μεγάλα χαρίσματα.*" f. 215 b.

The concluding paragraph begins: "*Ἕως ἐδῶ εἶναι τὸ τέλος τοῦ παρόντος λόγου . τὸν ὁποῖον τὸν ἔγραψεν ὁ θεολογικότατος Ἰωάννης ὁ δαμασκηνὸς, εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν, κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν του, ὡς λέγει αὐτός.*" f. 215 b. It ends with commending his hearers to the prayers "*τοῦ βαρλαὰμ καὶ ἰωάσαφ τῶν μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν,*" etc. f. 216.

Edited (in its purer form) by J. Fr. Boissônade, in his *Anecdota Græca*, vol. iv. (Paris, 1832). Reprinted by Migne, in his *Patrologia Græca*, vol. xcvi. (Paris, 1864), cols. 859–1240.

Additional 11,437. ff. 62–109.

Paper; A.D. 1470. Folio; ff. 48. In double columns, having 40 to 51 lines to a column. The volume is in two or three German hands, of the same period. The contents (all in *Latin*) are:—

1. Moral Distiches, in leonine verse, with prose Commentaries and Examples from the Fables of Æsop and Avianus, in 3 Books; preceded by a list of the Fables, in a hand of the 17th century. ff. 1, 2.
2. "Sermo pro defunctis"; *imperfect.* f. 47, col. 2.
3. Vision of Tundal, etc. f. 50.
4. The present article. f. 62.
5. Imitation of Christ, by Thomas à Kempis; the first 3 books. f. 110.
6. Sermon on the Day of Judgment, by Ephraim Syrus. f. 120 b, col. 2.
7. Book of Virtues and Vices. f. 122, col. 2.
8. Dieta Salutis, copied by Johan Kehlesch in 1463. f. 154.
9. "Tractatus de confessione," by Magister Henricus de Hassia. f. 166.
10. Evangeliarium, bearing at the end the date 1467. ff. 171–314.

On two leaves (ff. 168 b, 169) an Index to the Moralization of the Fables in Article 1 has been inserted, in the same hand as that of the list already mentioned.

DIRECTORIUM HUMANÆ VITÆ. A translation of the work generally known as Kalilah and Dimnah, or the Fables of Bidpai (or Pilpay), a personage who is here called the Philosopher Sendebat. Originally written in Sanskrit, and thence trans-

ferred by successive stages, through Pehlevi (Old Persian), Arabic, and Hebrew, to the present version. Translated from the Hebrew, about 1270, by John of Capua, a converted Jew, and a Physician at the Court of Rome. In seventeen chapters. Preceded by a Prologue, addressed to Matteo de' Rossi, Cardinal Deacon, of the title of St. Mary in Porticu (held by him between 1262 and 1278); and also preceded by two Prefatory Chapters, and by a Table of Chapters. With 137 Rubrics, likewise translated from the Hebrew, describing illustrations, which belonged to some earlier copy. Transcribed by Brother Wolfgang Hönigtaler, of the Monastery of St. Paul, in Unter-Lauanthal in Carinthia, and finished on Friday, 19 Oct. 1470. *Latin.*

The original Sanskrit work (which was probably in twelve or thirteen chapters) has perished; but it had previously been recast into the existing Panchatantra (Five Books or Divisions), the history of which has been fully discussed by Benfey, in the Introduction to his translation.* The Sanskrit work, in its older form, was brought from India to Persia, and was translated into Pehlevi by the Court Physician, Barzoyeh, at the desire of Chosroes the Great (Khosru Nushirvan, or Anushirvan), who reigned in 531–579. This version is also lost. The old Syriac version, by an Ecclesiastic named Bud, was drawn (according to Benfey) directly from the Pehlevi.† This first Syriac version (about 570) is not known to have produced any offspring. But two hundred years later, in the reign of the Caliph Almansur of Baghdad (754–775), a writer who was Persian and Zoroastrian by birth, but a convert to Mohammedanism, named Abdallah Ibn Almokaffa, translated the work from Pehlevi into Arabic. His version was entitled Kalilah wa Dimnah.‡ It has been translated

* *Pantschatantra*, by Theodor Benfey, in two volumes (Leipzig, 1859), the first volume consisting of the famous *Einleitung*, and the second containing the text in German.

† Published, with a German translation by Gustav Bickell, and with an Introduction by Theodor Benfey, under the title of *Kalilag und Damnag* (Leipzig, 1876).

‡ Edited by Silvestre de Sacy, in Arabic, with a French Introduction, the title being *Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai* (Paris, 1816). De Sacy had previously written an Essay on the translation into Hebrew in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. ix. (Paris, 1813), p. 397; and he afterwards wrote upon other translations, especially Persian, in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. x. (1818). De Sacy's printed text was translated into English by the Rev. Wyndham Knatchbull (Oxford, 1819).

from Arabic (more or less directly) into many other languages. The three most notable versions are as follows:—(1) Greek, by Symeon Seth (or rather Son of Seth), about 1080*; (2) Persian, by Nasr Allah, about 1120†; and (3) Hebrew, attributed to a certain Rabbi Joel, the version from which the present Latin one is translated.‡

The works of De Sacy and Benfey have been supplemented by many more recent editors and critics. Amongst others, the late Dr. William Wright published the younger Syriac version (1884) §; and this was translated by the late Ion Grant Neville Keith-Falconer, with an Introduction giving a compendious literary history of the different versions.‖ On the next page is a copy of the Table placed at the end of his Introduction (after p. lxxxv).

A much fuller "Pedigree of the Bidpai Literature" has been drawn up by Joseph Jacobs, and placed at the end (after p. lxxx)

---

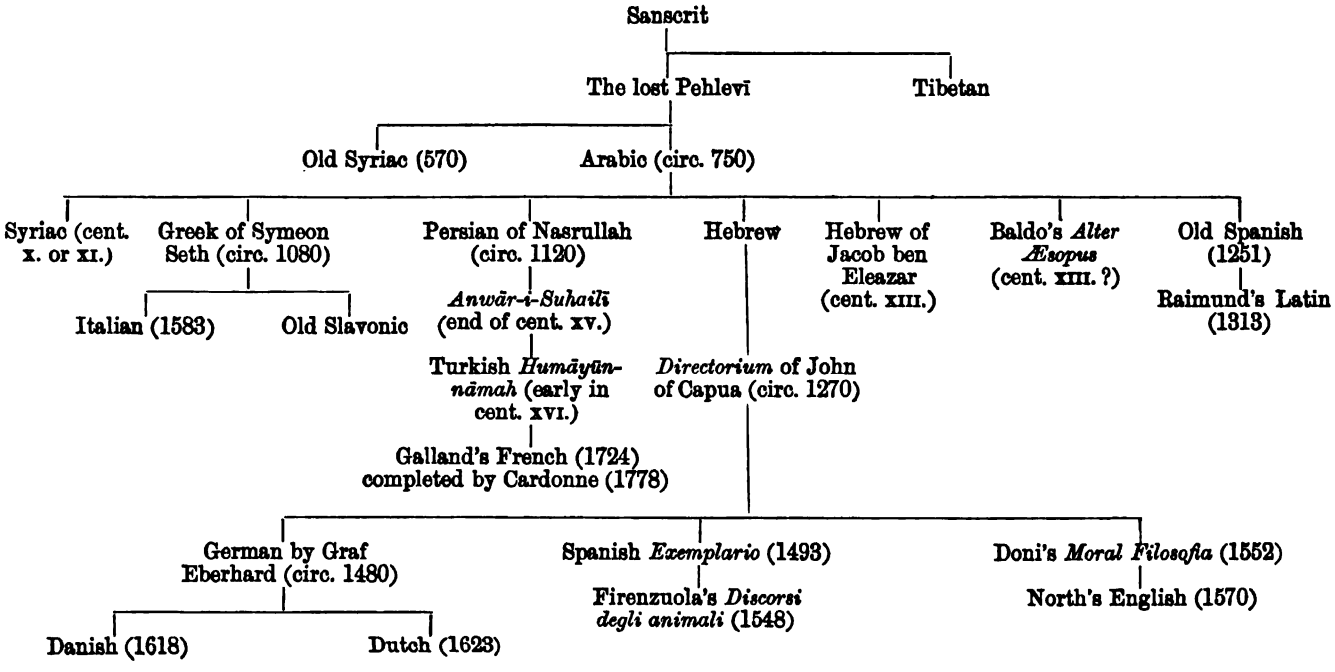
* Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης, as the Greek work is entitled (from the names given by Symeon Seth to the two jackals, Kalilah and Dimnah), was published, with a Latin version, by Sebastian Gottfried Stark (Berlin, 1697), and reprinted at Athens in 1851. An earlier Latin version was made by Petrus Possinus (Poussines), and appended to his edition of the History of the Emperor Michael Palæologus, written by Georgius Pachymeres, and forming a volume of the *Corpus Byzantinæ Historiæ* (Rome, 1666), pp. 545–620; reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vol. cxliii., cols. 1217–1356. The three Prolegomena, omitted by Stark, were first published, in Greek, by Petrus Fabianus Aurivillius (Upsala, 1780); and they have since been edited, from more perfect MSS., by Vittorio Puntoni, at the end of his edition of the present *Directorium* (Pisa, 1884).

† Not printed; but a modernised version, *Anvar-i-Suhaili*, has been edited by Lieut.-Col. J. W. J. Ouseley (Hertford, 1851), and translated into English by E. B. Eastwick (Hertford, 1854).

‡ Only preserved in one fragmentary MS., at Paris. This is described, with a long extract, by Silvestre de Sacy in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. ix. (1813), Part i. pp. 397–466. Another chapter is printed by Ad. Neubauer, in Benfey's Periodical, *Orient und Occident*, vol. i. (Göttingen, 1862), pp. 483–96 and 657–80. The whole Fragment has now been published, with a French translation, by Joseph Derenbourg, as the first of *Deux versions Hébraïques*, forming the 49th Fascicule of the Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études (Paris, 1881); it occupies pp. 1–309.

§ *The book of Kalīlah and Dimnah, translated from Arabic into Syriac. Edited by W. Wright, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge* (Oxford, 1884).

‖ *Kalīlah and Dimnah*, by I. G. N. Keith-Falconer (Cambridge, 1885).


Sanscrit
The lost Pehlevī
Tibetan
Old Syriac (570)
Arabic (circ. 750)
Syriac (cent. x. or xi.)
Greek of Symeon Seth (circ. 1080)
Persian of Nasrullah (circ. 1120)
Hebrew
Hebrew of Jacob ben Eleazar (cent. xiii.)
Baldo's Alter Æsopus (cent. xiii. ?)
Old Spanish (1251)
Raimund's Latin (1313)
Italian (1583)
Old Slavonic
Anwār-i-Suhailī (end of cent. xv.)
Turkish Humāyūn-nāmah (early in cent. xvi.)
Galland's French (1724) completed by Cardonne (1778)
Directorium of John of Capua (circ. 1270)
German by Graf Eberhard (circ. 1480)
Spanish Exemplario (1493)
Doni's Moral Filosofia (1552)
Firenzuola's Discorsi degli animali (1548)
North's English (1570)
Danish (1618)
Dutch (1623)

of the Introduction to his new edition of North's *Doni.** Falconer's Table, however, is sufficient for our present purpose; only we will here add a few words with regard to the authors of three of the versions that figure in it. These are (1) "Hebrew"; (2) "Directorium"; and (3) "Raimund's Latin."

(1.) Doni, at the beginning of his address to the Reader, speaks of the Hebrew translator as "uno Joel gran rabbi Giudeo." Yet J. B. de' Rossi only speaks of one Joel ("Gioele"), and of his work as "i Proverbj di Sendabàr."† This latter title (in Hebrew "Mishleh Sendebar") belongs to the Hebrew version of Sindibâd, a romance which has sometimes been confounded with the present one, because the story-telling Philosopher goes here by the same name. The same Joel may possibly have translated both works. The question is discussed by Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, vol. i. ("Einleitung"), § 3, pp. 10–13. Meanwhile, the critics have found it convenient to attribute the Hebrew original of the present work to Joel.‡

(2.) John of Capua wrote his translation (as we have said) about 1270; but there is no proof that it was entitled Directorium until it was printed (soon after 1480). In his Dedication (which he himself calls "Prologus") he states that he intends to follow up the present book with others more useful, either scriptural or medical, likewise translated from the Hebrew. Accordingly, we have three such medical treatises in one of our MSS. (Add. 22,313). The first of these is said (but only by the rubricator) to be "de arabico in latinum, per Magistrum Johannem de Capua, phisicum, medicum in romana curia" (f. 2); and at the end is added the date, "AD.MCCC" (f. 228 b). There are two other similar treatises, known to exist in three MSS. (one at Paris, and two at Vienna). These have been described by Otto Hartwig, in an article on "Die Uebersetzungsliteratur Unter-

* *La Moral' Filosophia* of Antonio Francesco Doni appeared at Venice in 1552; it was translated by Sir Thomas North (afterwards the translator of Plutarch) in 1570. This translation was re-edited (as a volume of the *Bibliothèque de Carabas*) by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1888).

† *Dizionario storico degli autori ebrei* (Parma, 1802, i. p. 136).

‡ The only known MS. of this work forms the 2nd article of No. 1282 of the "Fonds Hébreu" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and (curiously enough) it is preceded by a MS. of the Mishleh Sendebar, in which the name is written "Sindbad"; see the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Hébreux* (Paris, 1866), p. 230.

italiens." A Dedication is there printed to Martin, Archbishop of Braga (1292–1313).*

(3.) Raimond de Béziers presented his own Latin version to Philip IV. of France (Philippe-le-Bel) in 1313. The presentation-copy is still in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and has been described by Silvestre de Sacy.† Raimond says that Philip's late Queen, Joanna of Navarre, had received a Spanish version, but that she and her household had been unable to read it, and she had desired him to turn it into Latin. He asserts that this Spanish version was derived from the Arabic through Hebrew; but De Sacy has adduced arguments to show that Raimond was mistaken, and that it must have come direct from the Arabic.‡ Raimond's work was interrupted by the death of the Queen, in 1305. It seems to have been between 1305 and 1313 that he became acquainted with the work of John of Capua. He used it freely after the chapter on the Trial of Dimnah, changing some of the names, but often copying whole passages with very slight alterations.

The title "Kalilah and Dimnah" is taken from the names of two Jackals (in Sanskrit called Karataka and Damanaka), who figure at the court of King Lion, in the longest and most important chapter of this work. This title was retained by John of Capua; but the printed editions and the critics call the work *Directorium humanæ vitæ;* and so we have chosen the latter name as a heading. The other common title, "Fables of Pilpay," refers to a Philosopher (called "Bidpai" in the Arabic), who is supposed to narrate these chapters to an Indian king, "Dabshelim." Rabbi Joel has here made a considerable change. The two names are printed in Derenbourg's edition of the Hebrew (p. 17) as King "Dislem" and the Philosopher "Sendebar." John of Capua calls them "Disles" and "Sendebat" (as the latter stands in our copy). If an early Hebrew MS. were found, it would perhaps give us the

* See Hartwig's periodical, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig), iii. Jahrgang (1886), pp. 187–9.

† In *Notices et Extraits*, vol. x. (1818), Part ii. pp. 1–65. Raimond's version is only known to the public through the extracts given in this article.

‡ The Spanish version has now been published in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 52 (Madrid, 1860), edited by Pascual de Gayangos. It has been reviewed by Benfey in *Orient und Occident*, vol. i. (Göttingen, 1862), pp. 497–507.

form "Sindbad." Now, Raimond de Béziers sometimes calls the king "Dizalen," sometimes "Disles"; and Bidpai (who occasionally appears in Arabic as "Baidaba") he sometimes calls "Bendabeh," and sometimes "Sendebat." Again, when Raimond has to mention Barzoyeh (the physician who brought the book to Chosroes the Great), he sometimes calls him "Berzebuy" after his Spanish authority, sometimes "Berosias" after John of Capua.

With the exception of Chapter i. (a sort of spiritual autobiography of Barzoyeh) the chapters consist of Moral Tales, in which animals generally play the principal (and sometimes the sole) parts, and warn each other with lesser Tales, which we shall here distinguish as Apologues. Many of the Tales (both the greater and the lesser ones) are Buddhistic; and two of them (at least) are actually to be found in the Játakas, that is to say in the Birth-stories, supposed to be told by Buddha himself, of the days when he had been born, and re-born, in the person of a man, a beast, a bird, or even a tree.* Other Apologues are pure Æsopic Fables, such as the Dog and his Shadow (Cap. i. Apol. 5). A few are stories of intrigue, like those in the cycle of Sindibâd (that is, the Seven Wise Masters, etc.). There are four Apologues in the printed *Directorium* which are not in the other versions. Two of these, (1) The Magpie and the False Wife, and (2) Dust instead of Drugs (both of them in Sindibâd), occur in the latter part of Cap. ii.; but the Hebrew fragment begins later, and so they may have been introduced by Joel. They are both in the present MS. (ff. 76, 77). The other two, however, (1) Serpent reared in a Family, and (2) Cock and Fox, which are the first two Apologues of Cap. iv. in the printed edition, are certainly not in the Hebrew version. But then they are not in the present copy either, and the places that were chosen for the insertions have a text here that agrees with the Hebrew. We will quote a few lines in illustration. "Sambar," the Mouse, is explaining why he cannot trust the friendship offered by the Raven.

---

* See *Buddhist Birth Stories; or Jātaka Tales.* Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, vol. i. In "Trübner's Oriental Series" (London, 1880). In his Introduction Davids inserts the Talkative Tortoise (or the Tortoise carried aloft by two Birds), pp. viii–x; and in the body of the book is the Cruel Crane Outwitted (killed by a Crab), pp. 315–321. These are the same as two Apologues in the present MS., in Cap. ii. Apologues 11 a and 5 a, ff. 75 and 71, col. 2; only there are no allusions to Buddha in the latter versions.

Add. 11,437.	Printed edition.
"Vir autem intelligens et doctrinatus nunquam suo credit inimico sed elongat se ab eo. Inquid coruus. Intellexi quippe verba tua" (f. 83, col. 2).	Passage begins with the same words; it goes on: "sed elongat se ab eo, ne ei contingat sicut cuidam qui serpentem nutriuit in domo sua" (f. g. 4). The Apologue of the Serpent follows; and then come the words:—"Inquit coruus. Intellexi quippe verba tua" (f. g. 4 b).

The Hebrew is thus translated by Derènbourg:—"L'homme intelligent, avisé, n'a jamais confiance dans son ennemi, mais s'en éloigne. Le corbeau dit: J'ai compris tes paroles" (p. 27). Again:—

Add. 11,437.	Printed edition.
"Non glorieris contra me dicens Inveni inquam murem absque consilio et intellectu nec potuit cauere sibi a me et deceptus est. Post hec vero exiuit mus de suo foramine et stabat in hostio." To this is added the Rubric: "Figura muris aput foramen et corui loquentis cum eo" (f. 83 b).	Passage begins with the same words; it goes on: "et deceptus est. Neque contingat mihi sicut contigit gallo cuidam" (f. g. 5). The Apologue of the Cock and Fox follows, and then three lines, beginning: "Hanc parabolam tibi dixi"; and ending: "Et post hoc exiuit mus de suo foramine, et stabat in ostio" (f. g. 5 b). There is no woodcut here, answering to the Rubric of the MS.; but the two Apologues have three woodcuts between them.

The Hebrew is thus translated by Derenbourg: "Tu ne pourras donc pas te vanter et prétendre que tu as trouvé la souris imprudente et sans intelligence; qu'elle n'a pas pu se mettre sur ses gardes, et qu'elle s'est laissée séduire par la moindre chose. Après cela la souris sortit de son trou et se tint près de l'entrée. Figure de la souris, se tenant près de l'entrée, pendant que le corbeau lui parle" (pp. 29–30).

As the printed edition has inserted these passages, so also it has omitted others. The longest omission (more than 58 lines in the present MS.) is at the end of Cap. xv. (The King's Son and his three Companions). The narrative in the printed edition concludes thus: "Et factum est cum veniret ad domum . misit pro socijs suis . enarrans ipsis quod sibi acciderat a diuina predestinatione glorificans et laudans deum de sua gratia. Post hec vero dixit philosophus. Viri intelligentes," etc. (see the old edition, f. n. 6; and see the recent edition of Puntoni, pp. 250–1,

who quotes in a note Derenbourg's French translation from the Hebrew of Joel). The passage (in our MS. and in Derenbourg's translation) begins thus:—

"Et factum est cum rediret ad palacium Imperij sedens super solium misit pro eius socijs, et mandauit congregari ante ipsum vniuersos eius magnatos senes et consules Qui cum venissent cepit sermocionari eis.

Figura filij sedentis in solio et loquentis ad populum.

Laudauit quoque deum et glorificauit nomen eius," etc. (f. 106, cols. 1-2).

"Entré dans le palais, il se mit sur le trône, fit chercher ses compagnons, puis il réunit ses gens et ses fonctionnaires et leur raconta ce qui lui était arrivé.

Figure du prince assis sur le trône et parlant au peuple.

Il remercia Dieu de tout le bien qu'il lui avait fait," etc. (p. 278).

The Prince (who has just been elected a King) says that his honours are all due to divine favour. One of the people replies that this is indirectly true, as God had given him the intelligence that caused his election. Another speaker narrates an instance of predestination. He says that, when he left service, he had only two denarii remaining. He determined to devote one of them to some good action. He saw a fowler with a pair of captured doves. He offered a denarius for one, in order that he might release it. He found that he could not buy one separately, and he gave both denarii for the pair, and then let them fly. They alighted upon a tree, and he heard them say that their liberator must be rewarded; and they then informed him that there was a treasure at the root of the tree. He dug and found it there, and asked the doves how birds of such intelligence could have fallen into the net. They replied:—

"Vir sapiens non sciuisti quod non valet cursus leuibus nec bella potentibus Sed in tempore diuine destinacionis clauduntur oculi ut quis non valeat sibi cauere ab eo quod super ipsum scriptum est desuper.

Post hec vero dixit philosophus. Viri sapientes et intelligentes," etc. (f. 106 b).

"Homme intelligent! ne sais-tu pas que les plus légers ne réussissent pas toujours à la course ni les plus vaillants à la guerre. Lorsque le destin le veut, les yeux sont fermés et personne ne peut échapper à ce qui était décidé sur son compte. Après cela Sandebar dit au roi: Les hommes intelligents, sages," etc. (p. 281.)

We will quote another passage, which is not entirely omitted, but abridged, in the printed edition. It is at the end of the whole work (Cap. xvii.). Dove has defied the threats of Fox, but has confessed that her courage is due to the advice of Sparrow.

Add. 11,437.

"et relicta columba iuit wlpes ad passerem et eum invenit iuxta flumen. Et ait ad eum wlpis Quando te ventus invadit a dextris vbi reponis caput tuum Cui respondit passer Sub a dextris. Et ait eum ad eum/quando percutit te a facie tua Et ille a meis posterioribus Ait wlpes/ quando venti ex omni parte te invadunt Quid facit Et ait passer Sub meis alis reclino caput meum Dixit ei wlpes quomodo potes hoc facere Puto te verum non dicere Cui respondit passer Ymo verum dico Dixit ei wlpes Beate vos estis vniuerse aues quibus deus pre alijs animalibus seculi gratiam tribuit specialem Volatis enim inter celum et terram in momento quod nos non possumus in vno anno perambulare. et pervenitis ad ea ad que pervenire non possumus et adhuc quod in hora necessitatis capita vestra sub alis reponitis Valde beate estis/ostende ergo michi quomodo facis Et volens passer hoc ei ostendere reclinauit suum caput sub alis quem volpes rapuit et tenebat et dixit ei Tu es qui inimicaris tibi / sciens columbe prestare consilium tibi autem non consuluisti Vltimo vero ipsum oppressit et deuorauit Figura Columbe in suo nido existentis et figura wlpis passerem deuorantis" (ff. 108 b, col. 2–109).

Printed edition; with an insertion, translated from the Hebrew.

"Et relicta columba iuit vulpes ad passerem. et ait. Quando te ventus inuadit. vbi reponis caput tuum. Et ait passer. Sub sinistro latere. Et quando percutit te in facie tua vbi ponis tunc caput tuam. Ait ille. ad mea posteriora. Ait vulpes. quando venti te ex omni parte inuadunt. vbi tunc ponis caput tuum. Ait passer. Sub alis meis. Ait vulpes. Quomodo potes hoc facere. Estimo te non verum dicere. et si hoc scis facere. similem tibi non vidi."

[Et cependant c'est vrai, dit le moineau. Vous êtes bien heureux, repliqua le renard, vous autres oiseaux! Loué soit Dieu, qui vous a accordé cet avantage sur tout ce qui vit dans le monde. Vous pouvez dans une heure traverser au vol, entre le ciel et la terre, plus d'espace que nous ne pouvons dans une année; vous pouvez arriver à des hauteurs que nous ne saurions atteindre; vous placez vos têtes sous vos ailes; vous êtes heureux dans ce que vous faites. Montre-moi donc comment vous faites cela.]

Et tunc passer volens ei hoc ostendere: reclinauit caput suum sub alis. quem vulpes rapuit dicens. sciuisti columbe prestare consilium. et non tibi ipsi. et deuorauit eum" (see old edition, last page; and Puntoni's edition, pp. 264–5). In the old edition, the woodcut (as usual) corresponds with the Rubric in our MS.

Derenbourg's translation from the Hebrew ends: "Le moineau glissa sa tête sous ses ailes et aussitôt le renard s'élança, se jeta sur lui, le saisit et le brisa. Il lui dit: Tu as été ton propre ennemi en donnant ce conseil à la colombe: tu aurais dû te le donner à toi-même. Après cela il le tua et le dévora. Figure de la colombe dans son nid et celle du renard tuant le moineau" (p. 309).*

* The old German translation contains the entire passage.

There are some very careless mistakes in the present MS., as may be seen by the passage quoted above; but we believe that upon the whole our scribe has transmitted to us a fair idea of the original text. At all events, our MS. is far superior to the printed edition, the only text hitherto known to the critics. We will mention a single word which strikes us as very significant. In the printed text of Cap. vii. the Apologue of the Pot of Honey is thus introduced: "Ait vxor. Dicitur [quod] olim quidam fuit heremita apud quendam regem cui rex providebat quolibet die pro sua vita / scilicet provisionem de sua coquina. et vasculum de melle. Ille vero comedebat decocta," etc.: see the old edition, f. k. 4 b; Puntoni's edition, p. 187; and Derenbourg's edition (of the first half of the *Directorium*), p. 218. But in Derenbourg's translation of Joel (p. 146) the Mendicant receives and eats a "gâteau" (answering to the "provisionem de sua coquina" and "decocta"). Now, on the first mention of the Hebrew equivalent of "gâteau," it is written (we are informed) "Uggath rets-âfîm," meaning "a cake baked on hot stones"*; and our text has "focaciam" (from focus), a cake baked on the hearth. The Latin word was never very common, and was likely soon to look strange to Northern readers; but it must have been familiar to John of Capua, through the Italian focaccia (the French fouace).

There may be several other MSS. of the *Directorium;* but we only know of one other. This is at Munich. We know nothing of its text, except that it was written 26 years before the present MS.† Meanwhile, it will be interesting to place a passage from Raimond de Béziers, quoted by Silvestre de Sacy (*Notices et Extraits*, vol. x. Part 2, p. 32), between the texts of the present MS. and the printed edition. It must be remembered that Raimond used a text older than 1313. The passage occurs at the end of Cap. vi. (Ape and Tortoise).

---

* See Gesenius-Tregelles, *Hebrew Lexicon* (p. 605), who refers to 1 Kings xix. 6. In the Vulgate (3 Kings xix. 6), the Hebrew is translated "subcinericius panis"; and Isidore of Seville, in his Origines (or Etymologiæ), Lib. xx. cap. 2, says "Subcineritius, cinere coctus et reversatus, ipse est et Focatius" (see Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. lxxxii. col. 708).

† See the Catalogue of Latin MSS. in the Royal Library, Munich, ed. by Carl Halm, vol. ii. Part ii. (1876), No. 14,120 (a Folio written in 1444). This MS. contains four articles, the third of which (ff. 25-105) is described as "Directorium humanæ uitæ sive Parabolæ antiquorum (Indiæ) sapientum (Calila et Dimna) Joanne de Capua interprete."

Add. 11,437 (f. 94 b).

"Inquid philosophus Sendebat hoc proverbium est pro eo qui cum querit aliquid et invenit illud nescit ipsum conservare donec amittit illud . Et propter hoc decet viros sapientes considerare vt sciant rem conseruare que sibi est oportuna quando ipsam habent/quicumque enim hoc facit non penitebit . Et caueat sibi ne forsitan suus intellectus precipitetur in aliquo ne eius labor sit in vanum nec recuperare poterit quod amisit."

Raimond de Béziers.

"Inquit Sendebat philosophus hoc proverbium per hunc modum, et pro eo qui, dum querit aliquid et illud invenit nescit ipsum donec illud amittit nescit (*sic*) observare; et propter hoc decet viros sapientes talia considerare et per consequens in animo retinere, et sciant rem acquisitam observare, juxta illud; Non minor est virtus quam querere, parta tueri, et quum ipsum habent retinere, quia si est optima quum ipsa habent,* quia quicumque hoc facit non in aliquo penitebit. Et caveat ne precipitetur in aliquo suus fortium * intellectus, ne sit labor ejus in vanum, quia non recuperare potest quod amisit."

Printed *Directorium*.

"Sendebar philosophus inquit . quod quicunque querit aliquid preciosi . et inuenit illud . sollicite studeat . diligentiamque frequenter apponat . ne per leues et viles occasiones rem vtilem inuentam amittat . non enim semper alicui conceditur post damnum acceptum meliora acquirere. Et super hoc ait rex disles philosopho Sendebar . per fabulam tuam intellexi quod decet viros sapientes considerare et animaduertere . vt rem sibi acquisitam conseruare sciant . et ad commodum seu profectum exponere . cum non solum reputatur sapiens . qui multa scit congregare . seu per scientiam . laboremve multa adipisci . sed qui collect . acquisitaque reseruare scit ea ac in rebus sue persone vtilibus exponere. Quicunque enim hoc facit . nunquam diebus quibus vixerit penitebit . Summeque cauendum est . ne forsitan eius precipitetur intellectus aliqua in re . ne labor sit ei inuanus . cum recuperare non poterit quis . quod amisit" (Old edition, f. k. 3 b; Puntoni's edition, pp. 185–6; Derenbourg's edition pp. 214–5).

* Silvestre de Sacy notes here that Raimond's scribe has blundered in both these places, spoiling the whole sentence in the first instance, and writing "fortium" instead of *forsitan* in the second instance.

In the above passage, Raimond (it will be observed) introduces an hexameter ("Non minor est virtus," etc.), and two phrases of his own; but the rest of his text confirms ours. The verbiage added in the printed edition, especially in the speech attributed to King Disles, is not warranted (as Derenbourg remarks) by anything in the Hebrew original: see his edition of Joel, pp. 142–3.

Another extract from Raimond (*Notices et Extraits*, x. Pt. ii. p. 65) closely resembles the corresponding passage in our MS. It is the concluding paragraph of Cap. ix. (The King and the Talking Bird named Pinza). It is altogether omitted in the printed edition.

Add. 11,437 (f. 97, col. 2–97 b).

"Male quippe diuicie sunt ille cum quibus non redimuntur pauperes Et peyor omnibus mulieribus qui verbis sui viri est inobediens Et peior inter filios qui suis parentibus est rebellis Et peyor sociorum est dolosus et peyor regum est qui virum occidit innocentem Et peyor terrarum in qua non est tranquillitas et status Ego autem non habeo in te fidem nec ad te possum accedere Et factum est post hec salutauit Pinza regem et abayt in viam suam."

Raimond de Béziers.

"Male quippe divitie sunt ille cum quibus pauperes non redimuntur. Et pejor omnibus mulieribus que verbis est inobediens sui viri, et pejor regum est qui virum occidit innocentem, et pejor terrarum est in qua non est tranquillitas, neque status. Ego autem non habeo in te fidem, nec ad te possum accedere, nec intendo. Et post hec factum est, regem Pinza salutavit et abiit viam suam."

Silvestre de Sacy has printed the whole of Cap. ix. from Raimond, and also from the printed *Directorium*, in parallel columns. To the above passage of Raimond, however, he has added a Latin translation of his own from the Hebrew, as he did not know of our text. He had previously printed the chapter, in Hebrew and French, in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. ix. (1813), Part i. pp. 451–466. There are a couple of lines in the Hebrew which are translated in our MS., but omitted in Raimond. They are rendered by Derenbourg thus:—"Le plus méchant de tous les fils c'est celui qui est indocile et rebelle. Le pire de tous les compagnons est celui qui trompe" (Derenbourg's *Joel*, p. 180). See the lines above, beginning "Et peior inter filios."

There must have been 137 pictures in some earlier copy of this work; but only the rubrics describing them now remain. Similar descriptions occur in Joel's Hebrew version, and they

generally agree with ours, but not always. When the old German translation was made for Count Eberhard of Würtemberg, and printed (about 1480, probably before the first Latin edition), these descriptions seem to have been used by the wood-engraver to guide his designs for the volume. He used them freely. Thus, in Cap. iv. (Dove, Raven, Mouse, and Deer) he neglected one description; and he added three designs of his own, in order to illustrate the two inserted Apologues. These woodcuts were copied in the Latin edition: and they were imitated in the Spanish *Exemplario* (Saragossa, 1493), the printer of which was a German.* Joseph Jacobs, in his Introduction to *North's Doni* (London, 1888), pp. xviii–xxiv, shows how important the mediæval Jews used to consider these illustrations. He regards the German woodcuts of the 15th century as the remote descendants of some of the ancient Indian carvings which illustrated the Játakas, or Birth-stories of Buddha. In his Appendix (pp. lix–lxiv) he reprints (from Rhys Davids) the "Baka Jātaka, the Cruel Crane outwitted," answering to our Cap. ii. Apologue 5 a (Bird and Crab, f. 71, col. 2); and he illustrates it (at p. lxiii) with a reduced copy of a woodcut in the old Latin edition (at sig. c. 4 b), which is the same (as usual) as the woodcut in the old German edition. He ends with hoping that this design may, some day, "be traced to a rock carving representing this very Jataka, on one of the Buddhist stupas" (p. lxiv). The remarks of Jacobs are certainly interesting. But we must add that the German artist had, in this instance, only to design a bird, a crab, and the skeleton of a fish, in accordance (we should imagine) with the directions of a rubric like our own, "Figura alicuius officine piscium et cancri auem interficientis" (f. 71 b); and that, when the same artist had to introduce human beings and houses, he was quite European.

Before we proceed to give a detailed Table of Contents, we will now compare the numeration of chapters in the Arabic edition of De Sacy and in the present work. De Sacy's first chapter, the Preface of Ali the Persian, a late addition (about A.D.

* Upon the histories of the first German edition and the *Exemplario*, see articles by Benfey and Gödeke, in *Orient und Occident*, vol. i. (Göttingen, 1862), pp. 138 and 681; and in the same volume (p. 497) there is an article by Benfey on the earlier Spanish version, edited by Gayangos (Madrid, 1860).

920), does not occur here. He then goes on to the Mission of Barzoyeh, and to the Introduction of Ibn Al-Mokaffah, reckoning each of these as a chapter; and his edition ends with his 18th chapter. In some MSS. there are three additional chapters. Of the first of them De Sacy gives a French version in his Introduction, and he mentions the second. The comparison of his chapters with those of the *Directorium* may be best seen in a tabular form; and we will add an indication of the Books of the Panchatantra, etc., in which corresponding passages occur, as pointed out by Benfey.

Chapters of De Sacy.	Chapters of Directorium.	Panchatantra, Mahâbhârata, and Mahâkâtjâjana.
1. Preface of Ali the Persian.	Dedication, by John of Capua.	
2. Mission of Barzoyeh.	Prologue (De Sacy's Chapters 3 and 2).	
3. Introduction by Ibn Al-Mokaffah.		
4. Biography of Barzoyeh.	1. Biography of Barzoyeh.	
5. Lion and Bull.	2. Lion and Bull.	Lion and Bull. (*Pancha.* Book i.)
6. Trial of Dimnah.	3. Trial of Dimnah.	Trial of Dimnah. (Not Indian.)
7. Ringdove.	4. Dove.	Dove. (*Pancha.* Book ii.)
8. Owls and Ravens.	5. Ravens and Starlings.	Ravens. (*Pancha.* Book iii.)
9. Ape and Tortoise.	6. Ape and Tortoise.	Ape, etc. (*Pancha.* Book iv.)
10. Weasel and Serpent.	7. Weasel and Serpent.	Weasel, etc. (*Pancha.* Book v.)
11. Mouse and Cat.	8. Mouse and Cat.	Mouse, etc. (Mahâbhârata.)
12. King and Bird.	9. King and Bird.	King and Bird. (Mahâbhârata.)
13. Lion and Jackal.	10. King Sedram (= De Sacy's 14).	King Sedran. (Mahâkâtjâjana.)
14. Iladh, Biladh, and Irakht.	11. Lioness (= De Sacy's 15).	Lioness. (Buddhistic in character.)
15. Lioness and Horseman.	12. Guest (= De Sacy's 16).	Guest. (Nothing distinctive.)
16. Mendicant and Guest.	13. Lion and Fox (= De Sacy's 13).	Lion, etc. (Mahâbhârata.)
17. Traveller and Goldsmith.	14. Goldsmith.	Goldsmith. (In Panchatantra, Book i. in Berlin MS.)
18. King's Son and three Companions.	15. King's Sons.	King's Son. (Buddhistic.)

The Three Additional Chapters.		
19. King of the Mice.		
20. Heron and Duck.	16. Holgos (*i.e.* Heron).	Holgos. (Nothing distinctive.)
21. Dove, Fox, and Heron.	17. Dove, Fox, and Sparrow.	Dove, Fox, etc. (A Reynard story.)

The full contents of the MS. are as follows:—

Dedication of the present Latin Version, by John of Capua, addressed to Cardinal Matteo de' Rossi. f. 62.

Prologue originally written in Arabic by Abdallah ibn Al-Mokaffah, followed by the Mission of "Berozias" (Barzoyeh), as a Second Part, ending with a List of the 17 Chapters. ff. 62, 64, 64 b.

These two Parts were translated by Joel from the Arabic, and from Joel by John of Capua, with the addition of a few words. They answer to the second and third Chapters in the Arabic edition of Silvestre de Sacy, only in reversed order. The First Part contains 5 Apologues.

Apologue 1. Treasure-Finder robbed by his Porters. f. 62 b.
2. Student who could only learn his text by rote. f. 62 b, col. 2.
3. Goodman too sleepy to catch a Thief. f. 63.
4. The honest and the thievish Fellow-labourers, each with his own heap of sesame. f. 63, col. 2.
5. Pauper, who got nothing from his Friends, but got a cloak from a Thief. f. 63 b.

There are some differences between the above Apologues and those in De Sacy's edition. See the remarks of Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, vol. i. (Introduction), § 14, pp. 66–72.

Chap. i. Spiritual Biography of Barzoyeh: with 6 Apologues. ff. 64 b–67, col. 2.

Apologue 1. Idle Merchant, who sold his silk for half its value. f. 65, col. 2.
2. Thief, who tried to slide down a moonbeam. f. 65 b.
3. Lover, who, trying to escape, could not find the underground passage. f. 66.
4. Merchant, who encouraged his Pearl-borer to

sing in his working hours, and had to pay for it. f. 66, col. 2.

5. The Dog and his Shadow (Æsopic). f. 66 b.
6. Man pursued by a Lion: same as Man pursued by Unicorn, in Barlaam and Josaphat. f. 67, col. 2.

The above chapter answers to Cap. iv. of De Sacy. See Benfey, § 17, pp. 74–84.

Chap. ii. Lion and Bull: together with two "animalia," *viz.* "Kelila" and "Dymna." ff. 67 b–77 b, col. 2. This may be regarded as the First Chapter of the lost Sanskrit work. It begins with a merchant's address to his three spendthrift sons. The eldest starts on an expedition. He loses two bulls; but one of them, "Senesba," recovers, when left behind, and (while still unseen) frightens King Lion by his bellowing. Dimnah, though warned by Kalila not to interfere with affairs of state, introduces Senesba at court, but eventually gets jealous of the favour shown him, and induces King Lion to kill him. The chapter contains 16 Apologues, together with 6 more enclosed within the others.

This is Cap. v. of De Sacy. It answers in the main to Book i. of Panchatantra: see Benfey, § 20–§ 108, pp. 89–297.

Apologue 1. Man escapes two imminent dangers, but is killed by the fall of a wall. f. 67 b, col. 2.

2. Ape tries to mimic Carpenter, and gets pinched to death. f. 68.
3. Fox and Drum (Æsopic). f. 69 b.
4. Mendicant (Heremita) with a Thief for a Servant. f. 70.

Ap. 4 encloses three more Apologues:—

4a. Fox tries to lick some blood from two fighting Goats, but is trampled to death by them. f. 70, col. 2.

4b. Harlot killed by the poison which she tries to blow up into a sleeping man. f. 70, col. 2.

4c. Bawd takes the place of her Patroness, a Barber's Wife, and has her own nose cut off. f. 70, col. 2.

5. Raven drops a jewel in a Serpent's hole, in sight of pursuers, who kill the Serpent. f. 71.

Ap. 5 encloses another Apologue (known as a Játaka) :—

5a. Old Water-Bird persuades several Fishes to let him remove them to another pond, but is killed by a Crab. f. 71, col. 2.

6. Lion persuaded by Hare to jump into a well (compare Reynard the Fox). f. 71 b.

7. Three Fishes; two wise ones escape, the third is caught. f. 72, col. 2.

8. Flea, invited into a bed by Louse, bites man too soon; but hops away, while Louse is killed. f. 72 b, col. 2.

9. Water-Bird mistakes the reflection of a star for a fish. f. 73 b.

10. Lion and his three Counsellors, Wolf, Raven and Fox, feed upon their friend, Camel. f. 74.

11. Two Water-Birds and the Ruler of the Sea. Their nest is carried away by the sea; but they appeal, through Queen Stork, to her husband, the King of the Birds, and he forces the "dux maris" to restore their nestlings.* f. 74 b, col. 2.

Ap. 11 encloses another Apologue (known as a Játaka, and also as an Æsopic Fable) :—

11a. The Tortoise carried aloft, biting a stick, between two Birds. f. 75.

12. Apes who tried to blow a glowworm into a blaze. f. 76.

13. The tale-bearing Magpie deceived (compare "Pica" in the Sindibâd-cycle). f. 76.

14. Deceptor and Velox, and the trick of the speaking tree. f. 76, col. 2.

Ap. 14 encloses another Apologue:

14a. Bird entices an animal to her tree, to kill a Serpent; and is eventually eaten herself. f. 76 b.

15. Wife, sent for drugs, toys with Apothecary,

* "The King of all the birds is the Sīmurg," says Keith-Falconer (p. 50). This is Persian; the Arabic is "Garuda."

and brings home dust (compare Sindibâd-cycle). f. 77.

16. Merchant leaves iron in charge of a Friend, and is told on his return that it has all been eaten up by mice; he catches his Friend's Boy, and locks him up, and then informs his Friend that he has seen the Boy carried off by a bird. f. 77, col. 2.

Chap. iii. Trial of Dimnah, ending with his execution. ff. 77 b–82, col. 2.

This is Cap. vi. of Silvestre de Sacy. The Indians appear not to have seen the need of the poetic justice, which is awarded in this chapter. Benfey doubts whether its origin was Persian or Arabian: see his Introduction, § 109, pp. 297–9. It contains 4 Apologues: see Benfey, § 111, pp. 299–302.

Apologue 1. Carpenter's Wife, whose lover, a Painter, had a peculiar black-and-white dress. f. 78b, col. 2.

2. Two Physicians, one blind and the other ignorant. f. 80, col. 2.

3. Man with two naked Wives, one of whom ridicules the other for picking up a rag. f. 80 b, col. 2.

The beginning of this Apologue is the first passage preserved in the MS. of Joel; Derenbourg translates it: "Dimnah dit: Une ville, nommée Marwat, fut attaquée par l'ennemi" (p. 1). Here it begins: "Inquit Dimna Dicitur supervenisse cuidam civitati nomine Mermat inimicos." f. 80 b, col. 2, ll. 18–19.

4. Two Parrots taught by a false servant to defame their mistress. f. 81 b, col. 2.

Chap. iv. Friendship of Dove, Raven, Mouse, Tortoise, and Deer. ff. 82, col. 2–86 b, col. 2.

Raven watches a flock of doves caught in a net. One of them takes the lead and gives the word to rise, all at the same time; they fly away with the net, and reach the hole of "Sambar" the Mouse, who gnaws them free. Raven and Tortoise, and (eventually) Deer, join the alliance. "Sambar" relates his history at length, introducing two Apologues.

This is Cap. vii. of Silvestre de Sacy. It answers to Book ii. of Panchatantra: see Benfey, § 113–§ 125, pp. 304–320. Benfey says (p. 305) that this chapter comes from a Játaka, quoting

E. Upham, *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon* (1883), iii. 290. Peter Peterson, in his edition of *Hitopadesa* (Bombay, 1887), pp. 4–6, gives an account of quails carrying away a net, which seems to be an earlier form, quoting it from Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, pp. 295–7. In the printed *Directorium*, as we have previously noted, there are two other Apologues, which precede the following two:—

Apologue 1. Woman who offered to exchange shelled for unshelled sesame. f. 84, col. 2.

2. Wolf finds Hunter, Deer, and Boar, lying dead together; he thinks of feasting upon them all leisurely; he begins with the bow-string, and is killed by it. f. 84, col. 2.

Chap. v. War between Ravens and Starlings. ff. 86 b, col. 2–93.

The fifth Raven Counsellor plays the part of Zopyrus the Persian, who opened the gates of Babylon to his king, Darius: see Herodotus, Book iii. capp. 153–8. The Raven makes his companions wound him all over, and presents himself to the Starlings, asserting that this arose from his having counselled submission. He gains the confidence of the King of the Starlings; but in the night he brings the Ravens (each with a stick in his bill) to the Starling's cave; and they kindle a fire at the mouth and destroy all the Starlings.

This answers to Cap. viii. of Silvestre de Sacy, and to Book iii. of Panchatantra; but in both of these works the war is between Ravens and Owls; and the same is the case in the Hebrew. It is asserted by Benfey (i. p. 335), that John of Capua did not understand the Hebrew word for "Owls." For the whole chapter, see Benfey, § 135–§ 170, pp. 334–420. It contains 6 Apologues, with 3 more enclosed within the first one.

Apologue 1. Origin of the war, during an election of the King of the Birds; related by the fifth Raven Counsellor. f. 87 b, col. 2.

This encloses three more Apologues:—

1a. Invasion of a colony of Hares by Elephants; Hare comes to the King of the Elephants, and professes to be an Envoy from the Moon. f. 88.

1b. Bird and Hare, contending about the right

to a nest, are both eaten by Judge Cat. f. 88 b, col. 2.

1c. Mendicant, carrying dead deer, is persuaded by three Rogues that it is a dog. f. 89 b.

2. Old Man thanks Thief for making his young wife jump into his arms. f. 90.

3. Mendicant saved from Thief and Devil by their quarrelling together. f. 90, col. 2.

4. Adulterous Wife, perceiving her husband's foot thrust out from under the bed, speaks aloud, assuring her gallant that she loves her husband best. f. 90 b.

5. Mendicant saves a Mouse, and (by prayer) changes it into a Girl; he promises to get her the most powerful husband in the world; but in the end she chooses a Mouse. f. 91, col. 2.

6. Serpent that carried King of Frogs, like a horse, and was paid two frogs a day. f. 92, col. 2.

Chap. vi. Ape and Tortoise. ff. 93–94 b.

King of Apes, driven into exile, mounts a fig-tree, and amuses himself with throwing figs into the water. Tortoise eats them. They become friends. Tortoise returns after a long absence to his wife. She has been fasting; and her companion says she is pining after an ape's heart. Tortoise returns to Ape, and invites him to visit them. He carries Ape on his back; but, when halfway across the water, he confesses what his Wife wants. Ape exclaims:—"What a pity! I have left my heart at home!" Tortoise carries him back to look for it; but Ape springs up on to his tree, and relates the Apologue of the sick Lion, the Fox, and the Ass.

This is Cap. ix. of Silvestre de Sacy, and the Framework of Book iv. of Panchatantra. In the former version the water-animal is a Tortoise; in the latter it is a Crocodile. The Hebrew of Joel, says Benfey (p. 420), calls it Lizard; and yet John of Capua (by some unexplained process) reverts to the Arabic name, calling it "Testudo." For an account of Panchatantra, Book iv. (containing 11 Apologues), see Benfey, vol. i. § 171–§ 197, pp. 420–473.

Apologue. Sick Lion pines for an ass's heart and ears. Fox brings him Ass; but Lion is feeble, and lets him go. Fox entices Ass again. Lion kills

him, and goes aside to wash himself. Ass's heart and ears are eaten by Fox, who afterwards asserts that Ass never had any, or he could not have been enticed a second time.

Chap. vii. Dog and Serpent. ff. 94 b–95.

The Dog of a Mendicant saves his master's baby by killing a serpent. The dog is rashly supposed to have killed the baby, and he is killed by his master. Introducing the Apologue of the Pot of honey. A Mendicant receives from a King, every day, a hearth-baked cake ("focacia") and a little honey. He eats the cake daily, but stores up the honey till he has a potful. He dreams of building up a great fortune; flourishes his stick; strikes the pot with it, and spills the honey over his head.

This chapter answers to Silvestre de Sacy's Cap. x.; and the two tales separately are told as Apologues 2 and 9 of Book v. of Panchatantra. The hero of the first tale is a Weasel in the Arabic, an Ichneumon in the Sanskrit. See Benfey, vol. i. § 201–§ 202 (pp. 479–486), for the first tale; and § 209 (pp. 499–501) for the second tale.

The Dog and Serpent found its way into the Sindibâd-cycle; and it is indeed the only story that occurs in every Western version of the Seven Wise Masters. Étienne de Bourbon, a Dominican of the first half of the 13th century, found it localised in the diocese of Lyons. He gives curious details of the pilgrimages made by mothers of sick children to the grave of Saint Guinefort, a saint who turned out to be a dog, martyred for saving a babe from a serpent. Amongst other superstitious rites, they passed the children through holes in the trees that grew upon the grave; just as many country people did in Hampshire, and other parts of England, in the days of Gilbert White (see his *Natural History of Selborne*, Letter xxviii., upon the superstitions about the "shrew-ash"). Étienne declares that he cut down the trees, and burned the bones of the dog; but the pilgrimages to the grave of Saint Guinefort are said still to continue. See the *Anecdotes historiques*, from Étienne de Bourbon, edited by Lecoy de la Marche for the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1877), pp. 325–8. In North Wales the serpent became a wolf; and Beddgelert (grave of Gelert, on a spur of Snowdon) is said to have been named after Gelert, the hound given by King John to Llewelyn the Great. This story has long been an oral tradition, but the earliest known allusion to it is in the Warwick Roll,

written and illuminated by John Rows the antiquary, before the death of Richard III. (1485). The six crests borne by King Richard are there given in colour; and the sixth is a cradle Or, a greyhound Argent, for "Walys." See the printed edition of the Warwick Roll, with a Preface by William Courthope (Lond. 1859), Facsimile 64. We believe that this allusion to the legend was first pointed out by J. R. Planché, in *Twelve Designs for the Costume of Richard III.* (London, 1830); the crests being there printed, in colour, on the title-page, and described on the next page.

The Pot of Honey is best represented, in modern literature, in the tale about the tray of glasses, which the Barber tells of his fifth Brother, in the Story of the Little Hunchback: see Lane's edition of the *Thousand and One Nights*, vol. i. (London, 1841), pp. 400–404. It is more indirectly connected with the Milkmaid and her pail, as told by Lafontaine and others.

These two stories supply the subject-matter of half the Lecture "On the Migration of Fables," delivered by F. Max Müller at the Royal Institution, 3rd June, 1870, and several times reprinted in his *Selected Essays*: see the edition in 2 vols. (London, 1881), where this Essay is No. ix., vol. i. pp. 500–576.

Chap. viii. Cat and Mouse in alliance. ff. 95–96.

Mouse, named "Romi," sees his neighbour, the cat named "Peridon," caught in a net. Mouse, being shut off from his hole, at the root of a tree, by both a dog and a bird of prey, exacts a promise of help from Cat, and gnaws the net in two. Mouse slips into his hole and peeps out again, but declines any further alliance.

This is Cap. xi. of Silvestre de Sacy, where the two enemies of Mouse are a Weasel and an Owl. See Benfey, § 219, pp. 543–560, where (pp. 545–560) he gives a long translation from the epic poem Mahâbhârata, in which Mouse's two enemies are Ichneumon and Owl.

Chap. ix. King and the talking Bird, Pinza. ff. 96, col. 2–97 b.

A king of India has a talking bird, named Pinza. She goes out one day to gather fruit for her one chick, and for the King's son. On her return she finds that her chick has been killed in a pet by the King's son. Pinza scratches out his eyes. She flies up on to a high rock, and has a long talk with the King, but refuses to return.

This is Cap. xii. of Silvestre de Sacy. See Benfey, § 221, pp. 560–573, where he gives another long translation from the Mahâbhârata, in which Pinza is named "Pûdschanî."

Chap. x. King Sedram and his dreams. ff. 97 b–102.

King Sedram of India has eight perplexing dreams. He has formerly persecuted the Soothsayers; but he now consults them. They tell him that, if he wishes to save his kingdom, he must sacrifice his favourite wife, Helebat; his first-born Son; his Nephew; and his Chief Counsellor, "Billet" (or rather "Billed"); and, moreover, his best sword, his white elephant, and his dearest friend, Kynaron. Billed suspects the cause of the King's grief; and, prompted by him, Helebat learns the interpretations. She begs Sedram to consult Kynaron. He tells the King that his eighth dream portends a passing quarrel with his friends; but that all the other seven dreams denote the arrival of great gifts on the seventh day. The gifts arrive. The King gives most of them away. Queen Helebat chooses a crown, leaving white robes to the King's Concubine. The fulfilment of the eighth dream now begins. The King extols the beauty of the Concubine. The Queen, in great anger, empties a dish of rice over the King's head. He orders Billed to take and kill her. Billed conceals her, and brings the King a sword red with the blood of a lamb. The King soon grieves in secret; and at length he sends for Billed and reproaches him. After long discourses, Billed restores Helebat to the King.

This is Cap. xiv. of Silvestre de Sacy. Benfey (vol. i. § 225, pp. 585–595) says that the story has not been distinctly traced, but that it may be compared with two legends in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (pp. 303 and 285); and that Kynaron (called in Symeon Seth's Greek version "our Ascetic") takes the place of Buddha. The two Parts of the Story, in a Tibetan version, form Articles 19 and 20 of Mahâkâtjâjana.* There is evidently some connection between this Tale and that in the Western versions of the Seven Wise Masters, in which Merlin plays the part of Kynaron; a tale often distinguished as "Sapientes."

In one of his discourses Billed introduces two Apologues:

Apologue 1. The Dove who killed his mate, thinking that she had pilfered from their winter store of grain. f. 100, col. 2.

---

* "Mahâkâtjâjana und König Tshanda-Pradjota. Ein Cyclus buddhistischer Erzählungen," by Anton Schiefner; in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, Series viii. vol. xxii. (1875), No. 7, Articles 19, 20, pp. 47–66.

2. The Ape who stole lentils, but who let one seed fall as he mounted his tree, swung down to pick it up, and lost all the lentils. f. 100 b.

The names in the different versions of this story vary considerably. Benfey has devoted several pages to this subject, in his Introduction to the Old Syriac version, *Kalilag und Damnag* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. l–lxi; and see also the remarks of I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah* (1885), pp. 302–5. We will here only give one or two instances. The extant Hebrew MS. gives the King's name as "Ardum" (see Benfey's remarks, p. l). Ignazio Guidi, in his *Studii*, etc. (Roma, 1873), p. 72, prints "Sâdaram" as the form presented by a Florentine MS. (F). In Raimond de Béziers it is "Cedran." The two passages where the King's name occurs in the body of the present text are as follows:—"quemadmodum fecit Sedra[m] rex yndie cum Billet suo principe" (f. 97 b, col. 2); and "dicitur quod fuit magnificus rex regum yndie nomine Sendram cui erat princeps quidam nomine Billet" (f. 97 b, col. 2). Even in our text, however, the rubrics have experienced the taste of the scribes for inflecting the proper names; and thus in the List of Chapters, the Heading, and the Colophon, the subject is said to be "de Sedra" (ff. 64 b, 97 b, 102). In the printed edition the change is completed, and the body of the chapter has "Sedras" (sig. l. 3). We will only add one note more. The King's Counsellor is here called "Billet," or (latterly) "Billed"; but in one or two places the name is "Willet," and the heading is "Capitulum de Sedra rege et Willet suo principe" (f. 97 b). By what is at least a curious coincidence, the List of Chapters given by Raimond de Béziers has "de rege dicto *Cedran*, et preposito suo *Vilech*"; to which Silvestre de Sacy appends a note, saying that in the chapter itself, "le roi est nommé *Sedran*, et le ministre *Bilet*": see *Notices et Extraits*, vol. x. (1818), Part ii. p. 16.

Chap. xi. Lioness doing penance. ff. 102–102 b.

Lioness finds her two cubs killed and flayed. Wolf persuades her that this is a punishment for her having killed so many other beasts. She does penance by living upon grass and fruits.

This is Cap. xv. of Silvestre de Sacy. All that is known of its origin is that it is absolutely Buddhistic. See Benfey, vol. i. § 229, p. 599.

Chap. xii. Mendicant giving dates to Traveller. f. 102 b, cols. 1–2.

Traveller, delighted with the dates set before him by Mendicant, wishes they grew in his own land; and again, admiring the Hebrew spoken by Mendicant, he wishes to learn to use it instead of his own language. Mendicant rebukes him for discontent, relating an Apologue.

This is Cap. xvi. of Silvestre de Sacy. Probably not Indian, and in the Heading "Heremita" might in this instance have been aptly rendered by "Hermit" instead of "Mendicant." See Benfey, vol. i. § 230, p. 601.

Apologue. How a Raven tried to walk like a Dove, and lost the power of walking like a Raven. f. 102 b, col. 2.

Chap. xiii. King Lion and ascetic Fox. ff. 102 b, col. 2–104 b, col. 2.

King Lion orders the remains of a dish to be saved for him. Envious Courtiers hide the dish in the chamber of the court favourite, a Fox renowned for asceticism. Fox is sentenced to death. Queen-mother interferes, and Fox is restored to favour.

This is Cap. xiii. of Silvestre de Sacy. See Benfey, vol. i. § 223, where he translates (at pp. 575–582) a passage upon the same subject from the Mahâbhârata.

Chap. xiv. Grateful Beasts and ungrateful Man. ff. 104 b, col. 2–105 b.

Mendicant looks into a Hunter's pit; and there he sees a Man, an Ape, a Serpent, and a Viper. He lets down a rope. The Beasts come up it, and warn him not to rescue the Man. He does, however, rescue him. The Man proves to be a Goldsmith, and he tells Mendicant to call at his house for a reward. The Ape brings him fruits. The Viper kills the King's daughter, and brings her crown to Mendicant. The latter now goes to the Goldsmith, who recognises the crown, and sends word to the King that he has caught his daughter's murderer. Mendicant is led, mounted on an ass, to be hung. The Serpent bites the King's son; and the prince is inspired to ask for Mendicant to pass his hand over the wound. The Goldsmith is condemned as a false accuser, and he is hung.

This is Cap. xvii. of Silvestre de Sacy. In the Berlin MS. of Panchatantra this occurs as an Apologue in Book i. See remarks by Benfey, vol. i. § 69–§ 71, pp. 191–222. A Tibetan version was

translated by Anton von Schiefner: see W. R. S. Ralston's translation of Schiefner's *Tibetan Tales*, in Trübner's Oriental Series (London, 1882), No. xxvi. pp. 309–310. The Tale, in a very similar form, seems to have been localised in Italy before 1195. At all events, under that year it is told by Matthew Paris, as an Apologue often repeated by King Richard Cœur-de-lion; and the ungrateful Man is there named Vitalis the Venetian: see the Rolls edition of Matthew Paris, vol. ii. (1874), pp. 413–416.

Chap. xv. King's Son, and his three Fellow-travellers. ff. 105 b–106 b.

The King's Son has three Fellow-travellers, a Merchant's Son, a Noble Youth, and a young Carrier. They win, each of them, a day's keep for the whole company, either by business, or by beauty, or by labour. The King's Son wins a throne by popular election.

This is Cap. xviii. of Silvestre de Sacy. See Benfey, vol. i. § 232, p. 603.

One of the electors relates (as a real event that happened to himself) the Apologue, how two grateful Doves rewarded their Deliverer with pointing him out a treasure. ff. 106, col. 2–106 b. We have already quoted a passage from this Apologue (see above, p. 157).

Chap. xvi. The birds, Holgos and Maysam. ff. 106 b–108 b.

Bird, called "hebraice" Holgos, is about to remove, with his Wife alone, to a retired lake. His wife is brooding over eggs. She persuades him to take charge of the brooding, while she fetches some medicine. She visits her lover, a bird who is called "hebraice" Maysam, and tells him the secret place where they are going. He joins them. A drought occurs. Her Lover persuades her to contrive the death of Holgos; and she herself, soon afterwards, is betrayed by her Lover, to be eaten by a Fox.

Not in Silvestre de Sacy. See Benfey, vol. i. § 235, p. 606.

It introduces three Apologues:—

Apologue 1. Ape, reduced by disease, is advised by another Ape to eat the head of Black Viper. The adviser goes to the Viper's cave, and sees human footprints there. He thinks Black Viper must be dead; but finds him alive and he himself is eaten. f. 106 b, col. 2.

2. Wolf gets into a haunt of wild-cats, and kills some of them. The others rise against

him, scratch out his eyes, and tear him to pieces. f. 107, col. 2.

3. Mouse, having been given three days' law by a domestic animal ("quod assimilibatur cani"), which has been set to destroy the whole brood of them, becomes over-confident, and is eaten on the fourth day. f. 108.

Chap. xvii. Dove, Fox, and Sparrow. ff. 108 b, col. 2–109.

Fox threatens Dove with death if she does not throw down her dovelets to him. Sparrow tells her to reply that, if Fox manages to climb the tree, she will swallow the dovelets herself, and fly away. Fox makes Dove confess the author of this advice. He coaxes Sparrow into showing how he tucks his head under his wing in blustery weather. Fox seizes him and eats him.

Not in Silvestre de Sacy. See Benfey, vol. i. § 237, p. 609.

We have already quoted the second half of this Fable * (above, p. 158).

The Dedication, addressed to Cardinal Matteo de' Rossi (see above, p. 164), is headed:—"Incipit Prologus." It is as follows:—"Verbum Johannis de Capua post tenebrarum olim palpacionem ritus iudaici diuina sola inspiracione ad firmum et verum statum orthodoxe fidei reuocati. Cum plura diuersarum scientiarum genera esse prospexerim in lingwa fundata ebrayca non parue vtilitatis in erudicionem christianorum consorcij ut in sacris scripturis et diuinis moralibus atque medicinalibus ipsa ex predicta lingva in latinam reducere meus animus aspirauit Inter que hunc libellum dictum kelila ex illa lingva in hanc nunc esse vidi non in merito transferendum. Est enim opus virorum intelligencie animorum multe informacionis et nichilominus eorundem non modice delectacionis ad honorem itaque diuine trinitatis sanctissime que eius nominis exaltacionis Salutem et meritum anime fortitudinem corporis roboracionem atque dierum produccionem referendi patris et domini | domini Mathei dei et apostolice sedis gratia tituli sancte marie in porticu dyaconi cardinalis motus suum presens opusculum in lingvam latinam interpretari. Ad te igitur preuate pater et domine dirigitur hic libellus vt tuarum alarum gracie proteccione pusillus interpres ad alia mayora utiliora et

* Two versions, German and Hottentot, are compared by Felix Liebrecht, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. v. (Berlin, 1868), p. 64.

nobiliora manum imponat ex altera preuatarum lingvarum in alteram cum audacia reducenda." To this is added :—"Explicit Prologus." f. 62.

The first Prefatory Chapter is headed :—"Incipit liber parabolarum antiquorum sapientium nacionum mundi dictus k[elile]."

It begins :—"Hic est liber parabulorum antiquorum sapientum nacionum mundi et vocatur liber kelile et dyume Et prius quidem in lingua fuerat iudeorum [*pro* indorum] translatus inde in linguam persarum | postea vero reduxerunt illum arabes in linguam suam Vltimo vero ad linguam fuit redactus Ebraycam nunc autem nostri propositi est ipsum in lingwa fundare latina." f. 62, cols. 1–2.

It ends :—"Inquit ille qui transtulit huc librum ex lingwa persarum in lingwam ebraycam quando studuimus in hoc libro visum est nobis addere in eo vnum capitulum ex dictis arabum collectum in quo declarauimus per verba vtilia et exposuimus studentibus in dictis sapientie et diligentibus eam Huius libri secretum et est istud capitulum quod durat a principio libri huc usque. Explicit capitulum prohemij libri." f. 64.

Note.—On this chapter Silvestre de Sacy remarks (*Notices et Extraits*, vol. ix. p. 400) that it was added by the Arabian translator, but that the Jewish translator changed the word "Arabic" in the above passage into "Hebrew."

The second Prefatory Chapter is headed :—"Incipit capitulum quomodo rex misit Beroziam medicum suum in prouinciam yndie." This is followed by a description of an illustration, *viz.*— "Figura Regis loquentis cum Berozia et dicentis sibi."

The Chapter begins :—"Dicitur quod in temporibus regum edom habuit rex Anastoam* casri virum nomine Beroziam Erat autem vir iste princeps medicorum totius regni," etc. f. 64. After telling how this King of "Edom" directed Berozias to collect books of wisdom, it continues :—"Fuit autem deus

* Our scribe was perhaps copying a MS. in which this epithet was written "Anastram" (corrupted, it is supposed, from the Persian "Anushirvan," meaning the Blessed, see above, p. 150); as in the old German version, and also in the printed Latin, the word has been further latinized to "Anastres."

forcior (*sic*) * illorum librorum iste liber qui dicitur Kelile et dynme Est autem in principio huius libri capitulum medici Berozie et gestorum suorum que narrauit quibus conuersabatur donec effectus est heremita et colens deum et scripsit post sua gesta ea que transtulit ex libris sapientum yndie et questiones quas petebat quidam regum yndie disles nomine a suo philozopho nomine Sendebat," etc. f. 64, col. 2.

Note.—Silvestre de Sacy supposes that it was the Rabbi Joel (or whoever else translated the Arabic text into Hebrew) who changed the King's name from Dabselim into Disles, and the Philosopher's from Bidpai into Sendebar (or, as here written, "Sendebat"). From the latter change arose a confusion between the present work and the Book of Sendabad (the Greek Syntipas), which was the original of the Romance of the Seven Sages. See *Notices*, vol. ix. pp. 402–6.

Ends:—"Et sit repositus in suis vest[i]arys ut possit permanere in hereditatem alys regibus suis successoribus." f. 64 b.

The List of Chapters is headed: "Cuius capitula sunt hec." It begins:—"Capitulum primum est de Berozia et est equitatis et timoris dei." Ends:—"Capitulum septimum decimum est de columba et wlpe et est de eo qui perhibet consilium alteri et sibi ipsi nescit consulere." f. 64 b. Followed by the headings:—"Capitulum primum," and "Figura Berozie medici pulchri."

The first chapter (prefixed to the original work by the Persian translator) begins:—"Inquit Berozias caput Sapientum persie qui transtulit hunc librum ex lingwa yndorum et interpretatus est ipsum | Fuit pater meus de tali progenie et mater de nobilibus talium," etc. f. 64 b. Ends:—"Rediens autem de yndia ad meam terram transtuli ibi hunc librum et alios preter istum. Explicit Capitulum Berozie." f. 67 b. Sendebat now begins the narrative thus: "Fertur fuisse in provincia destendebat mercator valde diues." This "destendebat" is evidently the same as the "Dastābad" of Ignatio Guidi, in his *Studii sul testo*

* Here written "dꝰ forcior"; but in the Latin printed edition (sig. a. 4), line 20 ends "Fuit autem de," and the next line begins, "us sorcio illorum librorum." De Sacy (*Notices*, vol. ix. p. 402) has made the excellent suggestion, that the contractions for -us and con- (which only differ in their position) have here been confounded, and that the words ought to be "de consorcio illorum librorum." The German reading is merely "vnder denen," which (so far as it goes) supports the conjecture of De Sacy.

Arabo del libro di Calila e Dimna (Rome, 1873), p. 22; and the "Dasnabad" of Keith-Falconer's note 13 (p. 272). The printed Latin text has "de sendebar." The German edition omits the name.

The second Chapter (which is the first of the original work) is headed:—"Incipit Capitulum de leone et boue et est de dolo et seductione et de malis argumentis." It begins:—"Inquid disles rex yndie suo philosopho Sendebat Affer mihi parabolam super duobus amicis dilectis a se inficem quibus interponitur aliquis crudelis seductor," etc. f. 67 b.

The last Chapter (the 17th) is headed:—"Incipit capitulum de columba et wlpe et e-t de eo qui prestat alys consilium sibi vero nescit consulere." f. 108 b. It begins:—"Dixit rex philosopho Sendebat Intellexi parabolam tuam super hys que mihi dixisti," etc. f. 108 b, col. 2. For the end, see p. 158.

Colophon:—"Explicit liber parabolarum antiquorum sapientum mundi | nomine kelile Et est liber delectabilis et maximorum consiliorum | etc. ·:· Finitus Anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo et feria sexta post festum sancti Luce ewangeliste Per me fratrem Wolfgangum Hönigtaler Dyaconum professum In monasterio Sancti Pauli vallis laventine Deo gracias." f. 109.

The Latin edition was published about 1480, without any date of year or place, under the title *Directorium humane vite alias parabole antiquorum sapientum.* The German translation, made for Eberhard "im bart," Count (afterwards first Duke) of Würtemberg (d. 1496), was printed about the same time, probably a little earlier. This is the view taken by Benfey, in *Orient und Occident*, Bd. i. (Göttingen, 1862), pp. 138–137; and one of the proofs adduced by him seems to be decisive. The undated German copies have woodcuts (the British Museum copy having 126), most of which are the same as those in the undated Latin copies. They are printed from the same blocks, as we may see clearly by comparing the defects in the impressions of their rims. Now, in Chap. ii., Apol. 4 b treats of a woman who tries to kill a sleeping man by filling a reed with some deadly powder and blowing the powder into him. In the printed Latin copy the words are: "et discooperuit nates eius vt puluerem intromitteret in anum suum" (sig. c. 2 b). But in the German version the woman wishes to blow the powder into his nostrils

("vnd wolt im das in sine nasslöcher blasen," leaf 19). Our MS. has the rubric: "Figura mulieris cum arundine pulueris illum mittentis in anum viri" (f. 70, col. 2). But the woodcut which appears in both the printed editions was evidently designed for the German version, and does not suit the Latin text at all. Again, the German version was certainly not made from the printed Latin text. Some of the passages which occur in our MS., but which are omitted in the printed Latin text, are to be found in the German. Thus, at the end of Chap. ix., the last eleven lines of the speech of Pinza, beginning in our MS. "Male quippe diuicie sunt ille" (f. 97, col. 2), agree with those in the German text, beginning "Dann das ist böser richtum" (see Holland's edition, p. 142). Again, the conclusion of Chap. xv. (the Prince and his three Companions), occupying more than 58 lines of our MS. (ff. 106–106 b), a passage of which we have given an abstract above (at p. 157), agrees with that in the German text (ed. Holland, pp. 179–180). On the other hand, the two interpolated Apologues in Chap. iv. of the printed Latin text occur likewise in the German (ed. Holland, pp. 86–88); but they are not found in the Arabic or Hebrew texts, nor yet in the present MS. It is evident, then, that the German translator used a Latin MS. more corrupted than the present one, but less corrupted than the printed text. His work is commonly known as the *Buch der Weisheit*. It was printed more than once without any date. Benfey is inclined to think that these copies were only intended for Count Eberhard and his friends. It was then published twice at Ulm in 1483. Such, at least, is the received opinion; but Gödeke attacks it in *Orient und Occident* (Bd. i. pp. 681–8), and regards the Ulm editions of 1483 as the earliest of all. Fifteen later reprints, in various towns of Germany, from 1484 to 1592, are noted by Wilhelm Ludwig Holland in his edition, forming vol. 56 of the Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, under the title of *Das Buch der Beispiele der Alten Weisen* (1860). Benfey remarks in *Orient und Occident* (Bd. i. pp. 145–6), that the German text was the immediate source of the Dutch and Danish; and that it was used, in conjunction with the Directorium, to form the second Spanish version. The latter, known as the *Exemplario*, was published at Saragossa in 1493, and at least seven times subsequently: see Gayangos, in his Preface to the older Spanish

version, *Calila e Dymna*, published by him (for the first time) in vol. 51 of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid, 1860), p. 5, note (3). The *Exemplario* (adds Benfey) was used by Agnolo Firenzuola for his *Discorsi de gli animali* (Florence, 1548), and by A. F. Doni for *La Moral' filosofia* (Venice, 1552). And thus the influence of John of Capua and of his German translator was maintained in Southern and Western Europe until the year 1644, when the first four chapters of the Persian work, "Anwár-i-Suhailí," appeared, in Paris, as *Livre des Lumières ou la conduite des Roys composé par le sage Pilpay Indien traduit en français par David Sahid d'Ispahan.* Next came the translations from the Turkish, begun by Antoine Galland and finished by Denis Dominique Cardonne, and published as *Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et de Lokman* (Paris, 1724 and 1778). At length the Arabic text was published by Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1816). The two chapters omitted by De Sacy, answering to the Chapp. 16, 17 of our MS., have lately been printed by Joseph Derenbourg, with a French translation, in his edition of the *Directorium*, Part ii. (1889), pp. 323–345, and pp. 346–9. The Greek text of Symeon Seth has also been lately republished by Vittorio Puntoni, as Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης. *Quattro recensioni della versione Greca* (Florence, 1889). Puntoni's edition of the *Directorium* (Pisa, 1884) is a mere reprint. Derenbourg has used his edition of the two Hebrew texts (Paris, 1881) to correct the errors and supply some of the gaps of the old printed Latin text, in his edition of the *Directorium* (Paris, 1887–9). But still another edition is required, founded upon the same text as that of the present MS.

Additional 16,428. ff. 59 b–80 b.

Paper; A.D. 1385–6. Quarto; ff. 22. In double columns, having 25 to 27 lines to a column. With initials in blue and red.

The volume consists of the Libre de Maravelles.

LIBRE DE LES BESTIES. A Beast-Romance, founded upon Kalilah and Dimnah, written by Raimon Lul, probably about 1270, and inserted by him in his Libre de Maravelles about 1286,

as Book vii. of that work. In seven chapters, not numbered, but each distinguished by a Heading. With a short Introduction, and a few words of conclusion. *Catalan.*

Raimon Lul was descended on both sides from noble families of Barcelona, who took part in the conquest of the Balearic Isles (then peopled with Musulmans) in 1229. He was born at Palma in Majorca about 1235; and was killed by Saracens, in North Africa, on 29 June, 1315. He is generally regarded as a martyr, and in his native island he was at one time venerated as a saint; but his more universal designation is "Doctor illuminatus." The Bollandists have collected many articles upon his life and writings, and placed them at the end of June, in vol. v. for June, pp. 633–736. Amongst these there is a contemporary Life of him (at pp. 661–8), which may be called an Autobiography. The Præfatiuncula states that "Raymundus, quorumdam suorum amicorum religiosorum devictus instantia* narravit scribique permisit ista quæ sequuntur hic de conversione sua ad pœnitentiam, et de aliquibus gestis ejus." It begins with allusions to his worldly life, when he filled the office of Steward at the Court of Majorca, and with a description of his first vision of the Crucifix. The writer says: "Raymundus, Senescallus mensæ Regis Majoricarum, dum juvenis adhuc in† vanis cantilenis seu carminibus componendis, et aliis lasciviis seculi deditus esset nimis; sedebat nocte quadam juxta lectum suum; paratus ad dictandum et scribendum, in suo vulgari, unam cantilenam de quadam domina, quam tunc amore fatuo diligebat. Dum ergo cantilenam prædictam inciperet scribere; respiciens à dextris, vidit Dominum Jesum Christum, tamquam pendentem in cruce." He was struck with fear; but, throwing himself on his bed, he slept it off. But the vision returned, at intervals, on four other nights. He then determined to obey the sign, and to devote his life to the conversion of the Saracens. This took place, it appears, in 1266. He sold all his possessions, except enough to maintain his wife and children. He studied hard for nine years. He had bought a Saracen slave, to teach him Arabic. One day he learnt that this man had been

* Printed "in Francia," but corrected by Ivo Salzinger, in the copy of the Life prefixed to his edition of the Latin works of Lul, vol. i. (Mayence, 1721), p. 1.

† Salzinger omits this "in."

blaspheming, and he struck him on the mouth. The Saracen watched for an opportunity, and then made a desperate attack upon his master; but Raimon wrested his sword away, and imprisoned him; and the Saracen strangled himself. An allusion to this event occurs in the present work (Apologue i., f. 63, col. 2). It seems not improbable that it was at this period that he studied Kalilah and Dimnah, and wrote the adaptation before us.

In the *Histoire littéraire*, vol. xxix. (1885), the first article, by the editor, Barthélemy Hauréau, is upon Raimon Lul (pp. 1–386). The account there given of his life is founded upon his Autobiography, with a few additional facts and several dates, principally taken from his works. We are indebted to this article for the facts already given; and we will now extract a few more particulars. In 1275 Raimon was declared to be so "contemplative" as to be unable to manage his worldly affairs; and a relation of his wife's was appointed to administer them. He now spent some time in meditation and study, either in a hermitage at Mount Randa in Majorca, or in a neighbouring abbey. He composed a work, with Tables designed to assist the study of Theology and Philosophy. He called it "Ars Major," or "Ars Generalis"; and he afterwards added many supplementary volumes. He visited the King of Majorca at Montpellier, and persuaded him to found a College of monastic Missionaries. The project was sanctioned by a papal Brief on 16 Nov., 1276. This was the origin of the College of the Holy Trinity at Miramar (in Catalonia), where Raimon instructed thirteen Franciscan Friars in Arabic and in his "Ars Generalis." Hauréau adds that, though Raimon was connected with the Franciscans for the rest of his long life, he does not seem to have ever taken the vows. We must remark, however, that Lucas Wadding, in his *Annales Minorum*, vol. vi. (p. 615), says of Raimon, "Tertio Ordini adscribitur." He is evidently uncertain as to the exact date of the event; and he enters it under the year of Raimon's death, 1315.

Raimon was prodigiously active in pressing people to adopt his views, and to found missionary colleges. He was at Rome in 1285. He read a commentary on his "Ars Generalis" at Paris, where he stayed in 1287–9. He went to Tunis in 1291, and held disputes with the Mohammedan Doctors of the Law. He was

threatened with death, imprisoned, and finally banished. He stayed at Naples in 1293–4, and wrote scientific works, some of them perhaps alchemical. He was then at Rome till 1296; at Cyprus in 1300; at Genoa, Paris, and elsewhere, in 1302–5. He crossed over to Bougiah (in Algeria) in 1306, and cried out in the market-place, denouncing the Mohammedan faith. He was thrown into prison; but was allowed to depart, under threats of death if he returned. His Biography ceases, shortly before he joined the Council of Vienne, in October, 1311. His life is now obscure. He seems to have gone again either to Tunis or to Bougiah, and to have been stoned to death on 29 June, 1315, when he was about 80 years of age.

In the whole volume, into which the present work has been inserted, the author represents himself as sending out his son Felix into the world in order to survey it and ask about its wonders. Felix meets with the Hermit Blanquerna and other Sages, who discourse upon nine subjects,—God, the Angels, the Elements, Heaven, the Plants, the Metals, Man, Paradise, and Hell. These subjects occupy Books i.–vi., and Books viii.–x. In the present work, though it is called Book vii., Felix and his instructors disappear. Its only connection with the rest is that, before the narrative opens, Felix meets two men, who tell him that there is about to be an election of a King of the Beasts, and he goes to witness it; and, at the end of the narrative, he brings a report of it to a human king, as a moral lesson to him.

The first two chapters of the present work differ entirely from Kalilah and Dimnah; and their origin is unknown. It is not unlikely that Raimon invented the details himself. The only animal to whom he gives a name is the Fox. He adopts the personal name, "Renart," which was then beginning in Northern France to supplant the old designation "goupil"; but, oddly enough, he makes the name (though not the bearer) feminine, always calling it "na Renart." This change may perhaps have been caused by the fact that the Catalan word for fox (volp) is feminine. The headings and contents of the chapters are as follows:—

Chap. i. "De la eleccio del rey." f. 60 b. Lion is elected king, partly owing to the speeches of Na Renart. The candidate of the grass-eating beasts has been the Horse. The King presently begins to eat his subjects, choosing the offspring of

Horse and Bull. The latter animals take refuge with Man. But they are dissatisfied with the work imposed upon them; and Bull, having found himself surveyed by the Butcher, prefers to join the wild beasts again.

Chap. ii. "Del consell del Rey." f. 62. The Councillors are elected, and Na Renart is indignant at his not being one of them.

Chap. iii. "De la Tracio que na Renart tracta del Rey." f. 63. Treason of Na Renart. He tries in vain to stir Elephant against King Lion.

Chap. iv. "En qual manera Na Renart fo porter del Rey." f. 64 b, col. 2. Na Renart persuades Bull to go a little out of sight and bellow. The Lion and his Courtiers are frightened. Na Renart brings Bull to do homage to King Lion. Leopard and Ounce are sent, as ambassadors, to seek the friendship of Man. They are accompanied by Cat and Dog, who had hitherto been in the household as Chamberlain and Porter; and their offices are now filled by Bull and Na Renart.

Chap. v. "Dels missatgers que lo leo trames al rey de les homens." f. 70, col. 2. The two Ambassadors have little success, and Ounce becomes jealous of Leopard. On their return, Leopard finds that his wife has been seduced by King Lion, at the instigation of Na Renart.

Chap. vi. "De la batalla del leopart | et de la Onssa." f. 74 b, col. 2. Na Renart becomes a Councillor. Ounce, fighting as King's champion, is killed by Leopard, who himself is killed by King Lion. A famine occurs. Na Renart and Raven persuade Bull that they must one after the other offer their bodies to the King. Na Renart and Raven depreciate each other's bodies. Bull is accepted, and eaten. This does not form part of the framework in the Directorium (the Latin Kalilah and Dimnah); but it is one of the Apologues there, the animals who offer themselves to Lion being Wolf, Fox, and Raven, with their victim, Camel (see Directorium, Chap. ii. Apol. 10).

Chap. vii. "De la mort de na Renart." ff. 79–80 b, col. 2. Na Renart plots against King Lion; but is denounced by Elephant, tried, and put to death.

It will be observed that Chapters iv.–vii. bear only a general resemblance to the story of Lion and Bull in Kalilah and Dimnah (see Directorium, Chap. ii.–iii.). But some of the Apologues related

in the course of this work are actually the same as those in the Arabic work. The Apologues may be reckoned as 25 altogether, although seven of them (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, and 11) might perhaps be more correctly styled Anecdotes or Examples. They are as follows:—

1. Intrigues at the election of a Bishop. f. 61. This anecdote is unfinished in the present MS., and also in the two Munich MSS. used by Hofmann (see below, p. 189).
2. The Earl who overcame the King in war by bribing his Secretary. f. 63.
3. The Christian attacked by his trusted Saracen Slave. f. 63, col. 2. This anecdote is a reminiscence of Raimon's own life.
4. The Hermit and the Mouse-Girl. f. 63 b. See Directorium, Chap. v. 5.
5. Example of the Son driven out of home by false accusations of his stepmother. f. 63 b, col. 2.
6. Hare persuades Lion to jump into a well. f. 64. See Directorium, Chap. ii. 6.
7. The King who rewarded one of his two Pages for catching a flea on his robes; and who next day punished the other Page for catching a louse there, saying that he ought to have kept the robes free from creeping things. f. 64, col. 2.
8. Example of Eve and the Serpent. f. 64 b, col. 2.
9. Example of a bad King with bad Councillors. f. 65.
10. The Clerk who left a town out of horror at the Bishop there; saying that he chose to live in a place where the Shepherd was not in league with the Wolf. f. 65, col. 2.
11. Rebuke of a Hermit, addressed to a King. f. 65 b.
12. The Drum swinging on a tree, seen by an Ape. f. 66, col. 2. Compare Fox and Drum, in Directorium, Chap. ii. 3.
13. Raven leads men to Serpent's hole with Princess's chaplet. f. 66 b, col. 2. See Directorium, Chap. ii. 5.
14. Heron killed by Crab. f. 67. See Directorium, Chap. ii. 5a.
15. A Sage persuades a King that, as a representative of

God, he ought to kill his tame Serpent, instead of treating it with reverence. f. 67 b, col. 2.

16. The grateful Beasts (Bear, Raven, and Serpent) and the ungrateful Man. f. 69. Compare Directorium, Chap. xiv.
17. Contest between Force and Skill: Force overthrown. f. 69 b, col. 2.
18. A good Wife corrupted by living near a brothel. Caught in sin by her husband, she tells him the following Apologue. f. 70 b.

18a. Two Goats fighting, and Fox licking their blood. f. 70 b, col. 2. See Directorium, Chap. ii. 4 a.

19. The King whom work-people blamed, and whom Jongleurs praised, and who was therefore rejected by another King as his son-in-law. f. 71, col. 2.
20. The rich young Heir who resolved to build a bridge and a hostel for the use of pilgrims to Jerusalem. f. 73 b, col. 2.
21. The Fox who was too wary to be tempted by a bait. f. 76.
22. The rich Boor who was impoverished by marrying his daughter to a poor knight. f. 77.
23. A Man understands Beasts' language; but he knows that if he were to repeat their sayings he would die. He is pressed so hard by his wife one day that he promises to tell her why he laughed when he heard the Ox and the Ass talking together. But, just in time, he overhears the Cock, who derides him for not being able to manage one wife. f. 77 b, col. 2. This story is told by the Wezeer to his daughter, Shahrazád (the queen, who is afterwards herself the story-teller), in the Introduction to the *Thousand and One Nights:* see Edward Lane's edition, vol. i. (London, 1841), pp. 11–14.
24. Parrot and Raven watch an Ape trying to light touch-wood at a glow-worm. Raven warns Parrot that it is dangerous to offer advice to a fool. Yet Parrot keeps screeching out that the worm is not a real fire. At last he flies down, to impress the fact upon the Ape; and Ape catches him and kills him. f. 78 b, col. 2. See Directorium, Chap. ii. 12.

25. King Lion relates that, at one time, his grandfather tried to degrade his Barons, and to exalt the humble Beasts. One of the latter was an Ape, but he presumed on his resemblance to Man, and plotted to gain the kingship for himself. f. 80, col. 2.

Heading: "Comenca lo. vii^a. libre qui es de les besties." f. 59 b, col. 2. The Introduction (which serves to connect the present work with the former part of the volume) begins:—"Com felix hac pres comiat del philosof et anaua per una vall qui era plena darbres et de fontanes a la exida de la vall ell encontra dos homens qui hauien grans barbes et grans cabells et eren pobrament vestits." f. 59 b, col. 2. It ends:—"apres aquestes paraules felix comana a deus los sants homens e ana en aquell loch | ou les besties volien elegir rey." ff. 60, col. 2–60 b.

The narrative begins: "En una bella plana per on passaua vna bella aygua estauen gran re de besties saluatges que uolien elegir Rey. Acort fo pres per la maior part quel leo fos rey | mas lo bou contrasta molt fortment a aquella eleccio e dix estes paraules | ." f. 60 b. The narrative ends: "et adonchs lo rey ell son cors ausis na renart et pus que na renart fo mort fo sa cort en bon estament lo rey feu de son consell laurifany et el senglar et daltres honrats barons et gitan lo conill et lo paho." f. 80 b, col. 2. The concluding paragraph (which connects the present work with the latter part of the volume) is as follows: "Fenit es lo libre de les besties lo qual felix porta ha vn Rey per tal que vees la manera segons là qual en ço que fan les besties es significat com rey deia regnar es deja guardar de maluat consell et de falsos homens." f. 80 b, col. 2.

At the end of the whole volume is written: "Die Veneris vii. Julii Anni Octuagesimi quinti incepit scribere Johannes tholita presentem librum et patrauit die Veneris duodecimo Januari anno a natiuitate domini millesimo trescentesimo octuagesimo sexto." f. 187 b, col. 2.

In his article, *Histoire littéraire*, vol. xxix., Hauréau treats of the whole volume, the Libre de les Maravelles, at pp. 345–362; and he treats of this particular work, De les Besties, at pp. 354–360. He says (p. 345) that several MSS. add to the title of the volume: "lo qual libre feu mestre Ramon Lull de Majorques estant en la ciutat de Paris, l'any de la nativitat de Nostre Senyor Jhesu Crist MCCLXXXVI." He supposes that this date alludes

to the beginning of 1287. He says that he knows of half-a-dozen MSS. of the original text; and he mentions the French version, the "Livre des Merveilles," preserved in MS. 189 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The French version was first noticed (but very scantily) by Paulin Paris, in his *Manuscrits François*, vol. ii. (1838), pp. 112–4. At that time it was in MS. 6849, a number that has now been changed to 189. In *Poésies inédites du Moyen Age*, Édélestand Du Méril has printed five of the Fables (Nos. 6, 12, 13, 14, and 16) in the notes to Baldo's *Alter Æsopus* (pp. 234, 228, 236, 238, and 245); and Benfey has alluded to them in his Introduction to *Pantschatantra* (vol. i. pp. 180, 133, 168, 175, and 204). But neither Du Méril nor Benfey was aware that the Livre des Merveilles was a translation from the Catalan.

The Libre de les Besties was at length published in Catalan, accompanied with a full analysis in German (and with a promise of notes, which has not yet, we believe, been fulfilled), by Konrad Hofmann, under the title of "Ein Katalanisches Thierepos," in the *Abhandlungen* of the Philosophisch-Philologische Classe of the Königliche Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. xii. (Munich, 1871), pt. iii., pp. 173–240. Hofmann's text was taken from two Munich MSS., of the same origin, but not quite so correctly copied, as the present MS. Many corrections, taken from our MS., were sent by G. Soldan to Lemcke's *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Neue Folge, vol. i. (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 368–380.

Lastly, Hauréau has told us (*Hist. litt.* xxix. p. 346) that a learned Catalan scholar, Aguiló y Fuster, had long (even then, in 1885) had a full text of the Libre de les Maravelles printed, nearly to the end.

Harley 5560.

Paper; A.D. 1667. Small Quarto; ff. 70, having 24 lines to a page as far as f. 58, and, after this, from 22 or 23 down to 19 lines.

ΣΥΝΤΙΠΑΣ. Story of the Son of King Cyrus of Persia; how he was educated by the wise master Syntipas, falsely accused by his stepmother, and defended by the Persian king's seven philosophers. A framework enclosing twenty-two Tales. Translated, according to the title-page, from Persian into Romaic; the former version (according to an additional statement on the same page) being the work of a Persian author named Musa ("περσος . ονοματι . μούσος"). Copied by a certain Michael Lampinos, at Galata, 15th March, 1667. *Modern Greek.*

Syntipas is at least one of the earliest versions of the Seven Wise Masters. The framework of all the versions, whether Eastern or Western, is substantially the same. A prince is educated quite apart from his father's court. At length he is sent for. His tutor consults the stars, and warns him that he must not speak for seven days. He is tempted in vain by his stepmother; then he is denounced by her, and defended by the King's seven philosophers. On the eighth day he speaks, and triumphs over his stepmother. In the course of the seven days tales are told on each side to influence the mind of the King. In most of the versions the philosophers only tell one tale apiece; but in Syntipas they tell two apiece. At the end of Syntipas the stepmother is not condemned to death, as she is in most of the European versions; but she is made to ride upon an ass, with her head shaved, and with two criers proclaiming her crime.

This framework, and most of the tales in the present version, are of Indian, and probably of Buddhistic, origin. The course of their transmission from language to language is not quite so clear as in the case of Kalilah and Dimnah, but it was probably much the same; that is, from Sanskrit to Pehlevi (old Persian), and thence, through Arabic or Syriac, to Greek.

The earliest mention of the work appears to be in the Histories of "Al-Ya'qūbī, who wrote about A.D. 880." He says, "referring to the ancient Indian kings: 'To them belongs Kush,

who was in the time of Sindibād the Wise; and this Kush composed the Book of the Craft of Women.'"* In the next century a more distinct account of it is given by two writers, El-Masudi (died 956) and El-Nedim (died 987). The Oriental Translation Fund has published an English translation, by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., of the first seventeen chapters of *El-Mas'údí's Historical Encyclopædia*, entitled "*Meadows of gold and Mines of gems*" (London, 1841). In Chapter vii. some account is given of the Hindoos. "Fúr" (*i.e.* Porus) is mentioned, and his having been killed in single combat by Alexander the Great (p. 171). To "Fúr" succeeds "Daïsalem, who is the author of Kalîlah wa Dimnah." The next king is "Balhít." "In his reign the game of chess was invented" (p. 171; followed by three pages about chess). Then comes "Kúrúsh"; and to this name Dr. Sprenger adds the note: "This is the way in which Abulfaragius (*Hist. Dynast.*, p. 82) writes the name of Cyrus. En-Nowaïrí writes the name of this Hindu King Kúsh." The account of Kúrúsh goes on: "In his reign lived es-Sondbád, who is the author of the book *The seven Vezirs, the teacher and boy, and the wife of the King*" (p. 175). The other 10th-century writer mentioned above, Mohammed Ibn el-Nedim, the first historian of Arabic literature, says in his "Fihrist" (*i.e.* Catalogue): "Another book is that of the sage Sendabad, in two editions, one large and the other little. Opinions differ as to its origin, just as in the case of Kalilah and Dimnah; but it most probably came from India."† These words show that an Arabic version of the work existed at least as early as the 10th century. The Greek title-page refers the work to a Persian, named "Mousos." Now, Musa (our Moses) was not a Persian name before the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. It seems therefore improbable that he translated the work from

* The above quotation is taken from W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Sindibād* (privately printed, 1884), p. xxxvi. The Arabic text has been edited by M. Th. Houtsma, as *Ibn-Wādhih qui dicitur Al-Ja'qubī Historiæ*, Part i. (Leyden, 1883), p. 105.

† The Arabic text of this passage may be found in *Fihrist* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 305, ll. 2–3. It is quoted by Hermann Brockhaus, in the Preface to his German abstract of the Eighth Night of Tûtî-nameh (Book of the Parrot). Brockhaus's volume is very rare. We have only seen an Italian translation of his Preface, appended by Alessandro d'Ancona to his own Introduction to the *Sette Savj* (Pisa, 1864). D'Ancona's Italian translation of the passage from the Fihrist is at p. lii.

Sanskrit into Pehlevi; and it may fairly be conjectured that he was the author of the old Arabic version.

The old text has disappeared; but the substance appears to be well represented by several versions, belonging to the Eastern section of the cycle. Six of these have been compared together by Domenico Comparetti, in a paper, read at Milan, 4 February, 1869, entitled "Ricerche intorno al libro di Sindibâd." He there says (see the English translation, p. 5), that, in speaking of the "original" text of the "Book of Sindibâd," his "meaning is not to allude to the ancient Indian prototype, to which" he does "not extend" his "researches, but only to that particular redaction which can be shown to be more immediately the common basis of all the Eastern versions at present known." *

The six works used by Comparetti are as follows:—(1) Syntipas, in Greek; (2) Libro de los Enganños, translated from Arabic into Spanish in 1253; (3) Mishleh Sandabar (Parables of Sandabar), in Hebrew, probably translated from the Arabic in the first half of the 13th century; (4) Sindibâd-nâmeh (Book of Sindibad), a Persian poem, derived from the Arabic, but turned from Persian prose into verse in 1375; (5) The Seven Viziers, an Arabic text, introduced into some MSS. of the Thousand and One Nights; (6) Eighth Night of the Tûtî-nâmeh (Book of the Parrot), a Persian poem by Nakshebî (who died 1329). Comparetti comes to the conclusion (see the English translation, p. 53), that "Of all the versions that which best and to the greatest degree represents the original is the Syntipas." †

---

* Comparetti's "Ricerche" were published by the Reale Istituto Lombardo, *Memorie*, vol. xi. Fasc. v. (Milan, 1870). An English translation (with a few additions), revised by Comparetti himself, appeared in the Folk-Lore Society's *Publications*, No. ix. (London, 1882).

† Comparetti consulted the following editions, etc.:—(1) *Syntipas*, edited by J. F. Boissonade (Paris, 1828); (2) *Libro de los Enganños*, published by Comparetti himself, in his "Ricerche" (Milan, 1870); (3) *Mishleh Sandabar*, published at Constantinople in 1516, and at Venice in 1544 and 1605, and translated into French by E. Carmoly (Paris, 1849). Another edition, in Hebrew and German, has been lately edited by Paulus Cassel, entitled *Mischle Sindbad* (Berlin, 1888). (4) *Sindibâd-nâmeh*; not published, but known through an abstract by Forbes Falconer, in the *Royal Asiatic Journal* (London, 1841); (5) *Story of the King, his Son, Concubine, and Seven Viziers*, from a Bengalee Fragment of the Thousand and One Nights, translated by Jonathan Scott, in a book dedicated to Warren Hastings, entitled *Tales, Anecdotes, and Letters, translated from the Arabic and Persian* (Shrews-

The present text has been barbarized from a comparatively good version of the 11th century, which was edited by Boissonade (1828),* and re-edited by Eberhard (1872).† Previous to these editions, in 1781, a Prologue in 17 Iambic lines (only preserved in a volume at Moscow, which contains two MS. copies of it) had been published by Matthæi. The same volume was used by Matthæi for his edition of sixty-two Greek Fables, which he attributed to the mythical Philosopher, Syntipas.‡ He says in his Preface to the Fables (p. vii), that the volume contains two copies of the "Fabula de Cyro" (that is, Syntipas), each preceded by the Prologue; and likewise two copies of the Æsopic Fables. These copies are on paper; but he dates them as of the 14th or even the 13th century. They have not been copied from the same original, so that one helps to correct the other. He goes on to say: "Epigramma, quod folio

---

bury, 1800). A German translation also, by Maximilian Habicht, occurring in his *Tausend und eine Nacht* (Breslau, 1840), vol. xv. pp. 102–172. And also an abstract, made for Comparetti by Fausto Lasinio, from the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights* printed at Boolak (near Cairo) in 1863 (vol. iii. pp. 75–124). We may here add that Edward William Lane has given an abstract of the "Seven Wezeers," in Note 51 to Chapter 21 of his *Thousand and One Nights*, vol. iii. (London, 1841), pp. 158–182; (6) *Tûtî-nâmeh*; the Eighth Night, published by Hermann Brockhaus, with a German abstract, under the title of *Nachschebî's Sieben Weisen Meister, Persisch und Deutsch* (Leipzig, 1845). Of this edition only twelve copies were issued. But the German abstract (with its Preface) was translated by Emilio Teza into Italian, and appended to the Introduction of the volume by Alessandro d'Ancona, containing *Il libro dei sette savj di Roma* (Pisa, 1864): see pp. xlix.–lxiv.

* Συντιπας. *De Syntipa et Cyri filio Andreopuli narratio*, edited (from two Paris MSS.) by Jean F. Boissonade (Paris, 1828).

† *Fabulæ Romanenses Græce conscriptæ*, edited (from various MSS.) by Alfred Eberhard, vol. i. (Leipzig, 1872), pp. 1–135. This recension is followed by a considerable fragment of another recension (from a Munich MS., No. 525), pp. 136–196. Various readings, from a Dresden MS., are at pp. 197–224, and Eberhard's volume ends with three Greek Lives of Æsop, pp. 226–310.

‡ *Syntipae Philosophi Persae Fabulae* LXII. *Graece et Latine*, edited by Christianus Fridericus Matthæi, Professor of Literature in the University of Moscow (Leipzig, 1781). A little before this Matthæi had published an *Index codicvm manvscriptorvm Graecorvm Bibliothecarvm Mosqvensivm sanctissimae Synodi Ecclesiae Orthodoxae Graeco-Rossicae* (Petropoli, 1780). The MS. in question, numbered 285, Quarto, is there described as of "Sec. XV." and the List of Contents is very meagre indeed; see pp. 47–48.

250, ante fabulam de Cyro legitur, hic adposui." He then prints one of the copies of the Prologue (p. viii). On the next page (p. ix) he has added a corrected copy; and this has been reprinted three or four times. The evidence, however, which it contributes to the authorship of Syntipas is so important, that we have decided to insert it here, following the emended version in Comparetti, p. 29 (p. 55 of the English ed.).

Ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς βίβλου ἔχει οὕτως.
Τοῦ μυθογράφου Συντίπα κατὰ Σύρους,
Μᾶλλον δὲ Περσῶν τοὺς σοφοὺς λογογράφους
Αὕτη πέφυκεν ἣν βλέπεις δέλτος, φίλε.
Ἣν καὶ Συρικοῖς τοῖς λόγοις γεγραμμένην,
Εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτὸς Ἑλλάδα φράσιν
Μετήγαγόν τε καὶ γέγραφα τὴν βίβλον,
Τῶν γραμματικῶν ἔσχατός γε τυγχάνων,
Ἀνδρεόπωλος Μιχαὴλ, Χριστοῦ λάτρις,
Ἔργον τεθεικὼς προστεταγμένον τόδε
Παρὰ Γαβριὴλ, τοῦ μεγιστάνων κλέους
Δουκὸς σεβαστοῦ πόλεως μελωνύμου,
Ὃς ἐστι Χριστοῦ θερμὸς ὄντως οἰκέτης.
Ὃς καὶ διωρίσατο γραφῆναι τάδε
Ὅτι γε μὴ πρόσεστι Ῥωμαίων βίβλοις.
Ἡ συγγραφὴ γὰρ ἥδε τοὺς κακεργάτας
Διασύρει μάλιστα, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει
Πράξεις ἐπαινεῖ τὰς καλῶς εἰργασμένας.

The writer of these lines, Andreopulos Michael, "Servant of Christ," conjectures (it will be seen) that the book of Syntipas must have been originally written in Persian; but he asserts that he himself had used a Syriac version, and that he had turned it into Greek at the desire of Gabriel, Duke of "the City named after melody" (or, perhaps, "after Honey"). This Gabriel is identified by Comparetti with a Duke of Melitene (capital of the third Armenia), whose town was captured by the Musulmans in 1100.*

Comparetti (writing in 1869) alludes to a fragmentary Syriac version, as having been lately discovered by Emil Rödiger; and one tale of it ("Lamia") as having been published by Rödiger in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca* (2nd edition, Halle, 1868), p. 100. And

* See Comparetti, pp. 29–31; and see the English translation, pp. 55–59.

in a note (in the English translation in 1882) he adds that this version had since been published by Friedrich Baethgen,* and that Baethgen's edition had been reviewed by Theodor Nöldeke.† The text is abridged, especially in the framework; but the Tales are the same as those in Syntipas, and in the same order; except where a few leaves have been lost, which must have contained our Nos. 10 (Bathing-man's Wife) and 19 (Wiles of Women), and also the Queen's last Tale (Death-shamming Fox) and the Tale of Syntipas himself (Destiny, or the Chief Philosopher's Son), which are Nos. 21 and 22 of our MS., but 24 and 25 in the list of Comparetti. Nöldeke is very confident that this, though abridged, represents the text which Michael Andreopulos translated into Greek.

There is, indeed, one objection to this. Eberhard discovered a MS. at Munich (of the 14th cent.), containing what appears at first sight to be a much older text. It is imperfect at the beginning; and so Eberhard has printed it after the usual recension in his *Fabulæ Romanenses* (1872), pp. 136–196. He reprints the 17 Iambics in his Preface, p. viii. He then proceeds to argue that Andreopulos must have found an old Greek translation from the Syriac, with a text similar to that of the Munich MS.; and that he merely modernised it, and called himself the Translator. On the other hand, we may remark, Nöldeke believes the Munich text to be the later of the two (*Zeitsch.* p. 514, note 1). The same view is taken by Paulus Cassel, in his *Mischle Sindbad*,‡ who gives a list of hard words in the usual text (pp. 406–414), some of which have been changed in the Munich text (according to this view), in order to make the reading easier. In one other respect Cassel stands alone. He refuses to believe that the Gabriel, patron of Andreopulos, was any man at all. He considers that it was the Archangel Gabriel, who was "*δοὺξ σεβαστὸς πόλεως μελωνύμου*," Duke of the song-famed city, a city which he holds to have been Jerusalem. But for this, and also for some other new conjectures, we must refer to his book, pp. 367–371, etc.

The title is:—

"*Διηγησις . ὡραιωτάτη . συντιπα . του φιλοσόφου. Μεταγλωττισθεις ὑπὸ περσιακῆς βίβλου . εἰς ρωμαϊκὴν γλωτταν . περί*

* *Sindban*, Syriac and German, by Fried. Baethgen (Leipzig, 1879).

† *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxxiii. (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 513–536.

‡ *Mischle Sindbad, Secundus, Syntipas*, by Paulus Cassel (Berlin, 1888).

του βασιλέως τῆς περσίας κῦρου . καὶ του ὑιοῦ αὐτοῦ . καὶ περι μιᾶς κακοτέχνου γύναικος . παλλακίδος τοῦ βασιλέως . ἡ ὁποῖα ἔδιὰβαλε τόν ὗιον του . να τον θάνατώση . καὶ περί τὼν ἑπτά . φιλοσοφων . οἱ ὅποῖοι ἐμπόδιζαν . καί ἔμετάτρεπαν . τὼν βασιλέα ἄπο τόυ θυμόυ . καὶ ἐλευθερωσαν . τόν ὗιὸν του . μετά σωφιστικὰ . αὐτὼν λογιά. Ταυτην . την ἱστοριαν . καὶ διῦγισην . ἔμεταγλωτιση . καπίος . περσος . ονοματι . μούσος . πρὸς μεγαλην . ὄφιλιαν . τῶν ανάγινωσκωντων." f. 1.

The Framework begins:—"Εις τόν παλαὶόν καιρὸν . ἦτον τίς βασιλεῦς εἶς τήν περσίαν ὀνοματι κύρῶς . εἶχε δέ αὐτός . ὁ βασιλεῦς γυναῖκας ἔπτά . ἡ δὲ μια . ἀπαΰταῖς τό ὠνομα μενάς ἦτον κακότροπος." f. 1 b. Ends:— "Ταυτα . ἄκουσας . ὅ βασιλῆς . ἐχὰρη . κατα πολλὰ . καὶ ἐχὰρισεν . μεγαλὲς . δωρεας . τον διδασκαλον του . του συντιπαὶ καὶ εδοξαση . το θειὸν . περι τις σοφιας . καὶ τις συνισηως . του υἵου του." f. 70.

The Tales are as follows:—

1. The King's ring found by the Husband (or the Lion's Track): First Philosopher's first Tale. f. 8.

Beg.: "Τὸν παλαιὸν καιρὸν . ἦτον ἔνας βασιλὲς . κατά πολλὰ πόρνος."

See the Venice edition,* pp. 11–13.

2. The Parrot deceived: First Philosopher's second Tale. f. 10.

Beg.: "Ἔνας ἄν[θρωπ]ός ἄπο την φιλήν . των τουρκών."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 13–15.

3. The Father drowned, when trying to save his son: Queen's Tale, No. 1. f. 12.

Beg.: "Καπιος . ἀνθροπος . ἔπλινε . τομαρια . εἰς ἐναν ποταμὸν."

See the Ven. ed., p. 16.

4. The Cakes: Second Philosopher's first Tale. f. 12 b.

Beg.: "ἔκινὸς . ὁ πραγματευφὴς . ἦτον πωλὰ παστρικὸς."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 17–19.

5. The two Lovers, Master and Slave; or the Drawn Sword: Second Philosopher's second Tale. f. 14.

Beg.: "Μιὰ γυναίκα . ἔιχαι φὶλον . ἀγαπητικὸν . ἔναν στρατιωτην βασιλικον."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 19–21.

6. The King's Son and the Lamia: Queen's Tale, No. 2. f. 15 b.

---

* Μυθολογικον Συντιπα του φιλοσοφου. τα πλειστα περιεργον ἐκ τῆς Περσικῆς γλώττης μεταφρασθέν (Ενετιησιν, 1804).

Beg.: "Ἕνας βασιλεῦς . εἶχεν υἱον."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 21–23.

7. The War for the drop of honey: Third Philosopher's first Tale. f. 17 b.

Beg.: "Ἦτον ... ἕνας . κυνιγὸς . τῶν αγριων."

Not in the Ven. ed.: but see the purer Greek version in Boissonade's edition (Paris, 1828), pp. 37–39.

8. Dust brought home instead of rice: Third Philosopher's second Tale. f. 19.

Beg.: "Ἕνας . ἄν[θρωπ]ὸς . ἔπεμψε την γυναῖκα του."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 23–24.

9. The Fountain that changed men into women: Queen's Tale, No. 3. f. 20 b.

Beg.: "Τὸν παλαιὸν . καιρὸν . ἦτον ἕνας . βασιλεῦς . και εἶχεν υἱον."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 25–27.

10. The Prince and the Bathing-man's Wife: Fourth Philosopher's first Tale. f. 23 b.

Beg.: "ἐις τὸν παλαιὸν . καιρὸν . διὴγουνται . πῶς ἦτον ἑνὸς . βασίλεος . υἱός."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 28–29.

11. The Procuress with the crying Bitch: Fourth Philosopher's second Tale. f. 26.

Beg.: "μιὰ γύναίκα . εἶχεν ἀνδρα νόμιμον."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 29–33.

12. The Boar, the Ape, and the fig-tree: Queen's Tale, No. 4. f. 30 b.

Beg.: "συνιθείαν . εἶχεν . ἕνας χοῖρος."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 34–35.

13. The Dog and the Serpent: Fifth Philosopher's first Tale. f. 31 b.

Beg.: "Ἦτον ποτὲ . καιροῖς . ἕνας . στρατιώτις."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 35–36.

14. The Cloak marked with burns: Fifth Philosopher's second Tale. f. 32 b.

Beg.: "ἀνθρωπος τίς απευδευτος . καὶ πολὰ . πόρνος."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 36–41.

15. The Thief, the Lion, and the Ape: Queen's Tale, No. 5. f. 38 b.

Beg.: "ἑναν . κίρον . πολοι . πραγματευταδες."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 41–43.

16. The Dove and his Mate, and the store of grain: Sixth Philosopher's first Tale. f. 41.

Beg.: "Ἐκείνη . ἡ περιστερὰ."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 43–44.

17. The Peasant's Wife, who dreamed of an elephant: Sixth Philosopher's second Tale. f. 42.

Beg.: "ἀνθροπος τὶς . ἦτον γιὸργὸς."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 45–46.

18. The Three Wishes: Seventh Philosopher's first Tale. f. 45 b.

Beg.: "τον παλαιὸν . καὶρὸν . δὶηγούνται . πῶς εἶτον . ἕνας . ἀν[θρωπ]ὸς . καὶ εἶχε δεμὸνιον."

Not in the Ven. ed., but see the Paris ed. (1828), pp. 84–87.

19. The Man who despaired of ever making a full list of the wiles of women: Seventh Philosopher's second Tale. f. 48.

Beg.: "Ἦτον ἕνας ἄνθροπος . . . καὶ ὅμοσεν."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 48–54.

20. The Snake's venom dropped in the milk-pail: Prince's Tale. f. 61.

Beg.: "Ἄνθρωπος τὶς . ἔπιῖσεν . τραπεζαν . μεγάλην."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 59–60. This is followed in the printed editions by other Tales told by the Prince, of which there are two in the Ven. ed., pp. 62–5, 65–72, and three in the Paris ed., pp. 115–118, 118–124, 125–137. These Tales are omitted in the present MS.

21. The Fox that escaped with the loss of his tail and teeth: Queen's Tale, No. 6. f. 65.

Beg. (including the catchword on f. 64 b.): "Μιὰ . ἄλεπού . ἔμαθεν . πάσα . νύκτα."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 75–76.

22. The Chief Philosopher's Son, who stole the King's robe: Syntipas's Tale. f. 67.

Beg.: "τὸν παλαῖὸν . καῖρὸν . δίὴγοῦνται . πῶς ἦτον . ἕνας . βασιλεῦς . καὶ εἶχεν . πολλοῦς . φίλους πρόκομίνους."

See the Ven. ed., pp. 78–80.

At the end of the volume is written: "ετελιωθι . το παρὸν Ενετι–1667–μαρτιου–15 . ἐν γαλατα . δια χιρως . μιχαῖλ . λαμπινου." f. 70.

The present MS. contains two Tales (Artt. 7 and 18) which are not in the edition of the Romaic text published at Venice in 1804 (above, p. 196, note). On the other hand, it omits two Tales (after Art. 20) which are in that edition. It is very carelessly spelt and accented; and the text varies considerably from that of the Venice edition.

Harley 3860. ff. 23–47 b.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 25, having 29 to 32 lines to a page. With initials in blue and red, and with 14 pen-and-ink drawings of the Emperor, the Empress (the latter being represented six times), and the Seven Sages.

The volume contains:—

1. Brief Chronicle of England down to 1272, from Geoffrey of Monmouth and others. f. 3.
2. Genealogies of the Kings of England and Scotland, down to Edward I. and John Balliol. f. 12.
3. Chronicle of the Scottish wars of Edward I. in 1291–1303. f. 18.
4. The present article. f. 23.
5. Château d'Amour, an allegorical poem, headed with a drawing of its reputed author, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in 1234–1253. f. 48.
6. Work on Husbandry, imperfect at the end. ff. 77 b–82 b.

All the articles are in *French*.

THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME. Story how the Son of the Emperor Diocletian was rescued from the attacks of his Stepmother, by means of the Tales of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome. *French.*

In 1838 Leroux de Lincy published two recensions of the Seven Sages in French prose, one of which he printed entire, and the other in part. Gaston Paris, who published two other recensions for the Anciens Textes Français in 1876, gives to the text printed entire in 1838 the name of L. (after Leroux de Lincy); whilst the other (printed in part in 1838) he calls A., after Alessandro d'Ancona, editor of the same recension in Italian, *Sette Savj* (Pisa, 1864). The first of the two recensions published by himself Gaston Paris calls D. ("dérimée"), because it is evidently an old poem disrhymed. The other recension is only a translation of the ordinary Latin text (H.).

Gaston Paris divides the Western version of the Seven Wise Masters (apart from Dolopathos) into five distinct classes. He numbers and letters them thus:—

1 (S.) Abridgment of a lost version, made (in the early 14th cent.) by a Dominican, Joannes Junior,* and inserted (under the head of "Femina") in a collection of Exempla formed for the use of Preachers, which he styled "Scala Celi," and which he dedicated "Hugoni de Colub[r]eriis sancte aquensis ecclesie preposito." † This work was printed three times in the 15th cent.; and the abridgment in question was copied out of the first edition (Lubeck, 1476) by Karl Gödeke, in an article in Theodor Benfey's periodical, *Orient und Occident*, vol. iii. (Göttingen, 1864–6), pp. 385–423.

2 (H.) *Historia septem sapientum Romæ*, printed at Cologne about 1475, and several times reprinted in the 15th cent.; and also the same text (only with the names and a few passages altered), entitled *Historia de calumnia novercali* (Antwerp, 1490).

3 (K.) *Li Romans di Sept Sages*, a French poem edited by Heinrich Adelbert Keller (Tübingen, 1836).

4 (I.) Versio Italica, a group of three MSS. (one Latin and two Italian), so named by Adolfo Mussafia, who printed the Latin in his *Beiträge zur Litteratur der Sieben weisen Meister* (Vienna, 1868).

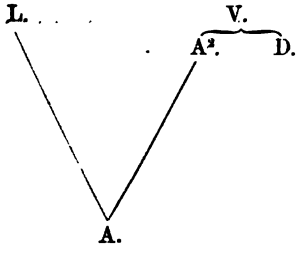
5 (L., A. and D.) The French prose recensions mentioned above.

Gaston Paris says that H. used to be regarded as the original Western version, but that Gödeke has rightly displaced it, in favour of S.; though it is still doubtful whether the first Western version was in Latin at all. He brings evidence that H. is translated from A., probably about 1330; and he shows that A. is itself a composite version, derived from L. down to the end of

* Quetif and Echard, in their *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, vol. i. (Paris, 1719), p. 633, say that this author was "Joannes Gobii," called "Junior" in order to distinguish him from his uncle, who was of some importance among the Dominicans in the South of France in 1302–1312. We do not know why Gaston Paris, in his Preface to the *Sept Sages* (1876), p. ii, has altered the name into "Jean Petit (*Joannes Parvus*)."

† Quetif reckons that Hugo must have been Provost of Aix (in Provence) between 1320 and 1363. But Ulysse Chevalier, in his *Sources historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1877–86), makes this entry: "Coloubrières (Hugues de), Prevôt d'Aix 1319, + 1330. fév. 2/5." (p. 483).

the eleventh Tale, and part of the ensuing framework; and then completed from a lost metrical version, which he names V., a precursor of K. and D. He draws the table of descent thus (p. xxvi):—



The present copy belongs to A., which is by far the most common version, and was imitated by all the known English versions.

The Tales contained in Scala Celi have been given Latin titles by Gödeke; and these have been accepted by Gaston Paris and others. The following Table gives a view of the Tales in all our copies of the Wise Masters, compared with the Scala Celi.

Scala Celi. (Latin.)	Harley 3860. (French.)	Add. 15,685. (Latin, "Versio Italica," Imperf.)	Add. 27,429. (Italian, Imperf.)
1. Arbor.	1. Arbor.	1. Canis.	1. Arbor.
2. Canis.	2. Canis.	2. Arbor.	2. Canis.
3. Aper.	3. Aper.	3. Medicus.	3. Aper.
4. Medicus.	4. Medicus.	4. Aper.	4. Medicus.
5. Gaza.	5. Gaza.	5. Tentamina.	5. Gaza.
6. Tentamina.	6. Puteus.	6. Septem Sapientes.	6. Mercator.
7. Senescalcus.	7. Senescalcus.	7.	7. Senescalcus.
8. Puteus.	8. Tentamina.	8. Gaza.	8. Tentamina.
9. Virgilius.	9. Virgilius.	9. Inclusa.	9. Virgilius.
10. Avis.	10. Avis.	10. Roma.	10. Avis.
11. Septem Sapientes.	11. Septem Sapientes.	11. Vidua.	11. . . . . (Only a few words left of the Introduction to Septem Sapientes.)
12. Vidua.	12. Vidua.	12. Virgilius.	12. Vidua.
13. Filia.	13. Roma.	13. Puteus.	13. Roma.
14. Noverca.	14. Inclusa.	14. Vaticinium.	14. Inclusa.
15. Vaticinium.	15. Vaticinium.		

Galba E. ix. (English.)	Egerton 1995. (English.)	Arundel 140. (English, Imperf.)	Add. 18,922. (Latin, "Dolopathos.")
1. Arbor.	1. Arbor.	1.	1. Canis.
2. Canis.	2. Canis.	2.	2. Gaza.
3. Aper.	3. Aper.	3.	3. Senes.
4. Medicus.	4. Medicus.	4. Medicus.	4. Creditor.
5. Gaza.	5. Gaza.	5. Gaza.	5. Viduæ Filius.
6. Puteus.	6. Puteus.	6. Puteus.	6. Latronis Filius.
7. Senescalcus.	7. Senescalcus.	7. Senescalcus.	7. Cygni Eques.
8. Tentamina.	8. Tentamina.	8. Tentamina.	8. Puteus.
9. Virgilius.	9. Virgilius.	9. Virgilius.	
10. Avis.	10. Avis.	10. Avis.	
11. Septem Sapientes.	11. Septem Sapientes.	11. Septem Sapientes.	
12. Vidua.	12. Vidua.	12. Vidua.	
13. Roma.	13. Roma.	13. Roma.	
14. Inclusa.	14. Inclusa.	14. Inclusa.	
15. Vaticinium.	15. Vaticinium.	15. Vaticinium.	

Of these Tales only four seem to have belonged to the original Book of Sindibad. These are Canis, Aper, Senescalcus, and Avis, answering to Nos. 13, 12, 10, and 2, of Syntipas; see Harley 5560, ff. 31 b, 30 b, 23 b, and 10. One of the other Tales, Puteus, possibly came from Petrus Alfunsi, in whose Disciplina Clericalis it is No. 13; see Roy. 10 B. xii. f. 13. Gaza resembles the story of Rhampsinitus, in Herodotus (ii. 121). Vidua is the Widow of Ephesus, told by Petronius Arbiter. The remaining Tales are not easy to point out amongst older writings.*

The Framework begins:—"A Rome eut . i . emperur qui out a non . diocleciens . il auoyt hv feme . de cele feme li fv remes . i . heir males . ly emperur fv veuxs e ly enfes eut ia vii ans. I. iour apella ly emperur les vii sages checun par son none . ly primer out a none baucillas | ly secunde fut apille augustes | ly terz out a none lentulus | ly quar[z] qui out a non mauquidras ly rous | ly quint out a non cathons de Rome | ly sime e cil out a non iesse. Ly septim out a non anchilles, | ly amperur diste beus sengurs ioe bayl mon fiz nenay a checun de vus . mes a vus vii . ly sages amenerent lenfant ou il tenaint lur parlement e lur

* The Seven Sages, more or less complete, incorporated in one or two copies of the Gesta Romanorum, will be found described further on, under the latter heading.

consaus de choes apurtenanz a romme. Il esgarderent . i . verger hors de Rome a . i . lue pres." f. 23.

The above passage is not a quarter of the length of the corresponding passage in L., as printed by Leroux de Lincy (1838), pp. 1–4.

The Tales are as follows :—

1. (Arbor.) The Pine and its Sucker: told by the Empress. f. 25.

Begins :—"Il eut iadys . i . burgoys en cest ville qui auoit . i . mut bele verger." Ends :—"ore le coupe de tute . dist ly sires . volunteres fist ly gardiner."

Printed ed., pp. 13–14.

2. (Canis.) The Greyhound and Serpent: told by Baucillas. f. 26.

Begins :—"Il auint iadis en ceste ville par . i . iour qui est apelles ly roys des dimanges ce est le iour de la trinite." Ends :—"e sen ala sanz regarder feme v enfant que il eut e sen ala en exile, pur le courus sun leuerer."

Printed ed., pp. 17–21.

3. (Aper.) Boar and Herdsman: told by the Empress. f. 27 b.

Begins :—"il eut en cest pays . i . grant foreste plaine de frute de bosquage . ou . i . sengler estoit nurris." Ends :—"cil commensa a grater pus sur le ventre ben fort . e pus tret sun cutele e fert le sangler au quere e le occyst."

Printed ed., pp. 22–24.

4. (Medicus.) Hippocrates and his Nephew: told by Augustes. Imperf. f. 28 b.

This Fragment is as follows :—"Ypocras fv li plus sages myrs que hom put trouer en tute terres . il ne auoyt que . i . suel neuev . a ky il ne volait ren dire ne apprendre de ses senzs . mes toutvais ly valles priuement apriste le senzs ypocras. Atant a vent que il se decouery . i . iour a sun oncle . ypocras regarda e persuet e vit que sun nevu sout assete—E ne demora verres que nouels . . ."

Printed ed., p. 26.

5. (Gaza.) The two Robbers of the King's Treasury: told by the Empress. f. 29.

Begins :—"il out . i . emperur a rome qui out a non otheuiens qui plus ama ore e argent que autres choes." Ends :—"atant se partirent de la meson . si amenerent celui que treaint hors de Rome . e lui fuerunt."

Printed ed., pp. 29–33.

6. (Puteus.) The Husband out of doors: told by Lentulus. f. 30 b.

Begins:—"Sire il out vn riche vauassure en cest vile si fv de grant lynage . e de haute." Ends:—"e le waittes ly amenerent en la toure au mautine il fv fustez par tout la vile."

Printed ed., pp. 35–38.

7. (Senescalcus.) King of Apulia and the Wife of his Seneschal: told by the Empress. f. 31.

Begins:—"Sire il eut . i . roie en puelle qui estoyt sodomites . il dengnoyt feme sour tute ren." Ends:—"ly senescal se fui . e ly roys maria sa feme ben e richement."

Printed ed., pp. 39–41.

8. (Tentamina.) The old Wise Man and his young Wife: told by "Mauquidras ly rous." f. 32.

Begins:—"Sire il out en cest vile . i . sage de grant aage." Ends:—"certes bele mere ie ne ameray iammes . certes tu frees que sages."

Printed ed., pp. 43–49.

9. (Virgilius.) The Magic Images made by Virgil for Rome (sometimes known as Cressus the Rich Man): told by the Empress. f. 34.

Begins:—"Sire il out en cest vile . i . clerc qui out a non vergiel." Ends:—"si pristerent ore fundv e ly coulerent par mye la buche e parmye les oyexs e parmye les orailles . si ly disaint ore vausis . ore as . ore couaitas . ore aueras . en tel maner laueras e le occihieraint ensi."

Printed ed., pp. 50–54.

10. (Avis.) The Magpie: told by Caton. f. 35 b.

Begins:—"Sire il out . i . burges en ceste vile qui out . i . piee qui dissoit quant ke home lui demandast que ele veit." Ends:—"donckes sen avala juys . e chacea sa femme hors de sa meyson si comenchea a dementer e a tordre ses poyns en semble."

Printed ed., pp. 55–58.

11. (Septem Sapientes.) Herodes and Merlin: told by the Empress. f. 37.

Begins:—"Sire il avynt en ceste vile kil i out vn emperur ke auoyt a noun Herodes." Ends:—"e tout cil ke ceo virent en eurent grant ioie quant il virent ke ly emperers auoyt recouure sa vewe si cum il seut."

Printed ed., pp. 59–64.

At the conclusion of this Tale of Herodes and Merlin there is

the usual conversation between the Emperor and Empress, and the usual preparation for the execution of the Prince in the morning; and so far the present MS. substantially agrees with the version in the MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 19,166 (formerly No. 1672, Saint Germain), which is printed at pp. 1–76 of Le Roux de Lincy's edition. But at this point the similarity ceases; in the present MS. at f. 39, and in the printed edition at p. 64. The rest of the present copy is substantially the same as the version in the MS. at the Bibliothèque, No. 2137 (formerly 7974), the latter part of which is printed at pp. 79–103 of Le Roux de Lincy's edition.

12. (Vidua.) The Widow comforted: told by Jesse. f. 39 b.

Begins:—"Il out jadis vn visconte en Loerrayne ki auoyt prise vne femme des plus biaus du paise e de la contree." Ends:—"quant ele oi ceste parole si fu mult hontouse . e si espontee quele ne seitt ke dire ore est kaue entre . ij . seles."

In the last line there has been some alteration made by two insertions above it, making it—"ore est *chele* ka*tif*ue entre . ij . seles."

Printed ed., pp. 80–85.

13. (Roma.) Stratagem of "Genus": told by the Empress. f. 41 b.

Begins:—"Sire . Romme fu iadis moult gerreyz . car . vii. Rois paiens lauoyent assis." Ends:—"quant cil de Romme les virent fuyr . donc corruerent apres e les chacierent moult durement, e en occhirent asses e conquirent grant auoyr."

Printed ed., pp. 85–87.

14. (Inclusa.) The two Dreams (or Le Chevalier à la Trappe): told by Anchilles. f. 43.

Begins:—"Il fu el reaume de monbergier vn cheualier prise darmes de chyualerie." Ends:—"du[n]ckes se commensa a dementire e a plurere mes ce fw adu[n]ckes tart de ly repentir."

Printed ed., pp. 89–96.

15. (Vaticinium.) The Ravens (or La prédiction accomplie): told by the Prince. f. 46 b.

Begins:—"il fw iadis . i . riches hom . qui auoit . i . moult courtays fiz e moult sage." Ends:—"Quant ly iones roys . si dist a son per[e] . sire dit il ore est ben avenus ce que vus disse quant vus me gettates en la mere . saches de verite que io sue vostre fiz . e li pere fw tot abayis e moult pensys dunc se tent a enguinee."

Printed ed., pp. 98–102.

The Framework ends:—"Ensi va a male fine al que trayson quierent deus luir rent luer guerdone e lur deserte qui pas ne ment."

Colophon:—"Explicit lestorie de vii sages de Romme." f. 47 b.

Printed ed., p. 103.

The texts of the Roman des Sept Sages, which were edited by Leroux de Lincy, form the second half of a volume entitled *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes . . . par A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps* (Paris, 1838). Leroux de Lincy introduces his texts with an account of 20 MSS. of the Romance. Some corrections of this account, together with the modern numeration of the MSS., are given by Gaston Paris, in the volume of the Anciens Textes Français entitled *Deux Rédactions du Roman des Sept Sages de Rome* (Paris, 1876).

Additional 15,685. ff. 83–97 b.

Vellum; executed in Italy about A.D. 1400. Folio; ff. 15, having 30 lines to a page. With illuminated initials, of which the first encloses the figure of a camel and a label, the inscription effaced; and with 13 miniatures. Two leaves are missing (after ff. 90 and 96).

The present article is the last in the volume, being preceded by:—1. The Moralized Book of Chess, by Jacobus de Cessolis, in *Latin*, f. 1. 2. Libellus moralis Senece, etc. f. 47 b. 3. Book on the Cardinal Virtues, in *Italian*, f. 51. On ff. 1 and 51 are emblazoned some coats of arms, perhaps belonging to the house of Reniero of Venice.

THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME. Story how the Son of the Roman Emperor was rescued from the attacks of his Stepmother, by means of the Tales of the Seven Sages of Rome. *Latin.*

In the present version, called by Mussafia "Versio Italica," there are no names given to the Emperor, or his son, or the Sages.

The general Title is:—"Incipit liber septem philosophorum cuiusdam Imperatoris Romani, Eiusque scientifici et sapientissimi filij. Eiusdemque Imperatoris nequissime secunde uxoris." f. 83.

The Framework begins:—"Qvidam Romanus imperator, unicum habens filium, quem intime diligebat, cum esset decem

annorum, ipsum septem philosophis quos in sua curia retinebat, tradidit in sapiencia ad docendum, eis plurimum recomendans. Qui uotis dicti Imperatoris satisfacere protinus cupientes, extra urbem decem miliaria, in quodam loco delectabili et secreto, cum iuuene accesserunt, ipsum in scientijs et moribus instruentes." f. 83.

The Tales, which are 14 in number, are as follows:—

1. (Canis.) Dog and Serpent: told by the First Sage. f. 85 b.

Begins:—"Quidam miles habebat quendam suum leporarium pulcrum, iuuenem, fortem, leuem, quem multum diligebat, habebat similiter quendam filium in cunis qui a suis nutricibus lactabatur." Ends:—"Remansit autem dominus ualde tristis quia interfecerat canem suum qui canis unde merebatur premium habuit mortem, propter quod magnum dolorem habuit dominus."

2. (Arbor.) The Pine-tree and its Sucker: told by the Empress. f. 86.

Begins:—"Sed tibi eueniet de ipso quem dicis filium tuum, quod euenit cuidam homini habenti in suo uiridario quandam pinum." Ends:—"Iussitque ut incontinenter rami pinus inciderentur, factumque est."

No. 1 of the usual Latin version.

3. (Medicus.) Hippocrates and his Nephew: told by the Second Sage. f. 87.

Begins:—"Ypocras summus medicus habebat quendam nepotem non minus sapientem eo." Ends:—"Vnde plorabat ypocras, dicens, si uiueret nepos meus, me ab hac egritudine liberaret. Vnde ipse ypocras occidit illum, per quem habuisset uitam."

No. 10 of the usual Latin version.

4. (Aper.) The Boar and the Herdsman: told by the Empress. f. 88.

Begins:—"In quodam nemore erat quidam porcus siluestris." Ends:—"Sentiens autem pastor quod porcus obdormiuerat, accepto cultello percussit porcum ad cor, ita quod confestim occidit eum."

5. (Tentamina.) The Wise Old Man and his Young Wife: told by the Third Sage. f. 89.

Begins:—"Quidam senex sapiens habebat quandam uxorem iuuenem." Ends:—"At illa dixit, et uix dicere poterat, uade, nolo amasium."

6. (Septem Sapientes.) The blind King cured by Merlin; known in the English metrical version as "Herodes and Merlin": told by the Empress. f. 90.

Begins:—"Quidam Rex non uidebat extra ciuitatem suam." Ends:—"Inuenitque Rex ut Merlinus dixit. Fecitque Rex incidi caput dictis philosophis septem, et liberatus fuit ab egritudine."

7. (Avis.) The Magpie: told by the Fourth Sage. The Tale itself is lost, only the first lines of the Introduction remaining. f. 90 b.

Begins:—"Veniens autem quartus philosophus dixit ei sicut predicti dixerunt. Dicensque Imperatori tu debes facere de uxore tua sicut fecit quidam sapiens miles de sua." f. 90 b.

8. (Gaza.) The Robber of the King's treasury beheaded by his Son: told by the Empress. Imperfect at the beginning. f. 91.

Begins:—"... et pice, tegitque eam leuiter, ut non posset fouea apparere, posteaque iuit ille largissimus fur cum filio suo, ut solitus erat." Ends:—"dixit filius furis, domini, ecce me, quia ego uolens percutere lignum cum cultello percussi me in cossa et propterea isti plorant. Crelentes autem officiales curie recesserunt."

9. (Inclusa.) The Old Judge deceived by his Wife; otherwise called the Two Dreams, or the Chevalier à la Trappe: told by the Fifth Sage. f. 91 b.

Begins:—"Quidam sapiens iudex habebat quandam pulcerrimam uxorem, quam intime diligebat." Ends:—"Judex autem rediens ad cameram credens dominam inuenire, ab ipsa comperit se deceptum, et nemo est, qui non decipiatur a femina."

10. (Roma.) Stratagem of Varius, sometimes called the Stratagem of Janus: told by the Empress. f. 92 b.

Begins:—"Quidam Rex Paganus obsederat Romam cum magno exercitu paganorum." Ends:—"Pagani autem, credentes eum esse deum Romanorum, ne contra ipsos paganos esset forsitan indignatus, ab obsidione huiusmodi recesserunt."

11. (Vidua.) The Widow comforted: told by the Sixth Sage. f. 93 b.

Begins:—"Quidam miles habebat quandam uxorem pulcerrimam, quan intime diligebat, et cum quadam die simul manducarent, domina uolens panem incidere contingit quod incidit sibi

digitum, ita quod sanguis exiuit." Ends:—"Dixit mulier ei, accipias me in uxorem, certe dixit ille, non faciam, quia tu fecisti hoc de marito tuo quem tantum diligebas, peius de me faceres."

12. (Virgilius.) Magic brazen Image of an Archer in Rome: told by the Empress. f. 94 b.

Begins:—"Rome antiquitus erat quedam statua erea, tenens arcum tensum in manibus, cum sagitta." Ends:—"Surgentes autem illi tres fratres de nocte, speculum subtraxerunt, ipsum ad regem scicilie afferentes. Et sic subtiliter Imperatorem Romanorum deceperunt."

13. (Puteus.) The Husband out of doors, or the Stone in the Well: told by the Seventh Sage. f. 95 b.

Begins:—"Quidam habebat quandam uxorem, que adulterium cum quodam iuuene commitebat." Ends:—"maritumque ceperunt, et ipsum mane fecerunt per ciuitatem undique fustigari."

14. (Vaticinium.) The Ravens: told by the Prince himself. Imperfect. f. 96 b.

Begins:—"Quidam mercator habebat quendam filium ualde sapientem in scientijs et moribus, volens autem mercator cum suis mercimonijs transfretare, duxit secum predictum filium suum. Et cum per mare multo tempore nauigassent, demum ad quandam insulam pervenerunt, ante tamen quam ad insulam applicassent, uenerunt due aues et se in nauis arbore posuerunt et cantabant in hijs. Dixitque . . ." Here there is a leaf lost. The Fragment continues (f. 97):—". . . Et ille iuuenis multa bona contulit quondam domino suo exercitori nauis. Contingit autem quod Rex obijt et iste iuuenis factus est Rex." Ends:—"Dixitque Rex patri suo, quod malum habes tu de honore meo, scias quod ego sum filius tuus, quem in mare proiecisti, ego parco tibi, quia pater meus es, deinde sis dominus mei et meorum bonorum."

No. 15 of the usual Latin version.

The Framework ends thus:—"Mortuo autem Imperatore patre suo, statim fuit in Romanorum Imperatorem subleuatus. Regnauitque diu, propter sapienciam suam. Et philosophis septem, qui eum instruxerunt, contullit multa bona. Deo gracias Amen." f. 97 b.

Colophon:—"Explicit liber de septem philosophis cuiusdam Imperatoris Romani et ipsius scientifici et sapientissimi filij, et

eiusdem Imperatoris nequissime secunde uxoris. Deo Gracias. Amen." f. 97 b.

This version, under the name of "Versio Italica" (Class I. of Gaston Paris), was printed by Adolfo Mussafia (from a Vienna MS.) in his *Beiträge zur Litteratur der Sieben weisen Meister*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Akademie at Vienna, Philos. Hist. Class, vol. lvii. (1868), pp. 92–118.

Additional 27,429.

Vellum; early xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 23. In double columns of 29 lines. With initials in red, and with 14 coloured drawings. Two leaves are lost at the beginning of the MS., two after the first remaining leaf (here numbered f. 2), and single leaves after ff. 3, 18; so that the MS. originally consisted of 29 leaves. At the beginning of the volume (f. 1) there is a modern Italian description of the MS., calling it a "Frammento in pergamena d'un curioso novelliere di 1300;" and at the end (ff. 24 b, 25, 26) there are copies (in a still more modern hand) of the last two pages of the MS. (ff. 22 b, 23).

THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME. Fragment of a translation, made from a French text, belonging to a compound of the two groups A. and L. Imperfect at the beginning, and having gaps in three of the fourteen Tales. *Italian.*

The present MS. formerly belonged to Dr. Henry Wellesley, Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford (died 11 Jan., 1866); and soon after his death it was purchased for the Museum.* Hermann Varnhagen, who printed the text of our MS. (Berlin, 1881), clearly shows in his Preface (pp. vi–viii) that Dr. Wellesley had lent it to Count Alessandro Mortara, at a time when the latter was preparing his catalogue of the Italian portion of the Canonici MSS. at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This Catalogue, completed by Giuseppe Manuzzi, and furnished with a Preface by Dr. Wellesley, was not published till 1864; but Mortara had

* Varnhagen, the editor, says that it was bought at a sale of two days, 12th and 13th of June, 1865; but he has been misled by a wrong entry in a flyleaf of the MS. There were two sales, both by Messrs. Sotheby, of Dr. Wellesley's MSS.; and the present MS. was Lot 133 of the later sale, on the 3rd of August, 1866.

died (at Florence) on 14 June, 1855, leaving his papers to Manuzzi. One of these papers was a copy of the present MS. Manuzzi at one time intended to publish it; but he ended with sending a list of the Tales, and the names of the Sages, to Alessandro d'Ancona, who printed them in the Preface to his edition of the *Sette Savj* (Pisa, 1864), p. xxviii. Varnhagen has thus been enabled to prove that the present MS. was the original of Mortara's copy.

Varnhagen mentions (at p. ix) that there are two or three mistakes in the text, proving that it has been translated from the French. The first mistake occurs in Aper, the Boar (Sanglier) that is tickled to sleep being changed into a Lord ("Sengniore"). The original must have belonged to the French group A., with some of the details in the conclusion derived from group L. It has been abridged; and the sixth Tale, Puteus, has been replaced by Mercator, a Tale not known elsewhere. Mercator tells of a Knight, who kills his friend, a Merchant, in a moment of jealousy. A reviewer in *Romania*, vol. x. (1881), p. 457, justly remarks that this Tale is "sans intérêt (si ce n'est qu'il place la scène à 'Orbuveto' = Orvieto)."

The first leaf, containing a Fragment of the Framework, begins: ". . . . Et quando lomperadore la vide, piacqueli et tolsela per moglie a lusato di roma." f. 2. In the French text of L. this passage is longer (as usual), beginning "Li empereres la vit belle et gente," and ending "et li empereres la prist volentiers, aus us et au coustumes du païs et de la terre" (ed. Leroux de Lincy, p. 6). The first leaf ends: "allora li saui puosero anche mente nela luna et nele stelle et . . . ." (see the printed L., p. 8). f. 2 b. The Tales are as follows:—

1. (Arbor): imperfect, beginning ". . . colo pinello" (printed L., p. 13). f. 3. Ends: "et cosie fue facto suo comandamento" (printed L., p. 14). The Framework then continues, breaking off with "et lo sauio fue ito dinançi a lonperadore et . . . ." (printed L., p. 15). f. 3 b, col. 2.

2. (Canis): imperfect, beginning ". . . . eri anche prese la serpe" (printed L., p. 18). f. 4. Ends: "et la donna ne rimase con grande ira et con grande uerghongnia."

3. (Aper): but with the Boar (as above remarked) changed into a Lord. Begins: "Messere in questa contrada." f. 4 b, col. 2. Ends: "et lasciollo istare."

4. (Medicus.) Begins: "Ipocras fue lo piu sauio medico chessi trouasse." f. 6. Ends: "et pocho istette che ypocrasso morio."

5. (Gaza.) Begins: "In roma fue una uolta uno imperadore." f. 7 b, col. 2. Ends: "e questo fue lo guiderdone chel padre ebbe dal figliuolo." In the above number (5) several lines have been omitted, by accident, after f. 8, col. 2 (ed. Varnhagen, p. 13, note).

6. (Mercator.) Begins: "Messere in toscana ae una terra cae nome orbuueto." f. 9 b, cols. 1–2. Ends: "quanto guadangnio lo chaualiere de rinuntiare de la moglie."

7. (Senescalcus.) Begins: "In puglia si auea uno Re." f. 10 b, col. 2. Ends: "et tutto questo li auenne per lauaritia."

8. (Tentamina.) Begins: "Messere in questa terra fue uno sauio et ricco huomo." f. 11 b, col. 2. Ends: "E la madre disse non ci a mai gastigamento che di uecchio."

9. (Virgilius.) Begins: "In roma si ebbe uno sauio huomo il quale ebbe nome uergilio." f. 14 b, col. 2. Ends: "et cosi morio l'omperadore grasso per uolere oro ed argento."

10. (Avis.) Begins: "In questa terra fue uno riccho borghese chauea uno suo pappagallo." f. 17 b, col. 2. Ends: "et poi la chaccio fuori di casa."

11. The introductory words of the Empress, when about to tell the Tale, Septem Sapientes: "e la donna disse ben lo ui diro dico cosi che se uoi non farete di questi uostri saui si come fece erode de suoi uoi sarete in tutto distructo." f. 18 b, col. 2. The 11th Tale itself is all lost. The next page begins with the sixth Sage's speech, introducing the 12th Tale: ". . . comincio a dire com est cio messere lomperadore." f. 19. This is just about the point where the French group A. begins to differ materially from group L. (Compare the texts printed by Leroux de Lincy, L. at pp. 64–76, and A. at pp. 79–103.)

12. (Vidua.) Begins: "Messere in roma si ebbe uno uisconte." f. 19, col. 2. Ends: "et quando la donna intese questo rimase con grande uerghongnia et con grande dolore." f. 20, col. 2. This leaf (f. 20) has a piece torn off at the bottom, so that 4 or 5 lines are lost in each of the 4 columns (ed. Varnhagen, p. 33 note).

13. (Roma.) Begins: "Una stagione fue che roma auea guerra co saracini." f. 20 b. In consequence of the mutilation

of f. 20 (already noted), the next leaf begins in the middle of a sentence: "saracini et uestisi con due ispade in mano." The Tale ends: "et cosi si fa in cotale die la festa del folle." f. 21, col. 2.

14. (Inclusa.) Begins: "Messere in francia si a vna terra cha nome parigi." f. 21 b. Ends: "et lo conte che tenea serrata sua donna sotto xx chiaui torno a casa et daperse [*for* ed aperse] la torre et non in trouo sua donna."

The Tale told by the Prince himself (Vaticinium), in most copies belonging to the French group A., but not in those of group L., is omitted here. Like the copies of group L. also, the Framework concludes with a single combat. The champion of the Empress is overthrown. She confesses, and is condemned to be burned. The last words are: "Et allora fue iudicata che fosse arsa et cosi fue fatto adesso." f. 23, col. 2. Colophon: "Finito libro referamus gratias Christo amen."

The printed edition bears the following title: *Eine Italienische Prosaversion der Sieben Weisen . nach einer Londoner Handschrift zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Hermann Varnhagen* (Berlin, 1881).

Cotton, Galba E. ix. ff. 25 b–48 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 24. In double columns, of 47 lines. With initials in blue and red.

The whole MS. contains the following poems, all in *English*:—

1. Ywain and Gawain (see *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 392).
2. The present article. f. 25 b.
3. Moral verses, beg. "Al es bot a fantum." f. 48 b.
4. Prophecies of Merlin (see *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 309).
5. Sir Penay. f. 50 b.
6. Two poems on the Rood. f. 51 b.
7. Ballads on Halidon Hill, Bannockburn, etc. f. 52.
8. Gospel of Nicodemus. f. 57 b.
9. Manual of the Seven Deadly Sins, etc. f. 67.
10. Prick of Conscience, by Richard Rolle of Hampole. ff. 76–113.

THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME; here called "the proces of the seuyn sages." Story of the Emperor Diocletian's son, here called Florentine, and his stepmother. A poem of about 4340 lines. *English.*

In this copy the Sages are at first named "Bancillas," "Anxilles," "Lentilioune," "Malquidas" (f. 25 b), "Caton," "Jesse," and "Maxencius" (f. 26). But further on the name of the first Sage is given as "Bawsillas" or "bausillas" (f. 29 b), the third as "Lentiliowne" or "Lentilion" (f. 33 b), and the fifth "Catown" or "Catonn" (f. 38, 38 b).

General Heading:—"Here bigyns the proces of the seuyn sages." f. 25 b.

There are also separate Headings to the Tales, and to their Prologues. Of the latter the first five are headed:—"Here bigins the fyrst proces," "Here bygins the secund proces," and so on (ff. 28 b, 29, 30 b, 31, 32). The sixth is headed:—"Here bigins the vi. prolong" (f. 33), and the others are each in like manner termed "prolong" (ff. 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40 b, 41 b, 42 b, 45 b).

The Framework begins:—

"Lordynges that here likes to dwell
leues ȝoure speche and heres this spell
I sall ȝow tel if I haue tome
of the seuen Sages of Rome
whilom lifed a nobil man
his name was Dyoclician
of Rome and of al the honowre
was he lord and Emperowre
an emperes he had to wyfe
the fayrest lady that bare life
of al gude maners ful auenant
and hir name was dame Milisant
a childe thai had bytwix tham two
the fayrest that on fote myght go
a knaue childe that was tham dere
of him sone sal ȝe selkuths here." f. 25 b.

The lines above, and the rest of the first 134 lines, have been printed by Henry Weber in his *Metrical Romances* (Edinburgh, 1810), vol. iii., pp. 3–8. After the 134th line Weber has employed the Auchinleck MS. down to the middle of the 13th Tale (p. 108), after which he returns to the present MS.

The Tales, 15 in number, are as follows:—

1. (Arbor.) The "pineappel tre" and its "ymp": headed, "Here bygins the first tale of the whyfe." f. 28 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Scho said sir whilum in this town
wond a man of grete renown
he had ordaynd in his palays
a faire gardine the romance sais."

Ends:—"the burias said sen it es ded
lat it noght ocupi this stede
fel it doun or thou do dede
that the ȝong ymp faire may sprede."

2. (Canis): headed, "the secund tale of maister bausillas." f. 29 b.

Begins:—"He said Sir in this same cete
on a day of the trinite
was ordand to be a bowrdice
Of nobil knightes of mekil prise."

Ends:—"thare tholed he mani a sari stownde
for sorow of his gude grehownde
and for the kounsail of his wife
in sorrow thus he led his life."

3. (Aper): headed, "The thrid tale tald the Wyfe." f. 30 b.

Begins:—"Sir a litel here bywest
was sumtime a faire forest."

Ends:—"preuely he drogh his knife
and reft the wilde bare his life
al if he wild and wighter ware
the hirdman thus has slane the bare
he lete him ly and went his way."

4. (Medicus): headed, "the ferth tale sayd mayster Anxilles." f. 31, col. 2.

Begins:—"Syr he said somtym it was
a grete clerk that hight ypocras."

Ends:—"now es nane mai salue my sare
bot if that he now lifand ware."

5. (Gaza): headed, "The fift tale sayd the Wyfe." f. 32 b.

Begins:—"Sho said sir sen this town bigan
here was wonand a nobil man."

Ends:—"the seriantes saw the wound sertain
thai trowed tham wele and turned ogain."

6. (Puteus): headed, "The vi. tale sayd maister Lentilion." f. 33 b.

Begins:—"Sir whilum was in this cuntre
a riche man of gold and fe."

Ends:—"thurgh the toun than was he led
fowl despoyled and al vncled
seyin [sethin?] lathly haue thai led him hame."

7. (Senescalcus): headed, "The . vii . tale sayd the wife." f. 34 b.

Begins:—"Syr sho said this ender ȝere
was a king of grete powere
bath poyle and Calaber land
was halely bowand to his hand."

Ends:—"and seyen [sethin?] he gaf hir with his hand
vntil a baron of his owin land
he wedded hir and was wele payd
this ladi was noght euel bitrayd."

8. (Tentamina): headed, "The . viii . tale said maister malquidas." f. 35 b.

Begins:—"He said sir it was whylum
a riche man of grete wisdom."

Ends:—"tharfore hald thi husband till
and doghter thou sal haue thi will."

9. (Virgilius): headed, "The . ix . tale sayd the wyfe." f. 37.

Begins:—"Syr sho said thare was whilome
a clerk hight virgil here in Rome."

Ends:—"thai said for gold and other mone
ware thai made thral that are warfre
thou sal be fild now or we go
of gold that thou has couayt so."

10. (Avis): headed, "The tend tale sayd mayster Catonn." f. 38 b.

Begins:—"Catonn said sir in this toun
was a burias of grete renown."

Ends:—"sho lered hir lord vnlefeful lawes
to sla his py for hir soth sawes."

11. (Septem Sapientes.) "Herod" and Merlin: headed, "the xi tale sayd the wyfe." f. 39.

Begins:—"Sir whilom was ane Emperoure
that led hys life with grete honoure
herod was the Emperoures name."

Ends:—"Merlyn wasshed his eghen twa
than myght he se to ride and ga
thus had the Emperoure his sight
and the maisters lost thaire myght."

12. (Vidua): headed, "the . xii . tale sayd maister Jesse." f. 40 b.

Begins:—"The maister said bi god of might
in this cuntre wond a knight."

Ends:—"swilk sorow has thou shewed me now
that I sal neuer no wemen trow."

13. (Roma.) Stratagem of "Genus": headed, "the . xiii . tale said the wyfe." f. 42.

Begins:—"This cete sir with owten dout
was sumtyme enseged obout
with seuyn hathen kinges dai and night."

Ends:—"and right so by thaire aller dome
thai made him Emperoure of Rome."

From the middle of this Tale, at the line "with lang noses and mowthes wide" (f. 42, col. 2, line 12), the present text has been printed by Weber, down to the end of the poem, the line just quoted being in his edition l. 2781 (vol. iii., p. 108).

14. (Inclusa): headed, "the . xiiii . said maister maxencius." f. 43.

Begins:—"Lord said the maister this es no ly
in the kingdom of hungery."

Ends:—"to wax wise than he bigan
tharfore blamed him moni a man."

15. (Vaticinium): headed, "The . xv . tale said the childe." f. 46.

Begins:—"Syr he said in this cuntre
wond a man curtays and fre."

Ends:—"his fader and moder thus helpid he."

The Framework ends:—

"the childe lifed with grete honowre
and efter his fader was Emperoure
and led his life with werkes wise
and ended seyn in goddes seruyse
Thusgate endes al this thing
Jhesu grante vs his blyssyng.
Amen." f. 48 b, col. 2.

As stated above, the first 134 lines and the last 1222 lines (beginning in the middle of Tale 13) have been printed by Henry Weber, *Metrical Romances* (Edinburgh, 1810), vol. iii. pp. 3–8, and pp. 108–53. He has used them to supply the beginning and end to the fragmentary version in the Auchinleck MS. The same MSS. had previously been used by George Ellis, in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*: see the edition by J. O. Halliwell (1848), pp. 405–453. The version edited by Thomas Wright for the Percy Society (1846) is taken from a Cambridge MS., differing considerably from the present copy, and probably an independent version, made from the same French original. A French metrical version was edited by H. A. Keller (Tubingen, 1836).

Egerton 1995. ff. 3–54 b.

Paper; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 52, having 34 to 36 lines to a full page. With initials in red.

The whole MS. contains:—

1. The present article. f. 3.
2. The moral lines, "Earth upon Earth," etc. f. 55.
3. Various passages out of Books of Courtesy, and Receipts of all sorts. f. 55 b.
4. The poem of the Siege of Rouen. f. 87.
5. Verses on the Kings of England, from the Conqueror to Henry VI. f. 110.
6. Gregory Skinner's Chronicle of the Mayors of London, ending imperfectly in 1469. ff. 113–222 b.

THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME. Story of Diocletian, Emperor of Rome, and his son Florentine. A poem of about 3600 lines. *English.*

On the margin of the first page of the Poem is the Title:—"This boke ys callyd the vii sages of Rome."; f. 3.

In the present copy the Sages are at first named "Baucillas" (f. 3), "Anxulles," "Lentyllous," "Malquydras" (f. 3 b), "Catonne," "Gesse," and "Maxious" (f. 4). Further on, however, the second Sage is named "Ancilles" (f. 16 b); the third, "lentelloun" (f. 23); the sixth, "Jesse" (f. 40); and the seventh, "Maxencyon" (f. 43 b).

The Framework begins:—

"Herkenythe lordynges curteys and heude
Howe thys gentylle geste shalle ende
Sum tyme there was an Emperoure
That ladde hys lyfe with moche honowre
Hys name was Dioclician
And was a wonder riche man
And was Emperoure of Rome
A nobylle man and a wyse of dome
He hadde an Emporas to wyfe
Men wyste non fayrer on lyue
A sone they hadde hym by twyne
Noo fayrer chylde ne myght bene
But soone aftya thenne
The Emporas dyde and went henne
The chylde wax to vii yere olde
Wyse of speche ande dedys bolde
Florentyne hys name was." f. 3.

The Tales told by the Empress, the Sages, and Florentine, 15 altogether, are as follows:—

1. (Arbor): told by the Empress. f. 10.

Headed:—"He[re] begynnythe the fyrste tale of the Emperasse."

Begins:—

"Thys same tale I telle nowe the,
That the Quene tolde of the Pynnote tre
Sum tyme there dwellyde a burges in thys towne
A reche manne and of grete renowne,
That hadde by sydys hys palys
A ryalle gardyn with many deyntys."

Ends:—

"And thus was felde the Pynnot tre olde
Thoo waxyde the ympe stoute and bolde."

2. (Canis): told by Baucillas. f. 12 b.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of a knyght
That cylde hys grehound with vnryght."

Begins:—"Sir sum tyme in thys cytte
Oppon a day of the Trynyte
There was a nobylle gentylle knyght."

Ends:—"And sofferyde many a bytter stond
Alle for the wronge of hys grehound."

3. (Aper): told by the Empress. f. 15.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of a boore
And of an hyrde that hyrdyd hym soore."

Begins:—"Sir quothe the lady here by weste
Was a fayre thyke foreste."

Ends:—"The herde with hys long knyfe
Benome thys the boorys lyffe
And went forthe and lete hym lye."

4. (Medicus): told by Ancilles. f. 17 b.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of ypocras
That kylde hys sone in a palas."

Begins:—"Sir sayde ancilles to the Emperoure
Ypocras was a clerke of mykylle honoure
Of leche crafte was non hys pere
In noo contrey nothyr farre nethyr nere
With hym he hadde his cosynne
That shulde lerne of hys medycynne."

Ends:—"There ne ys no manne vnder the son
Me to helpe ne non ne con
But my cosyn a lyfe were
Reson ys that I pyne thys here
For I slay my lyuys hele
There fore sorowe I fele."

5. (Gaza): told by the Empress. f. 20 b.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe nowe a tale
Of ii. theuys that the tresoure stale."

Begins:—"Svm tyme was a kyng in thys tovne
A nobylle man of grete renovne."

Ends:—"They say the yong man faste bledyng
They sayde they wette for non othyr thynge
Whenne they sawe hym woundyd soo
They let them ben and forthe gan goo."

6. (Puteus): told by "lentelloun." f. 23 b.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of the wyf
That with her hosbounde began to stryf."

Begins:—"Mayster lentelloun gan telle thanne
Syr sum tyme was a ryche manne."

Ends:—"Thorowe owte the towne he was ladde
Reulyche cryde and loude gradde
And as a thef with muche chaunce
With owte gylte he sufferde penaunce."

7. (Senescalcus): told by the Empress. f. 26.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of the Stywarde
That with the lorde he made a forewarde."

Begins:—"Sir wylle ye lystyin me and hyre
A kyng sum tyme was of grete power."

Ends:—"Syr thys the stywarde lost his wyfe
And fled the londe with moche stryffe
The kyng a ros whenne hym lyste
And kepte the lady with the beste
And hylde hyr ij. yere or iij.
And gafe hyr bothe golde and fe
A baron weddyd hir of hys londe
Sho was not be gylyd I vnderstonde."

8. (Tentamina): told by Malquydras. f. 28 b.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of an olde man
That hadde weddyd a yong woman."

Begins:—"Sir an olde man hit was I wys
That hadde i nowe of worldys blys."

Ends:—"Nowe doughter holde the to thyne hosbonde
For i nowe thou haste thoroughe goddys sonde."

9. (Virgilius): told by the Empress. f. 31 b.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of Crassus the kynge
That louyd tresour more thenne any thynge."

Begins:—"Sir Virgylle was sum tyme a clerke
That couthe moche of Nygremounchys werke."

Ends:—"And sayde Crassus yuylle thowe preue
Thou haste made vs bonde that were a boue
And thys thou haste for thy desteyte
Shalte thou no more golde couyte."

10. (Avis): told by Catoun. f. 35 b.

Begins:—"Sir quod mayster Catoun
There was a burgeys of grete renoun."

Ends:—"A stronge staffe he toke a non
And faste layde hys wyf vppon
And dref hyr from hym a waye
And bade hyr gone a deuyl waye."

11. (Septem Sapientes): told by the Empress. f. 37.

Headed:—"Here begynnythe the tale of a Kyng
That loste hys syght with owte lesyng."

Begins:—"Sir sume tyme in thys toune
Was an Emperoure of grete renoune
Herodes men callyd hys name."

Ends:—"Tho quenchyde the mayster boylyng sone
The Emperoure sawe thys goode resone
Alle the maysters he lete slone
The boylyngys a quenchyd euerychone
Whenne the were dede thys there
The Emperoure myght see bothe fer and nere."

12. (Vidua): told by Jesse. f. 40.

Begins:—"Sir quothe Jesse with owtyn stryffe
Hyt was a knyght hadde a wyfe."

Ends:—"Thou haste me thaught that I neuyr wyste
Shalle I neuyr to womman tryste
For they that make semelaunt fayryste
They wylle be fals aldyr for myste."

13. (Roma.) The Stratagem of "Junyus": told by the Empress. f. 42 b.

Begins:—"Sir she sayde with owtyn doute
Sum tyme were Rome a boute
And seuyn saudans hit be sett
Bothe toune and walle and eke terett."

Ends:—"And thys Junyus in his wyse
Sauyde Rome with hys quentyse
In a monythe that comythe in the yere
That men calle hit Janyuer."

14. (Inclusa): told by Maxencyon. f. 44.

Begins:—"Sir he sayde I wylle not lye
In the kyngdome of houngerye
There was a woundyr doughty knyght
And dremyde a dreme vppon a nyght."

Ends:—"And whenne he was in the toure an hy
Al a boute he caste hys ye
And whanne he sawe not hys lady
He made sorowe i nowe certaynely
He be gan to make revly mon
For sorowe he ne wyste what to done
To be ware to late he be ganne
There fore hym scornyd meny a man."

15. (Vaticinium): told by Florentyne. f. 50.

Begins:—"Sir sum tyme in Rome cytte
Was a man of grete poste
That hadde a sone wyse and bolde
Of xv. wynter he was olde."

Ends:—"Whenne hys fadyr hyrde thys
He was fulle sore a drad I wys
For to haue bene sone a slawe
Or ellys hangyde or drawe."

The Framework ends thus:—

"Nowe haue ye hyrde euery man
Of the Emperoure deoclycyan
And allso of hys fals wyfe
And howe the chylde come owte of stryffe
And of the maysters ye haue hyrde
The wysyste men of alle myddelle hyrthe

Howe they sauyde the chylde so yonge
Thorowe hyr wysdome and hyr connynge
And nowe ben dede the maysters vii.
Jhesus that ys kyng of heuyn
Graunte vs er we hens wende
Houselle and shryfte and goode ende
The blysse of heuyn a boue
Jhesu for hys modyr loue
Amen." ff. 54–54 b.

Colophon:—"Expliciunt septem sapientes."

At the foot of this last page is written:—"Mons dei mons pinguis."

Arundel 140. ff. 152–165 b.

Paper; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 14. In double columns, having 41 to 52 lines to a column.

The MS. contains:—

1. Ypotis, in English verse. f. 1.
2. Sir John Maundeville's Travels. f. 5 b.
3. Hampole's Prick of Conscience. f. 41 b.
4. Fragment of a religious Poem upon "Gy of Werwyke" and "Alquyn the Deken." f. 147.
5. The present article. f. 152.
6. Chaucer's Tale of Melibeus. Imperfect. ff. 166–181 b.

Seven Sages of Rome: a fragment, beginning in the middle of the Introduction to the Fourth Tale, and ending soon after the beginning of the Fifteenth Tale. In verse, about 2700 lines remaining. *English.*

Begins:—

..."Hys comaundement thei dide belyue
Thane wex theire mochel stryue
Betuen Kynge and Baronn
For the Emperour wold scle his sonn
The Emperour hym nold saue
He lete a none to spoile that knaue
And with scourges hys body swynge
To foul dethe thei wold hym brynge
A none after that god it wote
He bade hem to hange hym fote hote." f. 152.

This passage corresponds pretty closely with that in Egerton 1995, f. 16 b. In both these MSS. it is more diffuse than in Cotton, Galba E. ix., f. 31; and there is nothing similar to it at all in Weber, iii. pp. 38, 39, where the Introduction to the 4th Tale is printed (in common with the greater part of the Poem) from the Auchinleck MS. The text of the Tales themselves, however, in the present MS. approaches more to that of Weber than to that of Galba E. ix.; but generally it is still more like that of Egerton 1995.

The first three Tales (as before said) are wanting here.

Nos. 4–15 are as follows:—

4. (Medicus): told by "Maxillas." f. 152.

Begins:—"Syr saide Maxillas per amour
Ipocras was a clerke of grett honnour
Of lech craft was none his pere."

Ends:—"To soffre wo it is skyll
For I sclouȝ my lyuys hele."

5. (Gaza): told by the Empress. f. 153 b.

Begins:—"Syr a kynge was whilome in this toune
A noble man of grete renoun
Wyde spronge his good fame
Octouian was his name."

Ends:—"Thei sawenn all the wonded man
and leued it wele and wente than."

6. (Puteus): told by Lentilion. f. 154 b.

Begins:—"This tale told master lentilion thann
Syr their was whilome a rych mann
That wold spouse no neȝbour's childe."

Ends:—"Als he had done somme myschaunce
With oute gylte tholed penaunce."

7. (Senescalcus): told by the Empress. f. 155 b.

Begins:—"Nowe worth seenn syre here
A kynge was whilome of gret powere
Bothe Poiel and calabre lande
All he held vnder his honde."

Ends:—"And afterwards ȝaf here with rich fe
To a Baronn of his londe
Scho was not be gylyd I vnder[stond]."

8. (Tentamina): told by Malquydras. f. 156 b.

Begins:—"Syr it was an old man and wyse
And had i nouȝe of worldes prys."

Ends:—"Hold the to thyne housbonde
And thou schalt haue all good in londe."

9. (Virgilius): told by the Empress. f. 158.

Begins:—"Syre Virgyll was whilome a clerke
That couthe of nygramancy werke."

Ends:—"Thus Carsus for goldes loue
Hym self made thrall that was aboue
Nowe thou art full make the hate
Nyll thou no more gold couate."

10. (Avis): told by Catoun. f. 159 b.

Begins:—"Syr whylome was wonnyng in this toun
A burgeys of grete renoun."

Ends:—"A staf he toke vpp at his fete
And his wyf sore he bete
He drofe her oute a deuel way
For certayne as I ȝow say."

11. (Septem Sapientes.) "Erodes" and Merlin: told by the Empress. f. 160.

Begins:—"A kynge ther was of gret honour
In this toune an Emperour
Erodes was his name."

Ends:—"A none the water by gane a lythe
The Emperour theireof was ryȝt blythe."

12. (Vidua): told by Jesse. f. 161.

Begins:—"Syre saide Jesse thou mast me leue
It was a knyȝt a rych schereue."

Ends:—"Now thou hast tauȝt me I warann
That I schall neuer leue womann
Theire thei make semland fairest
Thei wyll be gyll theyme aldere fest."

13. (Roma.) The Stratagem of "Julius": told by the Empress. f. 162.

Begins:—"Syr scho said sanns doute
Whylome Rome was all aboute
With . vii . saudayns by set."

Ends:—"A monyth after hym by seynt Rychere
After hym is clepyd Julyere."

14. (Inclusa): told by "Maxioun." f. 163.

Begins:—"Syre I say I nyll not lye
In the kyngdome of hongrye
Whilome theire was a douȝty knyȝt."

Ends:—"Wyse to be late he be gane
Theirfore mysseruyd is many a mane."

15. (Vaticinium): told by the Youth himself. Only 21 lines of this Tale remain here. The 6th line has been omitted by mistake; and the Fragment breaks off at what ought to be the 22nd line. f. 165 b.

Begins:—"Here was a man in this contre
That had a sonne curteys and fre."

Breaks off at the lines:—
"Ryȝt glad thou schalt be for sothe
ȝef I wyll late the withoute othe".....

Additional 18,922. ff. 61 b–146 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 86, having 25 lines to a page. With initials in red and blue.

The whole MS. (all in *Latin*) contains:—

1. Tale of Melibeus, by Albertano of Brescia. f. 2.
2. The present article. f. 61 b.
3. Letter of the Emperor Sigismund to the City of Prague. f. 147.
4. "Ympnus confundens Gregorium, alias Errorium, olym Papam" [deposed 1415]; followed by Moral Sentences, and by two Hymns by Prudentius and Rabanus Maurus. ff. 161 b, 162 b, 172, 175 b.
5. "Epithafium domini Thylemanni Episcopi Simbaliensis / in Legnitz / aput fratres de Carthusio sepulti Anno domini Millesimo cccc° xxv°/xi Kalendas Nouembris." f. 177 b.
6. Moral and religious poems, the longest of which is by Johannes Strelin, Præpositus and Canon of Breslau. f. 178.
7. Short examples of chaste and unchaste Women: in verse and prose. f. 182.
8. "Liber de cura rei familiaris": by Bernardus Sylvester of Chartres. f. 186 b.
9. Moral Sentences in verse, one of them (at f. 191 b) having five lines which are half German; followed by a sentence in prose. ff. 190 b, 193.
10. Fable of the Hawk and the Crow, "protendens detestabilem fore contentionem miseri cum potente": in rhyming hexameters. f. 193 b.
11. "Epistola metrica Magistri Henrici de Hassia" [with the surname of Langenstein], against eating a beaver's tail in Lent. f. 200.
12. Sentences in verse, "presertim de statu clericali." f. 202 b.
13. Amis and Amylion, in Latin prose (see *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 678). f. 204.
14. "Karolina major"; constitution of the Emperor Charles IV. respecting clerical privileges, etc., published by the Council of Constance in 1415. f. 221 b.
15. Two Hymns to the Virgin. f. 229 b.
16. "Disputatio nummi et philosophie": in verse. ff. 239-242.

It will be observed that some of the pieces above are connected with Bohemia and Silesia. It is worth remarking that, out of the five other MSS. known, two are at Prague, and that one of these (like the present MS.) bears the name of "Lucinius" (instead of Dolopathos) in its title.

Dolopathos: here entitled "Lucinius." A version of the Seven Sages, in which the Father, named Dolopathos, is a king of Sicily under the Emperor Augustus; and the Son, Lucinius, is

under the sole tuition of the poet Virgil. Containing only eight Tales, seven of them told by the Seven Sages of Rome, and the eighth by Virgil himself. Composed, towards the end of the 12th century (probably from oral accounts), by Joannes de Alta Silva, *i.e.* of the Cistercian Abbey of Haute-Selve (afterwards Haute-Seille) near Cirey on the Vezouse. With an address to the Trinity as a Prologue. *Latin.*

Dolopathos was known in French verse, by Herbers, a poet at the Court of Philip Augustus (d. 1223), long before it was known to exist in Latin. Anatole de Montaiglon, in his Preface to *Li Romans de Dolopathos* (Paris, 1856), gives an account of the previous information about it, from Claude Fauchet (in 1581) down to Loiseleur-Deslongchamps and Leroux de Lincy, in the *Essai sur les Fables indiennes* (Paris, 1838). Some doubt had been thrown by Loiseleur-Deslongchamps upon the existence, at any time, of any Latin original, closer than the Historia Septem Sapientum, in spite of the words of the French poet: "I. blans moinnes de bonne vie, De Haute-Selve l'abaïe A ceste estoire novellée; Par biau latin l'a ordenée; Herbers la velt en romanz trere." But Montaiglon remarked that these words were fully confirmed by the Dedication of the Latin work to Bertrand, Bp. of Metz (1179–1212), saying "præsens opusculum, de Rege vel Septem sapientibus editum, primitias similiter ingenioli mei, vestræ paternitati transmisi." This Dedication had already been published by Edmond Martène, in his *Veterum scriptorum . . . amplissima collectio*, vol. i. (Paris, 1724), cols. 948–9. Martène gives no further information, except that he printed his text "Ex MS. Aureæ Vallis;" that is, from the Cistercian Abbey of Orval, in the diocese of Trèves. Now, Orval had been sacked by the French in 1793, and all traces of this MS. seemed to be lost. Adolfo Mussafia was the first to inform the public that he had found a Latin version, which he believed to be the original. This was a Viennese MS. He described it in a paper laid before the Academy of Vienna, on 9 Nov., 1864.* At the end of his paper he mentioned, in a note, that he had just seen the title of another MS. at Prague. Three years later (2 Oct., 1867) another paper by Mussafia announced that he had found a third MS., also at

* *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1865), pp. 246–267.

Prague.* Hermann Oesterley found a fourth MS. at Innsbruck. Most of the critics were persuaded that this was the original text, but the fact could not quite be proved. The four MSS. were of the late 15th century; and they did not contain the Dedication, nor yet the "Prefaciuncula," mentioned at the end of the work, and translated by Herbers. At length Oesterley ascertained that the Monks of Orval had escaped in 1793 by an underground passage, and had taken refuge in Luxemburg; and that some of their MSS. were preserved in the Athenæum there. He applied to the Librarian, Dr. Schötter; and, after a search of some months, the Orval MS. was found, with the Dedication and the "Prefaciuncula" complete; and it was edited by Oesterley at Strassburg in 1873. His very brief Introduction mentions a few of the Tales in other collections that correspond with those in Dolopathos.

In the same year (1873) Gaston Paris published a review of the printed edition, including a general discussion upon the work.† He agrees with Comparetti in supposing that the Viziers in the oldest form of Sindibad only told one Tale each, the Queen answering with Tale for Tale. This is the usual Western form; but Syntipas, and some of the Eastern versions (when complete), give two Tales to each Vizier. Now Dolopathos has only one Tale for each of the Sages, and one for Virgil; none for the Queen. Thus the rivalry, one of the chief motives, is lost. The Tales only serve to delay the execution. Gaston Paris conjectures that the Romance had not been written down in any Western language before the time of Joannes de Alta Silva. He supposes that the story-teller who related the Romance to Joannes had forgotten the Queen's Tales altogether, and could only remember three of the others, namely those which are now No. 1 (Canis), No. 2 (Gaza), and No. 8 (Puteus). But the Framework showed that there must have been at least five Tales more. These were supplied by Joannes from other sources; they are now No. 3 (Old Men decreed to be killed), No. 4 (Plot of

* *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (Wien, 1868), p. 37; the extracts from the Latin version, with parallel passages from the French poem and from an old German prose translation, are continued to p. 82. They are followed by an account of the version in "Scala Cœli," and of the "Versio Italica" (pp. 83, 92–118).

† *Romania* (Paris, 1873), pp. 481–503.

Merchant of Venice), No. 5 (Widow and King's Son), No. 6 (Old Robber and his three sons), and No. 7 (Swan-children). The last-mentioned Tale, with its reference to the Knight of the Swan (the mythical ancestor of Godfrey of Bouillon), was a natural insertion to be made by an inhabitant of Lorraine. The poem of Herbers contains a few incidents in two of the Tales, which are wanting in the present Latin text. These two Tales are Gaza and Puteus (the latter of which in the French poem is very clumsily attached to Inclusa). Gaston Paris gives some good grounds for supposing that Joannes himself supplied these in a later Latin text, which lay before Herbers, but which has now perished.

No. 1 (Canis) is the only Tale that is common to Syntipas and to Dolopathos. In the Framework, on the other hand, there is at least one special resemblance between them. Lucinius is not placed under the Seven Sages, as in the other Western versions; but Virgil takes the place of Syntipas.

The Tales are as follows :—

1. (Canis.) Knight and Serpent. f. 96 b.

2. (Gaza.) King's Treasury, and the Thief beheaded by his own Son. f. 100.

3. The Son who hid his Father, in order to evade the royal edict for all Old Men to be killed; and who was himself betrayed by his Wife. f. 106.

A Fabliau upon this subject has been printed in the *Sitzungsberichte*, etc., vol. lxiv. (Wien, 1870), pp. 597–601; and the editor, Adolfo Mussafia, has illustrated the story from many other sources, pp. 602–616.

4. The Lady who eluded many suitors, by placing an enchanted owl's feather under their pillows; and the Youth who won her, after raising money by pledging a hundred marks' weight of his own flesh. f. 111.

The Youth is here saved by his wife, in the same way as in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice.

5. The Widow who received the Slayer of her Son in marriage, according to the judgment of the King; that Slayer being the King's Son. f. 115.

Compared by Oesterley, in the Introduction to his edition (pp. xxi–xxii), with the story of Trajan and the importunate Widow, told by the first biographer of Gregory the Great; and also with many kindred stories.

6. The old Robber, who redeemed the lives of his three Sons by relating to the Queen of the country three feats of his own. f. 117.

(a.) His escape from the giant, "Philomenus" (*i.e.* Polyphemus). f. 119.

(b.) How he hid a Woman's Son from Vampires ("Striges"), and allowed himself to be hacked for food, instead of the Youth. f. 120 b.

(c.) How he himself escaped from the Vampires. f. 125.

A variant of this Tale, entitled "Conall Cra Bhuidhe," is given, in Gaelic and English, by J. F. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. i. (Edinburgh, 1860), pp. 103–124; followed by some other variants, pp. 125–156. These are noted, and compared with the present Tale, by Reinhold Köhler, in Benfey's periodical, *Orient und Occident*, vol. ii. (Göttingen, 1864), pp. 120–123.

7. The Seven Swan-Children. f. 125.

Towards the end is an allusion to the Knight of the Swan, the mythical ancestor of Godfrey of Bouillon: "Hic est cignus ille de quo fama in eternum perseuerat / qui cathena aurea militem in nauiculam traxit armatum." f. 130.

8. (Puteus.) The Philosopher shut out of doors by his Wife; or the stone in the well: the Tale told by Virgil. f. 131 b.

In the French poem by Herbers, this last story (Puteus) is combined with another (Inclusa).

Heading:—"Incipit prologus in tractatum lucinius appellatum."

The Prologue follows:—"Adesto michi lumen verum / deus pater omnipotens / Adesto michi o vera trinitas / pater et filius et spiritus sanctus / vnus deus omnipotens / Illumina sensum meum / et debilis cordis mei intellectum / velatum et cecum / tectumque caligine ignorancie / ut ea que hic inferius scribere per me non visa / sed relacione veridica / organo sensus auris percepta et intellecta / desidero ad aliqualem edificacionem legencium / modicam tamen vtilitatem / sed pocius delectacionem perficere valeam / vt inde laudentur tua mirabilia magna / que solus tu incomparabiliter et incomprehensibiliter perfecisti et ordinasti / benedictus et gloriosus deus in secula seculorum amen." f. 61 b.

The insignificant Prologue, given above, takes the place of the Dedication to Bp. Bertrand of Metz, and of the "Prefaciuncula," which are found in the Luxemburg MS.: see Oesterley's edition (pp. 1–4). Some of the words of this Prologue occur in the last paragraph of the whole work, where the "Prefaciuncula" is mentioned; and it seems probable that some scribe has endeavoured to supply a manifest deficiency.

The Framework then begins: "Cum igitur sub diuino Augusto Romanorum fortuna ytalie finibus suis non contenta / lacius se per quadrifaria mundi climata direxisset / Eorumque jmperio Reges et principes cum totius vrbis latitudine, tam feliciter quam fideliter subiacerent / Fuit Rex quidam ex nobilium troyanorum sanguine diriuatus qui quondam fatali prosagio / et ex rerum futurarum euentibus nomen dolopathos id est dolorem paciens ex greco latinoque sermone compositum sortitus est. Hic itaque Rege patre defuncto Regnum illud diues Sicilie iure hereditario ab Augusto Cesare recipiens adhuc in annis puerilibus cepit illico regni negocia satis pro etate et viribus strennue et fortiter gubernare." f. 61 b. He founds Palermo at f. 68 b.

See Oesterley's edition, p. 4; and p. 11.

The birth of Lucinius is thus narrated: "Jnterim nascitur Regis filius quem ipse a luce lucinium nominauit videlicet eo quod in ortu filij quedam lux serena quedam dies leticie animo patris refulsisset" (ed. Oesterley, p. 12). ff. 69–69 b.

The pupilage of Lucinius under Virgil begins thus: "Florebat per idem tempus ille famosissimus Rome poeta Virgilius qui de mamentinia Sicilie ciuitate oriundus . optime notus erat Regi." f. 70.

When the First Sage intervenes, and is asked by the King who he is, it is said: "At ille ego ait o Rex et gente et ratione romanus sum vnusque de septem sapientibus dicor" (f. 96). Similar words occur at the coming of the Second Sage (f. 99 b). They are omitted in the case of the Third Sage, the whole passage being abridged (f. 106). But they recur again in the cases of the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Sages (ff. 110 b, 115, 117, 125). Similar words occur in all seven cases in Oesterley's edition (pp. 41, 45, 52, 57, 62, 64, 73). Virgil is introduced as follows: "Tunc ecce Virgilius magister super aspidem [*for* alipedem] quasi fulgur per medium populi discurrens superuenit" (ed. Oesterley, p. 80). f. 130 b.

The last paragraph is:—"Hic autem finem mee narracioni imponens lectorem rogo ne incredula me scripsisse contendat / nec me iudicet reprehensibilem quasi eos imitatus sim quorum vicia in libro prefaciuncula scripserim Quia non visa sed audita ad delectacionem legencium et vtilitatem Ceterum autem cogetur nemo munus habere meum Neminem hunc legere compello Verum si quis malicia aut inuidia / magis quam iusto zelo succensus nostra dampnat nec nostram cepit satisfaccionem / Dicat et ipse michi Quomodo aque nyle uerse sunt in sanguinem Dicat eciam et ipse michi / quomodo phitonissa prophetam suscitauit Samuelem / Quomodo autem certe solis filia Vlixem et socios suos in diuersa transmutauit animalia Quod vero factum beatus Augustinus Ysidorusque [*supply* Hyspaliensis testantur]. Et quia hec negare omnino non possunt / nostra quoque ut recipiant necessarium fore fertur et cetera." Colophon: "Explicit tractatus lucinius appellatus." f. 146 b.

First published entire (from the Luxemburg MS.) by H. Oesterley (Strassburg, 1873). Three of the Tales, No. 6 (Old Robber and his three Sons), No. 2 (Gaza), and No. 8 (Puteus), had been previously published by Mussafia, in the *Sitzungsberichte*, etc. (as above, p. 230, note), pp. 39–82.

Royal 10 B. xii. ff. 8–19 b.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 12, in double columns of 40 lines. With initials in blue, and with borders on the first page, in flourishes of red and green.

At the beginning of the volume are six leaves of a 13th-cent. MS., containing a Fragment of a Law treatise, of which one Book (f. 4) is headed "Incipit l[iber] vii. de usufructu," etc.: and at the end are four more leaves of the same MS., of which the first leaf (f. 172) is headed "Incipit l[iber] vi. de rei uendicacione." At f. 7 b is a Table of Contents of the rest of the volume, thus:—"Liber sancti edmundi Regis in quo continentur subscripta; Petrus adelfonsus de disciplina clericali (f. 8); Dicta sancti bernardi (f. 20); Dicta et sentencie diuersorum doctorum (imperf.; f. 44) Maior pars legende auree in qua continentur vite sanctorum Andree. Nicholai. Alexij. Praxedis. Marie Magdalene. Appollinaris. Christine. Jacobi. Christofori. Septem dormiencium. Nazarij. Felicis. Simplicij et faustini. Marthe. Abdon et Sennes. Germani. Eusebij. Machabeorum. Stephani pape. Dominici. Sixti pape. Donati. Ciriaci. Laurencij. Assumpcionis sancte marie. Bernardi. Thimothei. Simphoriani. et Bartholomei" (f. 100). This last article is also imperfect (see the *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Venice, 1483, f. cxl. b, line 26). Under this Table of Contents is the signature of John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

Disciplina Clericalis. A Book of Instruction, in the form of maxims spoken by a dying Arab to his son, illustrated with Proverbs, and with Tales. Written by Petrus Alfunsi, who, as he himself informs us in his Dialogi contra Judæos, was originally a Jew named Moses, but was baptized by Stephen, Bishop of Huesca in Aragon, in July, 1106, his godfather being King Alfonso I. of Aragon, and VII. of Castille and Leon. Imperfect. *Latin.*

In J. Labouderie's edition of the Disciplina Clericalis (Paris, 1824) the author is called "Pierre Alphonse ou d'Alphonse, auparavant Rabbi Moïse Sephardi" (*i.e.* Moses of Spain), but the editor gives no authority for this special designation. Labouderie also says that he was born at Huesca in 1062; but this date seems to have been due to a mistake in the printed edition of the Dialogi, the Preface of which is probably the only real authority for what is known of the author. There is a copy of the Dialogi in Harley 3861, where the passages in question are as follows:—"Cum itaque diuine miserationis instinctu ad tam excelsum

huius fidei gradum peruenissem ⁊ exui pallium falsitatis . et nudatus sum tunica iniquitatis ⁊ et baptizatus in sede oscensis ciuitatis . in nomine patris . et filii . et spiritus sancti . purificatus manibus stephani gloriosi et legitimi eiusdem ciuitatis episcopi. Hora etiam baptismatis preter ea que premissa sunt credidi beatos apostolos . et sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. Hoc autem factum est anno a natiuitate domini M^mo^. C^mo^. VI^sexto^. era M^ma^. C^ma^. XL^ma^. IIII^ta^. mense iulio . die natalis apostolorum petri et pauli" (ff. 1, col. 2–1 b). That is to say, he was baptized in the Octave of Peter and Paul (June 29–July 6), A.D. 1106, and 1144 of the Era of Spain. But the words "era M^ma^. C^ma^." are changed in the printed editions into "ætatis meæ anno." He goes on:— "Vnde michi ob uenerationem et memoriam eiusdem diei et apostolici ⁊ nomen quod est petrus michi imposui. Fuit autem pater meus spiritualis ⁊ ALFVNSVS gloriosus hispanie imperator . qui me de sacro fonte suscepit . quare nomen eius prefato nomini meo apponens ⁊ petrus alfunsi michi nomen inposui" (f. 1 b). Further on, he says that he has put the whole Discourse into the form of a Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, and that to the first of these speakers he has given his own Christian name, and to the other his former Jewish name, the passage being as follows:—"In tutandis etiam christianorum racionibus nomen quod modo christianus habeo ⁊ posui. In racionibus uero aduersarii confutandis nomen quod ante baptismum habueram ⁊ id est moysen" (f. 1 b, col. 2).

It was not until 1109, on the death of Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castille, that Alfonso I. of Aragon took the title of Emperor of Spain, and he renounced his claims on Castille in 1114; so that it was probably between these years that the "Dialogi" was written. There is nothing to show whether it was composed before or after the present Work.

In the present MS. the Tales, which are introduced as Examples of the moral instruction, are not headed or numbered. Some of them indeed can hardly be called distinct Tales; but it seems better to number them separately, for the sake of comparing them with the articles in the French versions. Thus, in this MS. they are 29 in number. There were probably four more when the volume was complete. Labouderie divides them a little differently in his edition (Paris, 1824), making them to be only 30 altogether.

Title (in another hand) :—" Petrus Adelfonsus," and " Incipit prologus in libro petri Amphuli." f. 8. . The Work begins with the following Invocation :—" Dixit Petrus adelfonsus seruus christi ihesu compositor huius libri. Gratias ago deo qui primus est sine principio," etc. f. 8.

The Introduction begins :—" Deus in hoc opusculo mihi sit in auxilium qui me librum hunc componere et in latinum transferre conpulit," and continues :—" fragilem etiam hominis esse consideraui complexionem que ne tedium incurrat quasi prouehendo paucis et paucis instruenda est. Duricie quoque eius recordatus ut facilius retineat . quoddammodo necessario molliendo et dulcificanda est. Quia et obliuiosa est ⁊ multis indiget que oblitorum faciant recordari. Propterea ergo libellum conpegi partim ex prouerbiis et castigacionibus arabicis et fabulis et uersibus et partim ex animalium et uolucrum similitudinibus. Modum tamen consideraui ne si plura necessariis scripserim ⁊ scripta honeri pocius sint lectori quam subsidia . ut legentibus et audientibus sint desiderium et occasio ediscendi. Scientes uero per ea que hic continentur ⁊ oblitorum reminiscantur Huic libello nomen iniungens . et nomen est ex re . id est clericalis disciplina . reddit enim clericum disciplinatum," etc. f. 8.

It ends :—" Nichil enim in humanis inuencionibus perfectum putat philosophus." f. 8.

The Work begins :—" Enoc igitur philosophus qui lingua arabica connominatur edric dixit filio suo. Timor domini sit tua negociacio . et ueniat tibi lucrum sine labore.—Dixit alius philosophus," etc.

Further on, it says :—" Salaan [*in the printed editions* Balaam] qui lingua arabica uocatur lucamam [*supposed to be* Lokman] . dixit filio suo . fili ne sit formica sapientior te . que congregat in estate unde uiuat in hyeme . fili ne sit gallus te uigilantior," etc. f. 8 b.

The Tales are as follows :—

1. The Half-Friend: how a dying Arab instructs his son to try his friends by taking them a slaughtered calf in a sack, and pretending it to be a man; and how none of them will receive him, except his father's half-friend. f. 8 b.

Begins :—" Sed ne uideatur tibi parum . habere inimicum unum . uel nimium . mille habere amicos. Dico enim quia arabs moriturus uocato filio suo dixit." Ends :—" Hic est uere amicus qui te adiuuat cum tibi seculum deficit."

2. The two perfect Friends, one a Merchant of Egypt, the other of Bagdad (Boccaccio's Tito and Gesippo). f. 8 b.

Begins:—"Relatum est mihi de duobus negociatoribus." Ends:—"Sicque recepta repatriauit."

3. The King and the high-born and low-born Poets; with the King's Fable of the Mule who was ashamed of his father the Ass. f. 10.

Begins:—"Arabs. Quidam uersificator prudens et facetus:"

Ends:—"Demus huic de rebus nostris quia non degenerat."

4. The Man who saved the Serpent and was bitten, and the Fox. f. 11.

Begins:—"Transiens quidam per siluam." Ends:—"nonne legisti quod qui pendiculum soluerit super ipsum ruina erit."

5. The Poet who was made King's Porter, and the Hunchback who had to pay him a five-fold toll. f. 11.

Begins:—"Quidam uersificator uersus faciens."

Ends:—"Sic contigit ut qui unum ultro dare noluit. v. inuitus dedit."

6. The Clerk who was seduced by sweet singing into a haunt of Robbers. f. 11.

Begins:—"Dictum est duos clericos." Ends:—"mortis inmerite penas lucratur."

7. Two short Examples, in one Narrative, of the folly of listening to a sweet voice, and of admiring one's own voice. f. 11 b.

Begins:—"Fertur de duobus sociis." Ends:—"digressi sunt inde ambo."

8. The Vinedresser who hurt one eye, and was kissed on the other eye by his Wife, while her Gallant was escaping. f. 11 b.

Begins:—"Perrexit quidam ut uindemiaret uineam." Ends:—"Jam potes si placet ad lectum descendere."

9. The Husband whose mother-in-law kept a sheet held up before him whilst a Gallant stole away behind it. f. 12.

Begins:—"Dictum est de quodam qui peregre proficiscens."

Ends:—"At illa. O fili multa huiusmodi paraui."

10. The Husband whose Mother-in-law persuaded him that a Gallant, whom she had just furnished with a drawn sword, was taking refuge from three pursuers. f. 12.

Begins :—"Relatum est inquit iterum quod quidam proficiscens." Ends :—"circa noctem exire dimisit."

11. The Story-teller who had to send the King to sleep, and told how a countryman began ferrying 2,000 sheep across a river, two at a time. f. 12 b.

Begins :—"Rex quidam suum habuit fabulatorem." Ends :—"et quam incepi fabulam ad finem perducam."

12. The chaste Wife deceived by the old Procuress, who made her little dog cry with mustard and pretended it was her daughter who had been turned into a dog as a punishment for chastity. f. 12 b.

Begins :—"Dictum est quod quidam nobilis progenie haberet uxorem castam nimium." Ends :—"et sic eos associauit."

13. The Husband who shut his Wife out, but hearing her drop a great stone in the well ran to save her, and was himself shut out ("Puteus" in the Seven Sages). f. 13.

Begins :—"Quidam iuuenis fuit." Ends :—"ob uxoris maliloquium in incitatis [*sc.* incastitatis] tulit supplicium."

14. The Egyptian who had a thousand talents committed to his charge by a Spanish Pilgrim to Mecca, and denied the fact, but was beguiled into restoring them for ten treasure-chests, which were filled with stones. f. 13 b.

Begins :—"Dictum fuit michi quod quidam hispanus perrexit mech." Ends :—"Et ita bono ingenio uetule reddita fuit uiro summa pecunie."

15. The Youth who had five full casks and five half-full casks of oil left in his charge by a bad neighbour, and who was accused of having stolen some of the oil, but was saved by the suggestion of a Sage called "auxilium gentium" [*for* egentium], that the dregs of each cask should be measured. f. 14.

Begins :—"Magister. Contigit quod quidam homo habuit filium." Ends :—"Cui philosophus . primum uendas domum quam maneas iuxta malum uicinum."

16. The Poor Man who found a purse adorned with a golden serpent, and was accused of having robbed it of a second golden serpent, but was saved by the counsel of a Sage called "auxilium miserorum." f. 14 b.

Begins :—"Dictum fuit de quodam diuite." Ends :—"Et ita philosophus sensu atque ingenio pauperem liberauit. Rex inde suum reddidit censum diuiti. Diues autem pauperi."

17. Short Examples of the shortest cut being the longest.* f. 15.

Begins:—"Ad hec filius verum est quod dixisti. De magnis uiis. Nam quadam die." Ends:—"Magis ualet longa uia ad paradisum quam breuis ad infernum."

18. The Rustic who got the better of his two Fellow-pilgrims to Mecca, when they had agreed that whoever had the most wonderful dream should eat the whole of the last loaf. f. 15 b.

Begins:—"Dictum fuit de duobus burgensibus et rustico causa oracionis mech adeuntibus." Ends:—"Et surrexi et panem comedi."

19. The King's Cloth-cutter, who ate the honey of his man Nedwy, and was afterwards cudgelled by a stratagem of Nedwy. f. 16.

Begins:—"Narrauit michi magister meus." Ends:—"et utrumque merito penes [*for* penas] suscepisse iudicauerunt."

20. The two Minstrels who dined at a King's table: how one of them put all his bones on the other's plate and accused him of having eaten both portions, and how the other replied that the first one had eaten bones and all. f. 16 b.

Begins:—"Venit quidam ioculator ad regem." Ends:—"quia comedit carnes et ossa."

21. The Rustic who caught the Bird and let him go, and was mocked by the Bird (Lydgate's Chorle and Bird). f. 16 b.

Begins:—"Quidam habuit uirgultum." Ends:—"auis in nemoris auia deuolauit."

22. The Ploughman who cursed his oxen, devoting them to the Wolf: and the Fox who induced the Wolf to jump into a well after the reflection of the moon, which he called a cheese. f. 17.

Begins:—"Dictumque fuit de uno aratore." Ends:—"lupus boues et caseum perdidit."

23. The Thief on the housetop, who was beguiled by a tale

* The didactic clause that precedes this tale (No. 17) begins with the words "Arabs castigauit filium suum" (f. 15, col. 2), and a similar phrase is repeated at the beginning of other clauses (the last instance being at f. 17 b). It is with a translation of this that the French version published in the *Fabliaux* edited by Barbazan (edition of 1808) begins:—"Li peres son fill chastioit": and hence the title of the MS. of Saint-Germain des Prés, No. 1830, namely, "Le chastoiement que li Peres ensaigne à son Fils" (see *Fabliaux*, vol. ii. p. 39).

told by the Master of the house into trying to slide down a moon-beam (Directorium, ch. i. 2). f. 17 b.

Begins:—"Pater . Dictum fuit quod quidam latro." Ends:—"Ad hoc latro . Ego sum ille fur infelix ⁊ qui tuis credidi fallacibus uerbis."

24. The Wise Man Martianus who received a message from a cruel King in some part of Greece, and the Wise Man's prophecy of the King's death, and its fulfilment. f. 18.

Begins:—"Plato retulit in libro de propheciis . quod quidam rex erat in grecia senex gentibus crudelis." Ends:—"qui omnia sicut eis predictum fuerat uera et constituta inuenerunt."

25. The Wise Merchant who would not settle in the country where his brother was Minister, because the public expenses there were as great as the revenues. f. 18.

Begins:—"Dictum namque fuit quod quidam rex." Ends:—"ideo uale quia nolo hic amplius morari."

26. The Angels who were more ready to accept the invitation of Abraham, on account of his being a great personage, than that of Lot. f. 18 b.

Begins:—"Quadam enim die dum coram sua staret ianua." Ends:—"uelud coacti annuerunt."

27. The lazy servant Maimundus, and his excuses for not shutting the door, etc. f. 19.

Begins:—"Dominus suus precepit quadam nocte ut clauderet ianuam." Ends:—"Sed cum inuenisset eum frigidum ⁊ ait. Domine non."

28. The bad news brought by Maimundus to his Master, when the latter was coming home, beginning with the death of the little dog "Pipella," and ending with the death of his master's wife and child, and the burning of the whole house: to which is added the cold comfort given by a friend. f. 19.

Begins:—"Dictum fuit quod dominus de foro ueniebat." Ends:—"vel quis potest in hac uita aliquid durabile ⁊ cum sint omnia transitoria habere ⁊"

29. The habits of "Socrates," when living in a tub, and his cynical sayings. f. 19 b.

Begins:—"Prouerbialiter dicitur socratem deuitantem seculares tumultus." Ends:—"preceptis [*sc.* perceptis] denique philosophi uerbis rex ait conplicibus suis . Seruus dei est . uidete ne quid ei molestum faciatis an inhonestum."

The MS. breaks off imperfectly with three lines:—"Item discipulus magistro. Cum secularia ita sint exilia: cur preparemus tanta quasi durabilia. Magister. Quoniam uite terminus est" . . . To this a later hand has added "incertus." f. 19 b.

In the same later hand, or a similar one, is written at the foot of the page, "deficiunt viii°. capitula parua de isto opusculo. videlicet j. folium et dimidium."

The present MS., though incorrectly written, substantially agrees with the printed editions. The first of these was edited for the Société des Bibliophiles français by J. Labouderie, entitled *Disciplina Clericalis; auctore Petro Alphonsi, Ex-Judæo Hispano. Pars Prima* (Paris, 1824). Part ii. of this edition (published in the same year) contains the French metrical version entitled *Le Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils*, in a fuller form than that edited by Barbazan and Méon. The second printed edition is entitled *Petri Alfonsi Disciplina Clericalis*, edited with historical and bibliographical Introduction and illustrative notes by Fr. Wilh. Val. Schmidt (Berlin, 1827).

Schmidt, in his Introduction (pp. 20–22), gives an account of an early selection from the Fables of Æsop and others, in Latin and German, edited by Heinrich Stainhöwel and printed at Ulm between 1476 and 1480. Schmidt further alludes to the connection between this and Caxton's similar volume, translated from the French. It is uncertain when the French was first published. Caxton's volume was published in 1483. It is entitled *The Book of the subtyl historyes and Fables of Esops.* From f. 120 b to f. 133 b are the "Fables of Alfonce." These are 14 in number (though they are numbered 13, the first being unnumbered), but one (the 13th) is by another writer. They are introduced with a few passages out of the didactic portions of this Work, beginning "Arabe of Lucanye sayd to his sone in this maner." The Tales are—1. The Calf in the Sack.—2. The two Merchants.—3. The Treasure regained by stratagem.—4. The ten Tuns of Oil.—5. The Purse which was found.—6. The Boor and the dreams of the two Citizens, fellow-pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre.—7. The Labourer and the Nightingale.—8. The King's Poet turned Porter, and the Hunchback.—9. The Story-teller who tried to send the King asleep by the tale of the 1000 sheep ferried across a river.—10. The Carter who vowed his oxen to the Wolf, and the Moon, etc.—11. The Gallant with the

drawn sword.—12. The Procuress and the crying Cat.—13. The blind Husband restored to sight under the Pear-tree [not in Petrus Alfunsi, though it is in the metrical Fabulæ of Adolphus (flor. 1315), many of which are taken from Petrus Alfunsi (see Leyser, pp. 2008–10)].—14. Medius the Journeyman Tailor.

Additional 24,641. ff. 211 b–226 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Small Octavo; ff. 16, in double columns, having 34 to 37 lines to a column. With initials in blue, flourished with red. The whole volume contains:—1–18. Eighteen theological and educational Treatises. ff. 2–209 b. 19. Eleven short moralized Tales (described further on, in this Catalogue); followed by the present article. ff. 210–226 b. 20–22. Theological Tracts and Miscellanea. ff. 227–254 b. The volume is in three or four hands; but the MSS. look as if they had always been bound together. There is an enumeration of "custodie" and "loca" of the Franciscan Order, in Europe and Syria, at f. 114 b. A list of contents, in a hand of the early 15th cent., is at f. 1 b.

On an inserted flyleaf at the beginning is a Coat of Arms of the 17th cent., stamped in gold: quarterly, 1. 4, three garbs within a bordure engrailed, 2. 3, three crescents.

Disciplina Clericalis: by Petrus Alfunsi. With some omissions, at the beginning, and in the middle. Containing only 23 Tales. *Latin.*

Begins:—"Balaam qui li[n]gua arabica vocatur licania . dixit filio suo . fili ne sit formica sapientior te." f. 211 b. This answers to Schmidt's edition, § ii. 7 (p. 35). There are other didactic Sentences, without Tales, in the present copy, at ff. 213–213 b, col. 2; 214, col. 2–215; 215 b, col. 2; 223 b; 225, col. 2; and 226.

The Tales are as follows:—

1. The Calf in the sack, or the Half-Friend [Schmidt, ii. 8–iii. 1]. f. 211 b.

2. Two Merchants, of Egypt and of Bagdad [Schmidt, iii. 2–iv. 1]. f. 211 b, col. 2.

3. Anecdotes of Poets, introducing the Fable of the Mule ashamed of his father the Ass. In two paragraphs [Schmidt, v. 1–5]. ff. 213 b, col. 2, 214.

4. Man, ungrateful Serpent, and Fox [Schmidt, vii. 3–4]. f. 215.

5. Poet turned Porter [Schmidt, viii. 1–2]. f. 215.

6. Clerk led astray by a sweet voice [Schmidt, ix. 1–2]. f. 215 b.

7. Vine-dresser kissed on the uninjured eye [Schmidt, x. 6–9]. f. 215 b, col. 2.

8. Mother-in-law and the outspread sheet [Schmidt, xi. 1–5]. f. 216.

9. Mother-in-law's trick, of the Gallant with the drawn sword [Schmidt, xii. 1–6]. f. 216 b.

10. Story of two thousand sheep which had to be ferried across a flood, two at a time [Schmidt, xiii. 1–7]. f. 216 b, col. 2.

11. Procuress with the crying Bitch [Schmidt, xiv. 1–9]. f. 217, col. 2.

12. The stone in the well, and the Husband shut out of doors [Schmidt, xv. 1–12]. f. 218, col. 2.

13. Coffers full of stones committed (at a Nun's advice) to a false Friend [Schmidt, xvi. 1–12]. f. 219, col. 2.

14. The tuns of oil, and the Philosopher called "auxilium egentium" [Schmidt, xvii. 1–13]. f. 219 b, col. 2.

15. Golden snake with jasper eyes, and the Philosopher called "auxilium miserorum" [Schmidt, xviii. 1–9]. f. 220 b.

16. Tales of a short cut proving the longest road; in two paragraphs [Schmidt, xviii. 10–xix. 8]. ff. 221, col. 2, 221 b.

17. Three Dreamers, and their last loaf; in two paragraphs [Schmidt, xix. 9–xx. 12]. ff. 221 b, col. 2, 222.

18. Master-Tailor and his apprentice "Nedni" play tricks on each other [Schmidt, xxi. 1–9]. ff. 222 b.

19. Two rival Jongleurs at a King's table, and the bones left on their plates [Schmidt, xxi. 10–xxii. 18]. f. 223, col. 2.

20. Churl and Bird, with its three sayings [Schmidt, xxiii. 1–6]. f. 223 b, col. 2.

21. Thief who tried to slide down a Moonbeam; in two paragraphs [Schmidt, xxiii. 7–8 (the latter imperfectly); and xxv. 1–7, 12, 13]. f. 224, cols. 1 and 2.

22. Ploughman who threatened his oxen; and Wolf enticed by Fox to jump after a cheese in the well [Schmidt, xxiii. 8–xxiv. 6]. f. 224 b.

23. Socrates in his tub [Schmidt, xxxii. 1–9]. f. 225 b, col. 2.

The present copy of the Disciplina Clericalis ends with the Sayings of Philosophers at the tomb of Alexander the Great; not altogether the same as those in Schmidt, xxxviii. The last saying here is: "Heri habundabat deliciis: Hodie non habet quid comedat." f. 226 b, col. 2.

Harley 3938. ff. 80–107 b.

Paper; xvith cent. Quarto; ff. 28, having 24 or (in one or two instances) 25 lines to a page. Written in Italy.

The contents of the whole volume are:—

1. A series of short Biographies of Greek and Latin Authors, arranged chronologically, down to Priscian, entitled "De uita et moribus Philosophorum." f. 1.
2. The present article. f. 80.
3. Forty-seven Latin verses, mostly elegiacs, but some of them pentameters without any corresponding hexameter: containing detached moral reflections. f. 108 b.
4. A collection of Fables and Tales, by Odo of Ciringtonia and others. f. 109 b.
5. An Index to the Biographies in art. 1. f. 148.

Disciplina Clericalis: by Petrus Alfunsi. *Latin.*

The Tales in the present MS. are (in accordance with the usual reckoning) 33 in number. The first 29 correspond with those in Royal 10 B. xii.; the remaining four complete the series.

The Prologue is headed:—"Dixit Petrus Alfu[n]sus seruus Jesu Christi compositor huius libri." It begins:—"Gratias ago Deo qui primus est sine principio, a quo bonorum omnium est principium." f. 80.

The Introduction begins:—"Deus igitur in hoc opusculo mihi sit auxilium qui me librum hunc componere et in latinum tranferre compulit" (f. 80); and continues:—"propterea ergo libellum compegi partim prouerbijs Philosophorum cum suis castigationibus, partim prouerbijs et castigationibus Arabicis, fabulis et uersibus, partim ex animalium et uolucrum similitudi-

nibus . . . huic libello nomen iniungens, et est nomen ex re, i.[e.] clericalis disciplina." It ends:—"Nihil enim in humanis inuentionibus perfectum putat Philosophus."

The Work begins:—"[E]noch phij[losophus] qui lingua Arabica cognominatur Edrit dixit filio suo . timor domini super negocia tua, et ueniet tibi lucrum sine labore. Dixit alius Philosophus." f. 80 b.

Further on, it says:—"Balaam qui lingua arabica uocatur lucuna [Lokman?] dixit filio suo. Fili ne sit formica sapientior te, quæ congregat in estate, unde uiuat in hijeme. Fili, ne sit Gallus uigilantior te," etc. f. 81.

The first 29 Tales are at ff. 81, 81 b, 84 b, 86, 86 b, 87, 87 b, 88, 88 b, 89, 89 b, 90, 91, 92, 93 b, 94 b, 95 b, 96 b, 97, 98, 99, 99 b, 100, 101, 102, 103, 103 b, 104, 104 b.

The remaining four Tales are as follows:—

30. How the Son of a King's late Councillor spent all his wealth in helping the Poor through a time of famine, and was highly praised and promoted by the King. f. 105 b.

Begins:—"Rex quidam sapientem habuit consiliarium." Ends:—"hoc modo quod preciosius habuit filius consiliarij regis in domo delitiarum thesaurizauit."

31. The Thief caught while hesitating what to steal. f. 106 b.

Begins:—"Domum diuitis fur intrauit . et diuersis eam Gazis plenam inuenit." Ends:—"et quod grauius extitit, ne capite priuaretur precauisset."

32. The greedy Shepherd's dream of sheep-selling. f. 106 b.

Begins:—"Opilio quidam in somnis, mille oues habuit." Ends:—"O amice pro unaquaque oue . mihi denarios uiginti tribue, et quotquot sunt tecum abduces."

33. The Epitaph, in 16 Elegiacs, that was read by a certain Philosopher, when passing through a Cemetery. f. 107.

Begins:—"Dictum est de quodam Philosopho, qui transiens per antiquum cimiterium." Ends:—"factus est heremita Philosophus."

The concluding Remarks and Apophthegms are fewer than in the printed copies. They begin:—"Quesiuit quidam a magistro suo . Magister quid faciam in hoc seculo, quod precedat me in futuro?" End:—"prestante domino nostro Iesu Christo cui est honor, et gloria, cum patre et spiritu sancto per infinita seculorum

secula . Amen." f. 107 b. Colophon:—"Qui scripsit scribat, semper cum domino uiuat.—Explicit . Deo gratias."

On f. 108 are seven Latin verses, two of which ("Munera crede mihi," etc.) are taken from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, iii. 653–4.

The present text of the Disciplina Clericalis has evidently been conjecturally amended by the scribe. It agrees substantially, however, with the printed editions (above, p. 242).

Harley 4388. ff. 99 b–115 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Folio; ff. 17, in double columns of 38 lines. With initials in blue and red.

The contents of the volume are:—

1. Proverbs of Solomon, with Glosses, etc., in *French* verse, by Sanson de Nantuil. f. 1.
2. Le sermun. Guischart de beaulin. f. 87.
3. The present article. f. 99 b.
4. Cato, *i.e.* the Disticha Catonis, Proverbs known by his name, in *French* verse, by Helis de Guincestre. ff. 115 b–119 b.

Le Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils. A metrical version of the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfunsi. Imperfect, eight leaves being lost after f. 110. *French.*

The present MS. must, in all probability, have originally contained 28 Tales, and 3623 lines; but at present it only contains 18 Tales, of which two are imperfect, and 2407 lines. The text follows more closely that printed in the *Fabliaux* of Barbazan and Méon than that in Harley 527 (below, p. 253).

The Poem begins:—

"Li peres sun fiz chastiout
Sen e saueir lui aprenout." f. 99 b.

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. p. 40.

The Tales are as follows:—

1. The Half-Friend. f. 100.

Begins:—"Vn prodome esteit en arabie
Cil out a num lucanaibe.

Il esteit del secle moult sage.
E si esteit de grant eage
Auint si que il en maledi
Murir quidat trestut de fi
A sun fiz ad dunc demande
Quanz amis se aueit purchace."

Ends:—"Ki dunc uus sucurt e uus ualt
Quant li munde del tut uus falt."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 44–51.

2. The two Merchants. f. 101 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"[J]adis esteient diu marcheant
Ki esteient uerai amant."

Ends:—"Le egiptien sen est turne.
A moult grant ioie repaire."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 52–62.

3. Examples of the High-born and Low-born Poets, together with the Fable told by a King of the Mule who was ashamed of his father the Ass. f. 104 b.

Begins:—"Tu as dit ueirs co dit li peres.
Si cum li uersifieres
Kal rei ses uers presentat."

Ends:—"De malueis arbre malueis frut
Tut en riant sen unt deduit."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 68–72.

4. The Man who saved the Serpent. f. 105 b.

Begins:—"Vns heom en un bois entrat
E un serpent i trouat."

Ends:—"Tu ne deis pas desencombrer
Ceolui ki te uolt damanger."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 73–74.

5. The King's Poet turned Porter, and the Hunchback. f. 105 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns uersifiers esteit."

Ends:—"Ke bien batuz e derochez
E cum mastin fud ahuez."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 75–78.

6. The Clerk enticed by sweet singing into a haunt of Robbers. f. 106, col. 2.

Begins:—"Dvi clerc alerent en deduit."

Ends:—"Ki se met entre male gent
Sa mort uait querant ueirement."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 79–80.

7. The Vinedresser with the injured eye. f. 106 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns prozheom co oi ia cunter
Ala sa uigne ueendenger."

Ends:—"Tant le crolla . tant le charmat
Ke li 'lecheres sen alat."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 81–83.

8. The Husband who had the bed-coverlet held up before him. f. 107.

Begins:—"Vns heom dit kil ot en curage
Daler en pelerinage."

Ends:—"Tant lunt deuant lui tendu
Ke li lecheres ert fors eissu."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 83–85.

9. The Gallant furnished with a drawn sword. f. 107, col. 2.

Begins:—"E dit . Dun altre oi cunter
Ki en ureisun uolt aler."

Ends:—"Ensemble burent e mangerent
E la nuit aler le leisserent."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 85–87.

10. The King's Story-teller, who tried to send the King asleep with the story of 200 sheep that had to be ferried, two at a time, across a river. f. 107 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns fableur un rei aueit
A ki deduire se soleit."

Ends:—"Or lessun le berbiz passer
E pus purrun asez cunter."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 89–91.

11. The Chaste Wife deceived by the Procuress with the crying dog. f. 108, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns prozheom co oi ia cunter
Voleit en ureisun aler."

Ends:—"Ne se traueilla pas en uein
Ki de prodefemme fist putain."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 92–98.

12. The Husband shut out. f. 109, col. 2.

Begins:—"De un bachiler oi ia cunter
Ki sa femme uoleit garder."

Ends:—"E cil lunt assez blame
E par paroles chastie."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 99–105.

13. The Spanish Pilgrim to Mecca who regained his treasure. Imperfect. f. 110 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns espaignul co oi cunter
Vers le mehc se uoleit aler."

It breaks off (l. 38):—

"Ke li altre bien le maneca."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 107–108.

Here there is a gap of eight leaves, containing 1216 lines. The text resumes in the middle of a Tale, which must, in all probability, have originally been No. 24.

14. End of the Tale of the Wise Merchant, who would not settle in the country where the King's expenses were as great as his revenues. There are probably 38 lines lost at the beginning. f. 111.

Begins:—"... Cum sun frere i esteit uenu
Kil naueit lung tens ueu."

Ends:—"Le conge prist si sen alad
En sun pais se repairat."

See Barbazan and Méon, pp. 157–159.

The didactic portion of the Poem, which now follows, and which gives instruction how to behave at table, and how to

address great people, contains the passage describing how the three Angels paid respect to Abraham as a man of authority (f. 112).

15. (Originally No. 25?) The shifts of the lazy servant, Maimond, and the Climax of horrors. f. 112, col. 2.

Begins:—"E dist le fiz coueitus sui
Doir akune ren de lui
Moult ert ganglere dist le pere."

Ends:—"Ne sa semence querre pain
Ne traueiller ne ui em uain."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 166–170.

16. (Originally No. 26?) The Sayings of Socrates in his tub. f. 113, col. 2.

Begins:—"Socrates fud riches asez."

Ends:—"Ne faites nule greuance
Ne deus en prenge la uengance."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 171–174.

17. (Originally No. 27?) The Thief who lingered too long. f. 114, col. 2.

Begins:—"Iadis auint si que un larun."

Ends:—"Kar il esteit proue laron."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. p. 176.

18. (Originally No. 28?) The Philosopher and the Epitaph. f. 114 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Dun filosofe oi conter."

Ends:—"Plusurs autres qui ueneient
Asez beaus diz li diseient
Mais ne pot de tuz menbrer
Quanke io ai oi conter."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 179–181.

The Poem concludes with a Philosopher's Address to his Soul, beginning:—

"Vns filosofes amonestout
Salme . e si faitement parlout

La meie alme ne ublie pas
Dunt tu uiues e uiueras."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. p. 181.

The Poem ends:—

"Deus ki fist cel e terre e mer
Sanz ki nul ben pot ester
Nus doinst le regne deseruir
V nuls proz heom ne pot faillir
V tut dis ad ioie e delit
Amen amen dient trestuit
Ici fine le romanz
A sages . e as non sauanz." f. 115 b.

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. p. 183.

The present Copy agrees very closely with that printed in the *Fabliaux et Contes*, collected by Etienne Barbazan and Dominique Martin Méon (4 vols., Paris, 1808). Barbazan had previously edited the work in an independent form, as *Le Castoiement ou Instruction du Père à son Fils* (Paris, 1760): omitting, however, many of the didactic verses, and supplying their places with prose. Méon, in editing a very much augmented edition of Barbazan's *Fabliaux* as above, has included this work in the 2nd volume, pp. 39–183, and has completed the text from the same MS. that had been used by Barbazan, *viz.* No. 1830 of St. Germain des Prés.

The present MS., when complete, must have contained 3623 lines. The printed edition of Barbazan and Méon is a little fuller, containing 3667 lines.

Labouderie's edition (1824) has a different text altogether: see description of Add. 10,289 (ff. 133–172).

Harley 527. ff. 32 b–46 b.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Quarto; ff. 15, in double columns of 37 lines. With initials in green and red: the first initial, however, being omitted. For the rest of the volume, see the description of a copy of the romance of Alexander the Great (abridged from Julius Valerius) in the *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 113.

LE CHASTOIEMENT D'UN PÈRE À SON FILS. A metrical version of the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfunsi. *French.*

The present MS. contains 26 Tales, in 2146 lines.

Begins:—"[L]i pere sun fiz chastiout.
Sen e sauer li enseinout.
Beu fiz dist il a mei entent.
Ne lessez pas coler au uent.
Ceo ke tun pere te dirat.
Si ben le entendes il te uaudrat." f. 32 b.

These introductory didactic verses are shorter than those in Harl. 4388 and in the printed edition of Barbazan and Méon: but they are here increased by lines, which in the other copies, just mentioned, do not occur till after the second Tale.

The Tales are as follows:—

1. The Half-Friend. f. 34, col. 2.

Begins:—"Li pere au fiz ad demaunde
Quaunz amis ad tu purchace."

Ends:—"Dunc lui ad cunu la verite
E si le ad mult mercie."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 44–51.

2. The two Merchants. f. 34 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Dvnc lui dist de deuz marchaunz
Ke entre eus furent vereiz amau[n]z."

Ends:—"Li egiptien sen est turne
A mult grant ioie repeire."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 52–62.

3. The Man who saved the Serpent. f. 36, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn prudume en vn bois entrat
E vn serpent i truuat."

Ends:—"Tu ne deis pas desencumbrer
Celui ke te vout damager."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 73–74.

4. The Clerk turned King's Porter, and the Hunchback. f. 36 b.

Begins:—"Vn clerc au rei ad demaundez."

Ends:—"Et cum vn mastin defolez."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 75–78.

5. The Clerk enticed by sweet singing into a haunt of Robbers. f. 36 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Deus clers alerent en deduit."

Ends:—"Ke il aueit erre folement."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 79–80.

6. The Vinedresser with the injured eye. f. 37, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns prodome oi ia cunter
Ala sa uigne uendenger."

Ends:—"Tant le tint ileuc . tant le charma
Ke li lecheres se en ala."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 81–83.

7. The Husband who had a bed-coverlet held before him. f. 37 b.

Begins:—"Vns hume dist il out en curage."

Ends:—"Taunt le vnt de uaunt li tendu
Ke li lecheres se en est issu."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 83–85.

8. The Gallant furnished with a drawn sword. f. 37 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"De vn autre dist il oi cunter
Ki en oreisuns sen uoleit aler."

Ends:—"Ensemble burent e mangerent
Au seir aler le lesserent."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 85–87.

9. The Gallant hidden under the washing-tub. f. 38.

Begins:—"Li sires en sun bosioin alat."

Ends:—"La cuue en oste . e il sen vet
Des ore en unt il nul pleit."

Almost the same as the independent Tale in Barbazan and Méon, iii. pp. 91–6; though the present copy is, as usual, shorter, and slightly differs from the printed one in the denouement.

10. The Chaste Wife deceived by the Procuress with the blinded daughter (not a crying dog, or cat, as in most of the versions). f. 38 b.

Begins:—"De vn produme oi ia cunter
Voleit en orisuns aler."

Ends:—"Taunt fu la ueille malartuse
Ke puteine fist de bone espuse."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 92–98.

11. The Husband shut out. f. 39, col. 2.

Begins:—"De vn bacheler en oi cunter
Ke sa femme voleit garder."

Ends:—"E cil en fui asseez blame
E par paroles chastie."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 99–105.

12. The Treasure recovered. f. 40, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn espainol co oi cunter
Vers le Mechy sen voleit aler
Kaunt en egypte est venu."

Ends:—"Trestuz sunt dileuc turne
Bien vnt le veilard engine."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 107–112.

13. The ten Tuns of oil. f. 41.

Begins:—"Vn produme iadis esteit
Poure mes bone meisun aueit."

Ends:—"li bacheler ren ne perdi
Mes liez e iouis sen parti."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 113–118.

14. The Purse with the gold serpent. f. 41 b.

Begins:—"Dunc cunte il de vn marchaunt
Ke par la cite vint passaunt."

Ends:—"bien se cuntint au iugement."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 120–124.

15. The Shortest cut the Longest. f. 42, col. 2.

Begins:—"Jadis errouue de vers saunz
En cumpainie de marchaunz."

Ends:—"Li autres sunt trestut muille
Acun y out de tut neie."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 125–126.

16. The Rustic and his two City Fellow-pilgrims. f. 42 b.

Begins:—"Vn vilein co oi cunter ia
A deu burgeis se acumpaina
Au mech se uunt en oreisuns."

Ends:—"Leuoi sus le pain manga
Si ke rien nule ne lessa."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 128–130.

17. The stratagem of Nidui the Journeyman-tailor. f. 42 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn reis dit il iadis esteit
Ke vn bon taillur aueit."

Ends:—"Le despenser e li serianz
Tuz en ristre petiz e granz."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 131–135.

18. The two gluttonous rivals at the King's table. f. 43 b.

Begins:—"Deus lecheurs ensemble asis."

Ends:—"Dunc fu li lecher desingle
E par la sale dehute."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 136–137.

19. The lay of the little Bird. f. 43 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns home en sun gardin entra
Le chant des oiseus mut ama."

Ends:—"Jeo te dis co ke tu as deis garder
Ne pur perte trop doler."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 140–143.

20. The Carter who cursed his oxen, and the Wolf that leapt into a well after the Moon. f. 44.

Begins:—"Curce fu li caruer."

Ends:—"Li gupilz vint sus e hors saillist
E li lou en le puz remist
Par fause promesse ore est decu
E le vn e li autre ad tut perdu."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 144–148.

21. The Thief who tried to slide down a moonbeam. f. 44 b.

Begins:—"Si uus dirai de vne manere
Cum vne fiez auint de vn lere."

Ends:—"Vostre charme me ad si porte
Ke io sui trestut depesce."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 148–152.

22. The wise Merchant who refused to settle in a country where the King's expenses were as great as his revenues. f. 45.

Begins:—"De vn tel rei oi iadis cunter."

Ends:—"Od cel rei plus ne i demora."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 156–159.

The didactic portion of the Poem, which follows this Tale, is here abridged to 10 lines. The passage relating the visit of the three angels to Abraham is omitted.

23. The Servant's bad news, ending in a climax of horrors. f. 45 b.

Begins:—"Vns produme esteit ale
En sun affere . e reuint lee."

Ends:—"Tant cum li plut si le eumes nus
Poustmes est de duner plus."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 167–170.

24. The Sayings of Socrates in his tub. f. 45 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Socrates fu riches assez."

Ends:—"Ne li fetes nule greuance
Kar deus en prendreit greue vengance."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 171–174.

The above is the last remaining Tale in the imperfect Latin copy in Roy. 10 B. xii.

25. The Thief caught while doubting what to steal. f. 46, col. 2.

Begins:—"Jadis dit il fu vn larun
Par nuit entrad vne mesun."

Ends:—"le secle est cum la meisun
V li iur supprist le larun."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 176–177.

26. The Philosopher and the Epitaph, followed by the Epitaph on the Tomb of Alexander the Great. f. 46, col. 2.

Begins:—"Pvr ce fetes en tun endreit
Cum li philosophes feseit."

Ends:—"Eynz li dutout tere e mer
Ore ne li creut vn seul bouer."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 179–181.

The concluding Castigations (moral Instructions) begin:—

"Pur ce beu fiz ne vbliez pas
Dunt tu uenis e v tu iras." f. 46 b, col. 2.

End:—"E si tu es ileukes turne
Tu es a mort en fin iuge."

See Barbazan and Méon, ii. pp. 181–182.

The present text substantially agrees with that published in the *Fabliaux et Contes*, collected by Etienne Barbazan and Dominique Martin Méon (4 vols., Paris, 1808): but it is much abridged, especially in the latter half of it. Of the Tales in the edition of Barbazan and Méon three (Nos. 3, 10, and 23) are omitted here. On the other hand there is one here (No. 9), which is not included in the printed *Castoiement;* but a fuller copy is printed in vol. iii. pp. 91–96 of Barbazan and Méon.

Additional 10,289. ff. 133–172.

Vellum; late XIIIth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 40, in double columns, having 30 to 32 lines to a column. With initials in red and blue. For the rest of the volume (all in *French*), see the description of the Metrical Tale of Juglet, by Colin Malet, in the *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. i. p. 812.

LE CHASTOIEMENT D'UN PÈRE À SON FILS. A metrical version of the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfunsi. *French.*

The present MS. contains 25 Tales, in about 4660 lines. The edition of J. Labouderie (1824) in 4956 lines contains the same version, but includes two Tales (Nos. 25, 26) which are here omitted.

The Translator's Prologue begins:—

"Qui ueut henor en siecle aueir
Premereinement deit saueir
Que ne puet a henor uenir
Qui ne se ueut a bien tenir." f. 133.

After 14 lines there is a space, where two lines have been erased, which are in the printed edition; and after the 56th line 20 lines are omitted (pr. ed., ll. 59–78). The Prologue then continues:—

"Porce que ie uei et sei bien
Que auant sens ne passe rien
Voil pierres aufors translater," etc. f. 133 b.

See Labouderie's edition, p. 4.

It ends:—

"Pierres aufors qui fist le liure
Mostra quil deueit sens escriure
Quer dieu tot auant merci[a]
Quant il son liure comenca
Del bien et de lentendement
Que il a done a sa gent
Apres mostra dom [*for* dont] tracereit
Porquoi et coment le fereit
Puis fist enuers deu soreison

Si comme esteit dreit et reison
Quant il out fine sa preiere
Si comenca en tel maniere."

See Labouderie, p. 5.

The Poem begins:—

"Vn saiues hom iadis estoit
Qui a son filz souen disoit
La crieme dieu . et la iustise
Sei bels filz ta marchaandise
Si saches que por gaagnier
Ne testuet en el trauvellier." f. 133 b, col. 2.

See Labouderie, p. 5.

The Tales are as follows:—

1. The Half-Friend. f. 134 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn saiues hom iadis estoit."

Ends:—"Puis pris congie si sen ala
et a son pere le conta
Filz dist li pere ami nest mie
Qui a ton besoing ne taie."

See Labouderie, pp. 10–14.

2. The two Merchants. f. 135 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Dui marcheant iadis esteient
Qui gramment loing a loi[n]g maneient."

Ends:—"O tot laueir ioios et liez
Est en egypte repairiez."

See Labouderie, pp. 15–25.

3. The Rival Poets and the King, with the Fable of the Mule that was ashamed of his Father the Ass. f. 139.

Begins:—"Vns uersefierres esteit."

Ends:—"Maluais est mes il nen puet mais
Quer sis lignages est maluais."

See Labouderie, pp. 30–34.

4. The Man who saved the Serpent. f. 140, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns homs par vn bois trespassout."

Ends:—"Que bien deit chaer le torment
Sor celui qui pendu despent."

See Labouderie, pp. 36–38.

5. The King's Poet turned Porter, and the Hunchback. f. 141.

Begins:—"Vns miens mestres me recontout
Dun clerc qui bien uersefiout."

Ends:—"Eschaper por vn sol denier
et puis len couint cinc paier."

See Labouderie, pp. 39-41.

6. The Clerk enticed by sweet singing into a haunt of Robbers. f. 141 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn mien mestre soleit conter
Que deus clers por euls deporter."

Ends:—"et par dreit en perdeit la uie
Qui o eus perneit compaignie."

See Labouderie, pp. 42–45.

7. The Vinedresser who hurt one eye, and was kissed by his wife on the other, whilst her Gallant was escaping. f. 142 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vns prodome ert qui aueit prise
Vne de mal engien esprise."

Ends:—"et se uos plest a reposer
Bien poez or au liet aler."

See Labouderie, pp. 47–49.

8. The Husband who had the bed-coverlet held up before him. f. 143, col. 2.

Begins:—"Or roies [*for* Or oies] vne autre cointise."

Ends:—"Le decurent en tel ballie."

See Labouderie, pp. 50–53.

9. The Mother-in-law who put a drawn sword into the Gallant's hand. f. 144.

Begins:—"Vn prodom oi ia parler
Qui balla sa fame a garder
A sa mere tot autresi
Com fist cist donc tu as oi."

Ends:—"Qui bien abriconnez esteit
Quer de rien ne saperceueit.'

See Labouderie, pp. 53–57.

10. The King's Story-teller, and his story of the sheep ferried over a river. f. 145.

Begins:—"Li reis esteit acostumez
De son fableor escouter."

Ends:—"Or va a deu si te repose
Quer outre niront il en pose."

See Labouderie, pp. 58–62.

11. The Chaste Wife deceived by the Procuress with the crying dog. f. 146.

Begins:—"Filz vn prodom iadis esteit."

Ends:—"De celie li balla saisine
Qui de son mal ert medicine."

See Labouderie, pp. 63–77.

12. The Husband shut out. f. 149, col. 2.

Begins:—"Dun dameisel oi parler."

Ends:—"Qui de rien nen fu mescreue
Mais por prodefame tenue."

See Labouderie, pp. 77–86.

13. The Pilgrim who returned from Mecca and regained his treasure. f. 151 b.

Begins:—"Li prodome ert despagne nez
Or et argent aueit assez."

Ends:—"Le diesme au tricheor ballierent
Quer onques puis ni repairerent."

See Labouderie, pp. 88–97.

14. The ten Tuns of oil. f. 153 b.

Begins:—"Filz vn prodom iadis esteit."

Ends:—"Que len la uende tot enfin
Ainz que maigne pres tel veisin."

See Labouderie, pp. 98–107.

15. The Purse with the golden serpent. f. 155 b.

Begins:—"Vns riches huem iadis esteit."

Ends:—"Les besanz que perdu eust
Sanz recourier se il ne fust."

See Labouderie, pp. 108–116.

16. The Shortest cut the Longest road. f. 157 b.

Begins:—"Dist li fiz ce est uerite
Or me sui dun eirre amembre."

Ends:—"Que en enfer par bele et brieue."

See Labouderie, pp. 117–118.

17. The Rustic who won the last loaf from his two City Fellow-pilgrims to Mecca. f. 158.

Begins:—"Li borgeis erent esmeu
Por aler en pelerignage."

Ends:—"Par la crieme que gen aueie
Me hastoue quanque poeie."

See Labouderie, pp. 119–124.

18. The two rival Jongleurs at the King's table. f. 160.

Begins:—"Filz dist li peres or laisson
Dels la parole et del parlon."

Ends:—"et a mal chief en deit venir
Qui se peine dautre honir."

See Labouderie, pp. 126–128.

19. The Churl and the Bird. f. 160 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn paisant iadis esteit
Qui vn bel uergier aueit."

Ends:—"Chantant sentorne sil laissa
Puis nel uit ne donc nel baisa."

See Labouderie, pp. 130–136.

20. The Ploughman who cursed his oxen, and the Wolf that leapt into a well. f. 162, col. 2.

Begins:—"Li uilains ert a sa charrue."

Ends:—"R[enart] sen veit sanz son conuei."

See Labouderie, pp. 136–145.

21. The Thief who tried to slide down a moonbeam. f. 164, col. 2.

Begins:—"Conter oi ia dun larron."

Ends:—"Or sai bien que tot ce diseies
Por mei trair que tu veies."

See Labouderie, pp. 146–150.

22. The Wise Merchant who refused to settle in a country where the King's expenses were as great as his revenues. f. 165 b.

Begins:—"Vn rei aueit vn soen seriant."

Ends:—"Vis mest que trop i ai este."

See Labouderie, pp. 152–155.

In the long didactic portion of the poem that follows No. 22 occurs the passage relating the greater respect shown by the angels to Abraham, on account of his power and wisdom, than that which they showed to Lot (f. 167 b).

See Labouderie, p. 161; and compare the description of the Latin Disciplina Clericalis in Royal 10 B. xii., Tale No. 26, f. 18 b.

23. The shifts of the Lazy Servant, and his news with the climax of horrors. f. 168.

Begins:—"Ce dist li peres ie roi
Dun autre serf tot autresi."

Ends:—"En tel maniere oblieras
Lauersite ou tu seras."

See Labouderie, pp. 163–168. The above Tale answers to Nos. 27–8 of the Latin version in Roy. 10 B. xii. f. 19.

24. The lingering Thief caught. f. 169 b.

Begins:—"Maint a deceu autresi."

Ends:—"Tel com len deit fere a larron."

See Labouderie, p. 170.

After this Tale there are only six lines of the didactic portion of the Poem; and these are followed by the ten lines introducing the concluding Tale. In Labouderie's edition the didactic passages are longer, and there are two Tales (Nos. 25, 26) which are here omitted.

25. The Goodman who gave all to his two Daughters, and was neglected by them, till he persuaded them he had got a chest of money. f. 169 b, col. 2.

Begins:—"Vn boen prodom iadis esteit
Qui deus beles filles aueit"

Ends:—"et se il se sout por chacier
Que deus eust son estoueir
Nus ne len deit maugre saueir."

See Labouderie, pp. 180–191.

The following lines conclude the Poem:—

"Pere le fablel est mout boen
Mout oura cil comme prodoen
Boen est le fablel a oir
Mout se deit qui lot esioir
Grant prou et grant sens i conquert
Tel lorra qui de miez en ert
Trop puet pere amer son effant
Garni se tienge en son viuant." f. 172, col. 2.

See Labouderie, p. 191.

The present MS. agrees very closely with that printed for the Société des Bibliophiles français (Paris, 1824), edited by the Abbé J. Labouderie (see above, p. 242). The printed edition, however, contains (as before remarked) two Tales (Nos. 25, 26), which are not in the present MS.; and it contains altogether about 300 lines more than the MS.

Royal 16 E. viii. ff. 104–130.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Octavo: ff. 27, in double columns of 35 lines. With initials in blue and red, and the first initial in various colours. For the rest of the volume, see the description of a copy of the Chanson of Titus and Vespasian in the *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. i. p. 176.*

Le Chastoiement d'un Père à son Fils. A metrical version of the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfunsi (see description of Roy. 10 B. xii. above, p. 235). *French.*

The present MS. contains 19 Tales, in 3694 lines.

The Poem is headed:—"Ci commence le liure de la prouerbes Peres Anforse." f. 104.

---

* This MS. (Royal 16 E. viii.) is now missing.

The Translator's Prologue begins :—

"Ki uelt henor el siecle auoir
Premierement doit sauoir
Que ne puet a henor uenir
Qui ne se uelt a bien tenir." f. 104.

After 78 lines it continues :—

"Por ce que io uei e sai bien
Que deuant sens ne passe rien
Car qui la si est esposez
De totes les autres bontez
Voil peres anfors translater," etc. f. 104 b.

See Labouderie's edition, p. 4. The two lines which here precede "Voil peres," etc. are, in the printed edition, lines 57–8, and begin :—"Quer qui sens a," etc., p. 3.

It ends :—

"Peres anfors qui fist le liure
Mostra quil deueit sens escriure
Car deu tot auant mercia
Quant il son liure comenca
Del bien e de lentendement
Quil a done a bone gent
Apres mostra dont traitereit
Porquei . et coment le fereit
Puis fist enuers deu soreison
Sicome esteit dreit et raison
E quant il ot fait sa proiere
Si comenca en tele manere." f. 104 b.

The Poem itself begins :—

"Vns saieues hom iadis esteit
Qui a son fiz souent diseit
La creime deu e iustise
Seit biaus fiz ta marchandise
Si saches que por gaagner
Ne testot en el traueiller." f. 104 b.

The Tales are as follows :—

1. The Calf in the sack, or the Half-Friend. f. 105 b.

Begins :—"Vn saiues hoem iadis esteit
Quant il sout que finer deueit."

Ends :—" Mercia le puis sen ala
E a son pere le conta."

See Labouderie, pp. 10–14.

2. The two Merchants. f. 106 b.

Begins :—" Deus marchanz iadis esteient."

Ends :—" Od tot lauer iouis e leez
Est en egipte repairez."

See Labouderie, pp. 15–25.

3. The Highborn and Lowborn Poets, and the King's Fable of the Mule that was ashamed of his Father the Ass. f. 109.

Begins :—" Vns uersifieres esteit."

Ends :—" Malueis est car il nel poet meis
Car sis lignages est malueis."

See Labouderie, pp. 30–34.

4. The Man who saved the Serpent. f. 110 b.

Begins :—" Vns homs par un bois trespassot."

Ends :—" Que ben deit chair le torment
Sor celui que [*for* qui] pendu despent."

See Labouderie, pp. 36–38.

5. The King's Poet turned Porter, and the Hunchback. f. 111.

Begins :—" Vns mens maistres me retontot [*for* recontout]
Dou clerc qui ben versifiout."

Ends :—" Eschaper par un sol dener
E puis len conuint cinc doner."

See Labouderie, pp. 39–41.

6. The Clerk enticed by sweet singing into a haunt of Robbers. f. 111 b.

Begins :—" Vns miens maistres soleit conter
Que dons clers por els desporter."

Ends :—" E par dreit perdront la uie
Qui od els perneut compaignie."

See Labouderie, pp. 42–45.

7. The Husband shut out. f. 112 b.

Begins:—"De un damisels oi parler."

Ends:—"Que de rien ne fu mescruee
Mais por prodefeme tenue."

See Labouderie, pp. 77–86.

8. The Pilgrim who returned from Mecca, and regained his treasure. f. 114 b.

Begins:—"Vn prodome ert despaine nez
Or e argent aueit asez."

Ends:—"Le disme al trichor laisserent
Car onques puis ni repeirent."

See Labouderie, pp. 88–97.

9. The ten Tuns of oil. f. 116.

Begins:—"Fiz un prodome iadis esteit."

Ends:—"Quenz la uendelen tot enfin
Que len maigne apris [*for* pres] tel ueisin."

See Labouderie, pp. 98–107.

10. The Purse with the golden serpent. f. 118.

Begins:—"Vns riches hom esteit iadis."

Ends:—"Ses besanz que perdu eust
Sanz recouerer si il ne fust."

See Labouderie, pp. 108–116.

11. The Shortest Cut the Longest Road. In two Parts. f. 119 b.

Part I. begins:—"Fist li fiz co est uerite
Or me sui dun erre menbre."

Ends:—"Qe ainz minoit i fuissom
Se le grant chemin tenissom."

Part II. begins:—"Filz dist li peres io te di
Qe iadis mauint autresi." f. 120.

Ends:—"Si entrames en la cite
Od le ueillard le e ioiuz
Cil remistrent mat e ploroz."

For Part I. see Labouderie, pp. 117–118. Part II. is not in the printed edition.

12. The Rustic who won the last loaf from his two City Fellow-pilgrims to Mecca. f. 120 b.

Begins :—" Li borgeis se erent esmu
Por aler en pelrinage."

Ends :—" Por la creme que io aueie
Me hastoue quant que poeie."

See Labouderie, pp. 119–124.

13. The two rival Jongleurs at the King's table. f. 122.

Begins :—" Filz co dist li peres or lessom
Cels paroles . e del parlom
Ne seez nient mesfesant
Ne enuios ne mesdisant
Ne ton compaignon ne blamez
Ne de crime ne lacusez
Quil ne ten auenge autresi
Come iadis conter oi
A un iugleor auint."

Ends :—" E a malchef en deit uenir
Qui autre uolt a tort honir."

See Labouderie, pp. 126–128.

14. The Churl and the Bird. f. 122 b.

Begins :—" Vns paisanz iadis esteit
Qui un mult bel uergier aueit."

Ends :—" Chantant senturne e il lessa
Pois nel uit ne donc nel baisa."

See Labouderie, pp. 130–136.

15. The Ploughman who cursed his oxen, and the Wolf that leapt into a well. f. 124.

Begins :—" Li vilains ert a sa charue."

Ends :—" R[einard] senuait sanz son conuoi."

See Labouderie, pp. 136–145.

16. The Thief who tried to slide down a Moonbeam. f. 125 b.

Begins :—" Com il auint ia dun laron."

Ends :—" Ore sai bien que tot co disoies
Por moi trair que tu ueoies."

See Labouderie, pp. 146–150.

17. The Wise Merchant who refused to settle in a country where the King's expenses were as great as his revenues. f. 126 b.

Begins :—" Vn roi auoit un soen sergant."

Ends :—" Vis mest que trop i ai este."

See Labouderie, pp. 152–155.

In the didactic portion of the Poem, which now follows, is the account of the Angels who paid more attention to Abraham than to Lot (f. 128 b).

18. The shifts of the Lazy Servant, and his bad news, with its climax of horrors. f. 128 b.

Begins :—" Co dist li peres io rai oi
Dun altre serf tot altre si."

Ends :—" En tiel manere oblieras
Lauersite u tu serras."

See Labouderie, pp. 163–168.

19. The Thief who lingered too long. f. 130.

Begins :—" Maint ad deceu altresi
Come iadis conter oi
A vn larron ert issi auenv."

Ends :—" Tel com lem deit rendre a laron."

See Labouderie, p. 170.

The MS. concludes with the following 14 lines :—

" Sil se fust dunc porpensez
Que li iorz nert pas adirez
E que guaires ne demoroit
Que laube clere apareroit
Sains e saufs sen poust aler
E si en poust od soi porter
Del mieldre de la maison
Beal filz tot altre si fascom
Car les richesces dicest mond
Tant a els baier nus funt

Que li iors est en obli mis
E il nest ne lenz . ne restis
Einz nus ameine soldeement
La hart al col al iugement." f. 130.

See Labouderie, p. 171.

Colophon:—"Explicit ⁝ Romanus:"

The present text agrees very closely, as far as it goes, with that of the Abbé J. Labouderie (1824); see above, p. 242. The printed edition, however, contains eight Tales (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25, 26, 27) which are omitted here; and it has altogether 4956 lines.

For accounts of the more common French metrical versions, see the descriptions of Harl. 527 (above, p. 253), and Harl. 4388 (above, p. 247), and for an account of the original, the Latin Disciplina Clericalis, see the description of Roy. 10 B. xii. (p. 235).

ÆSOPIC FABLES.

Royal 15 A. vii. ff. 14–25.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Small Quarto: ff. 12, having 30 lines to a page.

The whole MS. contains:—(1) Disticha Catonis, in 4 parts, with the prose Introduction, and glosses. Colophon, "Explicit primus liber de moribus . s . catho." ff. 1 b–7 b. (2) Theoduli Ecloga, a religious poem of the 10th cent., by Theodulus, an Italian residing at Athens (see the edition of T. G. S. Schwabe, Altenburg, 1773), with glosses. Colophon, "Explicit secundus liber de moribus . s . theodolus." ff. 8–13 b. (3) The present Article. Colophon, "Explicit tertius liber. de moribus . s . auianus." ff. 14–25. (4) Maximiani Elegiæ sex. Colophon, "Explicit iiij liber ethicorum . s . maximianus." ff. 25 b–36 b. (5) Achilleis of Statius, in two books. Colophon, "Explicit statius achilleydos. quintus liber." ff. 37 b–56. (6) Claudian, "De raptu Proserpinæ." ff. 56 b–76. (7) Exhortatio ad Peccatores, in 109 lines (Harley 4967, f. 103). In double columns, in a later hand. ff. 76–76 b.

Bound up with this MS. (ff. 77–83 b) is another, of the 14th cent., containing a collection which is connected with the Romulus of Marie de France (below, p. 286).

AVIANUS. Forty-two Fables, twenty-two of which seem to be derived from the existing Greek iambics of Babrius, while the other twenty may not improbably be referred to the iambics of Babrius which are now lost. In elegiac verse. With marginal glosses. *Latin.*

Avianus belongs by his date (about A.D. 400) to the late classical period; but his Fables were so well known throughout the Middle Ages, and so constantly used in the collections here described, that it will be convenient to give a list of them.

This author is sometimes called Flavius Avianus, chiefly, it would appear, on the authority of Gerardus Johannes Vossius: see the remarks of Lucian Müller, *De Phaedri et Aviani fabulis* (Leipzig, 1875), p. 31. There is a Preface, in prose, contained in the best MSS., which mentions the Fables of Babrius, as consisting of two "volumina"; those of Phædrus as being in five

Books; and the author's own, as being confined to forty-two numbers altogether. This Preface is addressed to a learned friend named Theodosius. Some of the MSS. have added "imperatorem," but it is more probable that the name refers to the Grammarian, Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius; see Robinson Ellis, *Avianus* (Oxford, 1887), p. xiv, &c. In the Saturnalia of Macrobius one of the speakers is a youth named "Avienus"; and several of the critics (including Ellis) are inclined to think that this was the author of the Fables, with his name in its proper form.

Ellis professes his own edition of *Avianus* to be a sort of companion volume to W. G. Rutherford's edition of *Babrius* (London, 1883). In his notes to twenty-two of the Fables of Avianus Ellis reprints the corresponding Fables of Babrius; and in his notes to fifteen of the other Fables he reprints fifteen of the paraphrases in Greek prose that are preserved in various collections. To the five remaining Fables he is unable to find any corresponding versions in Greek. For the texts of the Greek prose he relies upon Carl von Halm, *Fabulæ Æsopicæ collectæ* (Leipzig, 1852); upon Edward Böcking, *Dosithei Magistri Interpretamentorum liber tertius* (Bonn, 1832), p. 30; and upon Pius Knöll, *Fabularum Babrianarum Paraphrasis Bodleiana* (Vienna, 1877). The following comparative references are derived from Ellis's notes:—

1. Woman, Child, and Wolf (Bab. xvi.). f. 14.
2. Eagle, and Tortoise who wished to fly (Bab. cxv.). f. 14.
3. Mother-Crab and her Son (Bab. cix.). f. 14 b.
4. Sun, Wind, and Traveller's cloak (Bab. xviii.). f. 14 b.
5. Ass in Lion's skin (Halm 333 b). f. 15.
6. Dr. Frog taunted by Fox (Bab. cxx.). f. 15.
7. Spiteful Dog proud of his bell (Bab. civ.). f. 15 b.
8. Camel praying for Bull's horns (Halm 184). f. 15 b.
9. Two Travellers and Bear (Halm 311). f. 16.
10. Knight's wig in Campus [Martius] (Knöll 141). f. 16.
11. Brass Pot and Clay Pot (Halm 422). f. 16 b.
12. Treasure-Finder ungrateful to Fortune (Halm 101). f. 16 b.
13. Bull denied refuge by Goat (Bab. xci.). f. 17.
14. Ape introducing his son to Jupiter (Bab. lvi.) f. 17.
15. Crane tells Peacock that high flight is better than fine feathers (Bab. lxv.). f. 17 b.
16. Oak and Bulrush (Bab. xxxvi.). f. 17 b.
17. Tiger says his wound is so bad, that he knows it must be caused by a man (Bab. i.). f. 18.
18. Lion and Four Oxen (Bab. xliv.). f. 18 b.
19. Fir-tree and Bramble (Bab. lxiv.). f. 18 b.

20. Fisherman and little Fish (Bab. vi.). f. 19.
21. Mother-Lark warns her brood to fly, when Farmer ceases to wait for his neighbours (Bab. lxxviii.). f. 19 b.
22. Spiteful Man and Covetous Man (om.). f. 19 b. The Covetous Man prays that he may obtain double the favour obtained by the Spiteful Man; the latter then prays that he himself may lose one eye.
23. Dealer, with image of Bacchus (Bab. xxx.). f. 20.
24. Man and Lion, and picture (Halm 63). f. 20.
25. Boy persuades Thief to jump into a well (om.). f. 20 b.
26. Lion and Mountain Goat (Halm 270). f. 20 b.
27. Crow and Jug (Böcking's *Dositheus*, Fab. viii.) f. 21.
28. Bullock with his horn cut kicks the plough (om.) f. 21.
29. Satyr, and Traveller who blows hot and cold (Halm 64). f. 21 b.
30. Boar who lost one ear, soon afterwards the other, and finally his head, for trespassing on a Peasant's corn (om.). f. 21 b.
31. Ox bitten by Mouse (Bab. cxii.). f. 22.
32. Hercules, Rustic, and the Cart-wheel (Bab. xx.). f. 22.
33. Goose with golden eggs (Knöll 112). f. 22 b.
34. Ant and Grasshopper (Bab. cxxxvi.). f. 22 b.
35. Mother-Ape, and her two little ones (Bab. xxxv.). f. 23.
36. Plough-Ox taunted by sacrificial Calf (Bab. xxxvii.). f. 23.
37. Lion and Watchdog: liberty best (Bab. c.). f. 23 b.
38. Freshwater Fish and Seal (om.). f. 24.
39. Soldier and captured Trumpeter (Halm 386). f. 24.
40. Leopard boasts of his spots, as making him superior to the Lion (Knöll 132). f. 24 b.
41. Shower and Amphora (Halm 381). f. 24 b.
42. Kid escapes from Wolf into a town, saying he would rather be sacrificed to the Gods than to a Wolf (Halm 273). f. 25.

These Fables are preceded (at f. 13 b) by an Introduction, which begins: "Iste liber auianus intitulatur et fuit auianus ciuis romanus quem rogauit quidam romanorum nobilis nomine theodosius ut sibi scriberet aliquas fabulas in quibus delectaretur." The rest of this Introduction discusses the nature of Fables and Apologues.

The first Fable begins:—

"Rvstica deflenti paruo iurauerat olim
Ni taceat rapido quod foret esca lupo." f. 14.

The last Fable ends:—

"Sic quociens duplici subeuntur tristia casum
Expedit insignem promeruisse necem." f. 25.

Colophon:—"Explicit tertius liber . de moribus . s. auianus."

Twenty-seven of these Fables (Nos. 1–3, 5–9, 11, 13–15, 17, 18–20, 22, 25–29, 31, 33, 35, 41, 42) were printed at Ulm (probably before 1480) with German prose translations, in Steinhöwel's *Äsop*: see an account of that volume further on (p. 284), under the head of Romulus. The first complete edition of Avianus appeared at Deventer in 1494. The work was often reprinted; amongst others, by Isaac Nicolas Nevelet, *Mythologia Æsopica* (Frankfort, 1610), pp. 453–485, under the title of "Avieni Fabvlæ Æsopicæ." An edition, with very full commentaries, was published by Hendrik Cannegieter, *Flavii Aviani Fabulae* (Amsterdam, 1731); and in chapter ix. of his concluding Dissertation (p. 262, &c.) the editor quotes a passage from Vossius, and gives his own reasons, in favour of the name Flavius. An edition, from the three earliest MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, was published by Wilhelm Fröhner (Leipzig, 1862), followed by the six remaining Fables from the Avianus Novus of Alexander Neckham, and by the abridgments known as "Apologi Aviani." Fröhner's is said to have been the first critical edition: see the remarks of Robinson Ellis in the "Prolegomena" of his edition (Oxford, 1887), p. xi. In the introductory volume prefixed by Joseph Jacobs to his reprint of Caxton's *Esope* (a work derived from the same Latin collection as that in Steinhöwel's *Äsop*), he gives a general "History of the Æsopic Fable" (London, 1889). He shows that some of the Fables of Avianus are of Oriental origin; and he devotes some interesting pages to tracing their connection with the Lybian (*i.e.* Indian) Fables of "Kybises"; and the further connection of these with the Játakas, the birth stories of Buddha (see more especially his pp. 121–130, and p. 153).

Harley 4967. ff. 92–102 b.

Vellum; late xiiith cent. Quarto; ff. 11, having from 29 to 34 lines to a page.

The whole MS., which is bound up with an earlier one (ff. 1–77 b), contains the following articles, all *Latin*, furnished with numerous glosses: (1) Collection of Hymns in verse, imperfect at the beginning. f. 78. (2) The present article. f. 92. (3) Poem on Penitence (published in the 15th and 16th centt. as by Johannes de Garlandia: see *Histoire littéraire*, vol. xxii. pp. 97–8). f. 103. (4) Grammatical poem, with the name of Nicolas of Cambridge (perhaps only as the scribe) appended. f. 104. (5) Moral and religious lines, 110 in number, followed by some grammatical verses, etc. f. 113. (6) Mysteria Ecclesiæ, poem attributed to Joh. de Garlandia (*Hist. litt.*, vols. xxi. p. 371, xxii. p. 96). f. 115. (7) Eclogues of Virgil. f. 126 b. (8) Satires of Persius. f. 139. (9) Verses on deponent verbs, probably by Joh. de Garlandia. f. 149 b. (10) "Parabole philosoffie," or (according to the colophon) "liber parui doctrinalis," beg.: "A phebo phebe lumen capit"; frequently printed, and always as one of the poems of Alain de Lille, but here described in the introductory gloss as "liber magistri godardi de malmebury de corecione humane vite." In about 630 elegiacs, followed by 135 more, upon Jupiter and Juno and other heathen deities; the whole ending with the colophon mentioned above.* f. 151. (11) Cornutus, or the Distiches of Joh. de Garlandia, with full glosses (*Hist. litt.*, vol. xxii. pp. 99–102). f. 161. (12) Poem on the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, etc.; in about 350 hexameters, but apparently incomplete. f. 169. (13) Liber Æquivocorum, beg.: "Augustus-ti-to," by Joh. de Garlandia. f. 174 b. (14) Liber Synonimorum, beg.: "Ad mare ne uidear." Written in another hand. f. 186. (15) Two leaves of verses on Grammar, etc. ff. 192–3.

AVIANUS. Forty-two Fables, in elegiacs. With marginal and interlinear glosses. *Latin.*

The same collection as that in Royal 15 A. vii. (ff. 14–25); except that Nos. 3 and 4 are here placed in reversed order. Robinson Ellis says of the present copy, *Avianus* (1887), p. xli., "I consider it the most interesting of the new MSS. which I have collated."

The first Fable begins: "Rvstica deflenti paruo." f. 92. Colophon: "Explicit liber auiani." f. 102. b.

* Godard of Malmesbury was perhaps a commentator upon the "Parabolæ"; but the poem itself was also attributed to him by Boston of Bury (flourished about 1410): see Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, Int. p. xxxii.

Additional 21,213. ff. 15–17 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Octavo; ff. 3, in double columns of 54 to 56 lines.

The whole MS. is a palimpsest, which originally contained books of the New Testament in *Latin*, written in half-uncial characters of the 8th century. There are now two gaps in the middle (after ff. 9, 17), and leaves are wanting at the end (after f. 35). The whole MS. now contains the following articles, in *Latin* verse: (1) Epigrams based upon sentences of St. Augustine, by Prosper of Aquitaine. f. 2. (2) "Liber de sacraficio altaris," by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. Imperfect at the end. f. 8. (3) "Liber Morum." Imperfect at the beginning, 137 rhyming hexameters being left. f. 10. (4) "Cato antiquus": the Distiches. f. 10 b. (5) "Cato nowus": a version of the Distiches in Leonine hexameters (see the description of another copy, Rawl. 57 at the Bodleian, by Ferdinand Hauthal, *Catonis Disticha*, Berlin, 1870, pp. ix–xi). f. 12. (6) Ecloga Theoduli. f. 13 b. (7) The present article. f. 15. (8) Geta, by Vitalis of Blois. Imperfect at the beginning, only the last 93 lines being left. f. 18. (9) Elegies of Maximianus. f. 18. (10) De raptu Proserpinæ: the poem by Claudian. Left unfinished, ending at Bk. iii. l. 437. f. 21 b. (11) Achilleis: the poem by Statius, in two Books. f. 27. (12) "Homerus": the Latin Iliad, the author of which is often called Pindarus Thebanus. Imperfect, breaking off at l. 787. ff. 32–35 b.

Avianus. Thirty-nine Fables, in elegiacs, with the first three lines of the fortieth Fable. *Latin.*

The same collection as that in Royal 15 A. vii. (ff. 14–25); except that Nos. 4 and 5 are here in reversed order, that No. 40 is imperfect, and that Nos. 41 and 42 are lost altogether. Robinson Ellis says of this MS., *Avianus* (1887), p. xli., that it is "of secondary importance, and often interpolated."

Headed—"Fabule auiani." The first Fable begins:—"Rvstica deflenti paruo." f. 15. The last lines remaining here (from No. 40, the Fable of the vain Leopard) are as follows:—

"Distinctus maculis et pulcro pectore pardus
Inter consimiles ibat et ipse feras.
Sed quia nulla graues uariarent terga leones." f. 17 b, col. 2.

Royal 15 A. xxxi. ff. 28–43.

Vellum; about A.D. 1300. Quarto; ff. 16, having from 15 to 26 lines to a page.

The whole MS. contains the following articles, all in *Latin*, furnished with numerous glosses: (1) Parabolæ, by Alain de Lille (see description of Harley 4967, art. 10, p. 276); with the last 180 lines omitted. f. 10. (2) De scolarium disciplina: only the first page, attributed by the glossator to Boethius, and published under his name by Jac. de Breda (Deventer, 1490), and often afterwards. f. 12 b. (3) Disticha Catonis. f. 13. (4) Eclogæ Theoduli. f. 20 b. (5) The present article. f. 28. (6) Ars lectoria ecclesiæ, or Liber accentuum, by Johannes de Garlandia (see a copy in Add. 15,832, ff. 2–28 b). ff. 43 b–73.

Bound up with a copy of Statutes, and other MSS.

AVIANUS. Thirty-seven Fables, in elegiacs. With marginal and interlinear glosses. *Latin.*

The same collection as that in Royal 15 A. vii. (ff. 14–25); except that five Fables (Nos. 17–21) are here omitted. Robinson Ellis says of the present copy, *Avianus* (1887), p. xli., that it is uninterpolated, and worth consideration.

The first Fable begins:—"Rvstica deflenti paruo," f. 28. The last Fable ends:—"Expedit insignem promeruisse necem." f. 43.

Colophon: "Liber finitur a discretis bene scitur
Et laudes Christi recipiat sedulus isti."

Additional 10,090. ff. 1–8.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 8, in double columns, of about 60 lines.

The whole MS. contains: (1) The present article. f. 1. (2) Achilleis, the poem of Statius. ff. 8–22 b. Both the articles are heavily glossed within the columns; and thus the lines of each column are often more than half occupied with the glosses.

AVIANUS. Forty-one Fables, in elegiacs. With glosses at the beginning of each Fable, and also interlinear glosses. *Latin.*

The same collection as that in Royal 15 A. vii. (ff. 14–25); except that one Fable (No. 27, the Crow with the water-jug) is omitted here (at f. 5 b). Robinson Ellis says of this MS., in the Prolegomena to his edition (1887), p. xli., "interpolated. I only quote it occasionally."

The first Fable begins:—"Rvstica deflenti paruo." f. 1. The last Fable ends:—"Expedit insignem promeruise necem." f. 8.

Colophon: "Explicit auianus. et incipit stacius."

Burney 59. ff. 2 b–7 b.

Vellum; late xth cent. Large Folio; ff. 6, in double columns of 44 to 45 lines. With headings in red.

The whole MS. contains: (1) The present Article. ff. 2 b–7 b. (2) Arithmetical Problems, followed by their Solutions, and headed "Incipivnt Propositiones ad acvendos ivvenes." ff. 7 b–11 b.

ROMULUS. Eighty-three articles, consisting chiefly of Æsopic Fables in prose, derived from the poetical Fables of Phædrus, but having the last article in the form of an Epistle, headed "Magistro Rvfo Aesopvs." Arranged in four Books. With a Prologue, addressed by the nominal author of the collection, in its present form, Romulus, to his son Tyberinus. *Latin.*

The Romulus who gives his name to this collection, and who professes to have translated the Fables himself from the Greek of Æsop, has been called (in some early editions of the Anonymus Neveleti) an Emperor of the Romans; and one or two of the critics have supposed him to have been the Emperor Romulus Augustulus (A.D. 475–6). Hermann Oesterley says that he may possibly have been the "Romulus de via Ardeatina, civis Romanus," who is mentioned by Baronius (*Annal.*, anno 964, xx.), as having subscribed his name to a schismatic document in the year 964: see Oesterley's edition, from the present MS. (the oldest copy known), of *Romulus* (Berlin, 1870), p. xii. But Oesterley introduces his conjecture with the remark that

Romulus was not at all an uncommon name; and he adds that the same may be said of the name Tiberinus.

It is probable that this and similar collections originated in schools. We know that, as early as the first century, masters used to set the new boys to turn the metrical Æsopic Fables into prose; a practice commended by Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria*, lib. i. cap. 9). It is not perhaps without significance that a series of Arithmetical Problems, similar to those in the present volume, occurs in another MS. of about the same age, immediately after another collection of prose Fables from Phædrus, which seems to be quite independent of Romulus: see the description of the Leyden MS., "Vossiani Latini in 8°, 15," given by Léopold Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (2 vols. Paris, 1884). vol. i., pp. 228–242. A portion of the Leyden MS., including the Fables and Problems, was written by Adémar, a monk of Saint Martial of Limoges, who died in 1030. The Fables were pointed out by Jacob Gronovius to his nephew Joh. Fred. Nilant, and were published by the latter as *Fabulæ Antiquæ* (Leyden, 1709). Nilant has added in the same little volume forty-five Fables from an amplified text of Romulus (pp. 65–132); together with fifteen Fables of Romulus from printed sources (pp. 133–144).

The author of Fabulæ Antiquæ (sometimes known as "Anonymus Nilantii") followed Phædrus very closely indeed. Romulus does much the same; but his text is generally more meagre, and his style is ruder. There is a third collection, in five Books, in a Wissembourg MS. (now at Wolfenbüttel), which Hervieux prints (vol. ii. p. 146) under the title of "Phædrianæ Fabulæ," and which he compares with the other two, in his chapter headed "Examen comparatif des trois collections directement dérivées de Phèdre" (vol. i. pp. 297–308). This third collection is evidently derived from an earlier one, which formed the base of Romulus, but which did not yet bear that name. The Prologue in the Wissembourg MS. is an Epistle headed "Magistro Rufo Æsopus salutem"; and further on (Book V. Fab. 8) there is another Epistle, headed "De libris suis Æsopus ad Rufum." Now, the opening words of the first of these Epistles have been prefixed to the body of the other Epistle, in order to form an Epilogue for the present collection.

Romulus usurped the position and the honours of Phædrus

throughout the Middle Ages. At length Pierre Pithou obtained a tenth century MS. of Phædrus, and published it at Troyes in 1596. His edition is substantially the same as the Five Books of Phædrus in the modern editions. Two of the Books are manifestly imperfect, and some of the Prologues and Epilogues are misarranged. The Fables of these five Books are generally reckoned as ninety-three in number, forty-three of which are the originals of Fables in Romulus. At the beginning of the present century it was shown that Nicolò Perotto (Archbishop of Siponto in 1458) had been acquainted with a MS. of Phædrus which, in some respects at least, must have been more perfect; for his commonplace-book contained copies of thirty-two new Fables.* These were published in 1808 and 1811; and more completely, by Cardinal Angelo Mai, in 1832. After some hesitation, the critics have universally admitted the "Fabellæ Novæ" as genuine works of Phædrus, and have placed them in an Appendix. Of these, eight are the originals of Fables in Romulus. Thus, out of the eighty-three articles of Romulus, the originals of fifty-one are known, while those of thirty-two remain still unknown.

In the edition of Phædrus in *Les Fabulistes Latins* (vol. ii. pp. 3–74) Hervieux has taken the Prologue, and a second introductory Poem, and the first five Fables of Book v.; and out of these (numbered as a Prologue and six Fables) he has made a Second Part of Book iv. His divisions of Phædrus altogether are as follows:—Book i. (31 Fables); Book ii. (8 Fables); Book iii. (19 Fables); Book iv. *a.* (25 Fables); Book iv. *b.* (6 Fables); Book v. (5 Fables); Appendix (32 Fables). According to this reckoning there are 126 Fables in Phædrus, of which seventy-five are not to be found in our Romulus; but a few of the latter occur in the other two collections.

To the following list of the Fables in our Romulus we have added notes of the corresponding numbers in Phædrus, adopting the numeration of Hervieux.

---

* Lucian Müller, *Phædrus* (Leipzig, 1877), prints these New Fables in his Appendix (pp. 68–85); but he reckons them only as 31 in number, his No. 4 having the next No. (only consisting of two lines) joined on to it as a Moral.

Bk. i.

1. Cock and Pearl (Ph. iii. 12). f. 2 b.
2. Wolf and Lamb (i. 1). f. 2 b.
3. Mouse, Frog, and Kite. f. 2 b.
4. Dog and Sheep (i. 17). f. 2 b.
5. Dog and his shadow (i. 4). f. 2 b, col. 2.
6. Cow, Goat, and Sheep, associated with Lion (i. 5). f. 2 b, col. 2.
7. The Sun about to marry (i. 6). f. 2 b, col. 2.
8. Wolf and Crane (i. 8). f. 2 b, col. 2.
9. Pregnant Bitch in a borrowed kennel (i. 19). f. 2 b. col. 2.

Bk. i.

10. Man and frozen Serpent (iv.*a*, 19). f. 3.
11. Ass and Wild Boar (i. 29). f. 3.
12. Town Mouse and Country Mouse. f. 3.
13. Eagle and Tortoise (ii. 6). f. 3.
14. Fox and Crow (i. 13). f. 3, col. 2.
15. Ass and dying Lion (i. 21). f. 3, col. 2.
16. Ass and Lapdog. f. 3, col. 2.
17. Lion and Mouse. f. 3. col. 2.
18. Sick Kite, asking his Mother to visit the sacred places for him. f. 3 b.
19. Hemp-sowing and Swallow. f. 3 b.

Bk. ii.

1. King Log and King Stork (i. 2). f. 3 b, col. 2.
2. Hawk chosen king by the Doves (i. 31). f. 3 b, col. 2.
3. Thief and Watchdog (i. 23). f. 3 b, col. 2.
4. Wolf and pregnant Sow (App. 19). f. 3 b, col. 2.
5. Mountain in labour (iv.*a*, 23). f. 3 b, col. 2.
6. Lamb fostered by She-Goat (iii. 15). f. 4.
7. Old Dog and his Master (v. 5). f. 4.
8. Fox and Eagle's nest (i. 28) f. 4.
9. Hares and Frogs. f. 4.
10. Wolf and Kid. f. 4.

Bk. ii.

11. Peasant and Serpent. f. 4.
12. Stag, Sheep, and Wolf (i. 16). f. 4, col. 2.
13. Baldhead and Fly (iv. *b*, 4). f. 4, col. 2.
14. Fox and Stork (i. 26). f. 4, col. 2.
15. Wolf and Tragic Mask (i. 7). f. 4, col. 2.
16. Daw with borrowed feathers (i. 3). f. 4, col. 2.
17. Fly and Mule (iii. 6). f. 4, col. 2.
18. Ant and Fly (iv.*a*, 24). f. 4 b.
19. Wolf and Fox before Judge Ape (i. 10). f. 4 b.
20. Man and Weasel (i. 22). f. 4 b.
21. Frog and Ox (i. 24). f. 4 b.

Bk. iii.

1. Shepherd and Lion: same story as that of Androcles. f. 4 b, col. 2.
2. Horse and Doctor Lion. f. 4 b, col. 2.
3. Proud Horse and Ass. f. 4 b, col. 2.
4. Bat, and war between Birds and Beasts. f. 5.
5. Hawk, and Nightingale with her Nestlings. f. 5.
6. Wolf betrayed by Fox. f. 5.

Bk. iii.

7. Stag at the fountain (i. 12). f. 5, col. 2.
8. Juno and Venus, and the Hen (App. 11). f. 5, col. 2.
9. Widow and Sentinel (App. 15). f. 5, col. 2.
10. Youth and Harlot (App. 29). f. 5 b.
11. Ox and Calf, yoked together (App. 12). f. 5 b.
12. Viper and File (iv.*a*, 8). f. 5 b.

Bk. iii.
13. Truce between Wolves and Sheep, Dogs given as hostages. f. 5 b.
14. Axe granted a handle by Trees. f. 5 b.
15. Wolf and Watchdog (iii. 7). f. 5 b, col. 2.
16. Belly and Members. f. 5 b, col. 2.

Bk. iii.
17. Ape, and Fox's tail (App. 1). f. 5 b, col. 2.
18. Ass killed by beating, and his hide beaten on drums (iv. *a*, 1). f. 6.
19. Stag in Ox's stall (ii. 8). f. 6.
20. Lion and Ape (iv.*a*, 13). f. 6.

Bk. iv.
1. Fox and Grapes (iv.*a*, 3). f. 6, col. 2.
2. Old Weasel and Mice (iv.*a*, 2). f. 6, col. 2.
3. Wolf and Herdsman (App. 28). f. 6, col. 2.
4. Peacock, Nightingale, and Juno (iii. 18). f. 6 b.
5. Panther and Peasants (iii. 2). f. 6 b.
6. Sheep taken, one after another, by Butcher. f. 6 b.
7. Birds warned by Old Birds against Fowler. f. 6 b. col. 2.
8. Liar and Truth-teller, in the land of Apes. f. 6 b, col. 2.
9. Stag, Horse, and Rider (iv. *a*, 4). f. 7.
10. Lion and Ass (i. 11). f. 7.
11. Birds killed by Raven, at his birth-day feast. f. 7.

Bk. iv.
12. Sick Lion and Fox. f. 7.
13. Crow and water-jug. f. 7, col. 2.
14. Boy warned by Scorpion, not to move the stone above him. f. 7, col. 2.
15. Tired Ass visited by Wolf. f. 7, col. 2.
16. Horse flying from Lion, derided by three He-Goats. f. 7, col. 2.
17. Man and Lion, disputing together. f. 7, col. 2.
18. Camel and Flea. f. 7, col. 2.
19. Ant and Grasshopper. f. 7 b.
20. Sword found by a Traveller. f. 7 b.
21. Crow on Sheep's back (App. 26). f. 7 b.
22. Statue of Æsop (ii. Epilogue). f. 7 b.
23. Æsop to Rūfus, with his Book of Fables. f. 7 b.

The whole work is headed "Liber Fabvlarvm Aesopi Primvs incipit." After the rubric "Romulus tyberino filio," the Prologue begins: "De ciuitate attica æsopus quidam homo grecus et ingeniosus famulos suos docet quid homines obseruare debeant." It ends: "Id ego romulus transtuli de greco in latinum. Si autem leges tyberine fili. et pleno animo aduertas. inuenies adposita loca quę tibi multiplicent risum. et acuant satis ingenium." f. 2 b. The last article is headed: "Magistro Rvfo Aesopvs." It begins: "Memoriam tibi tradam karissime Rvfe meam. membranis habeto scriptam." It goes on: "Nam ueteres et paucę olim fuere fabulae. sed ut maius fieret corpus adieci et meas nouas. aperte et breuiter scriptas." It ends: "Per hęc omnia docto atque intelligenti paruus non est labor meus. ut norit quisquis fabularum quur sit inuentum genus. Verum ipsam

uitam hominum et mores ostendens . instruxi legere uolentes." f. 7 b. Colophon: "Explicit Liber Qvartvs Fabvlarvm Aesopi." f. 7 b, col. 2.

The Fables of Romulus, besides being partially copied, and inserted in various collections, and turned into Latin verse (chiefly elegiac), and from the Latin verse into French verse, in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, were given a further circulation, about 1250, by Vincent de Beauvais, who placed 29 of them in his Speculum Historiale (Lib. iii. capp. 2–8). This Speculum was published several times in the 15th century, the first edition being that of Augsburg in 1474. The 29 Fables have been reprinted by Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (1884), vol. ii. pp. 235–245. A complete edition of Romulus was printed more than once, both at Ulm and at Augsburg, about 1480. It appeared in a collection of Latin Fables, in seven Parts, namely: (1) Life of Æsop, by "Rimicius" (*i.e.* Rinuccio of Arezzo); (2) Romulus, in four Books, having a Prologue and 80 Fables, accompanied by the version, in elegiacs, of the Prologue and 58 Fables, which is known as the work of Anonymus Neveleti; (3) Extravagantes, 17 Fables, of uncertain origin; (4) Fables of "Remicius," 17 in number, translated by him from Greek into Latin, and published shortly before 1480; (5) Avianus, 27 of his Fables; (6) Petrus Alfunsi, 15 Tales from him; (7) Facetiæ of Poggio, seven extracts from his book, first published about 1470. The commonest editions of this collection of Fables are those printed by Anton Sorg of Augsburg, in Latin alone; but by far the most important edition is that printed, in Latin and German, by Johann Zainer, of Ulm, and now known as *Steinhöwel's Äsop*. Johann Zainer (or Zeiner) was printing at Ulm in 1473–1484, and the translator, Dr. Heinrich Steinhöwel, was Town-Physician at Ulm, from 1450 till his death in 1482. His translation of Boccaccio's Decameron was reprinted in the Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, No. 51 (1860); and this has an appendix by the editor, Adelbert von Keller, giving an account of Steinhöwel's life and writings (pp. 673–687). In the same Bibliothek, No. 117 (1873), *Steinhöwels Äsop* has also been reprinted, under the care of Hermann Oesterley. The Latin text became known to the rest of Europe in very early days; and it was soon translated into other modern languages. The French translation, by Julien Macho, called in the heading, "reuerend docteur

en theologie frere iulien des augustins de lyon," was entitled, *Les subtilles fables de esope*, and was published (no doubt at Lyons) about 1483. Caxton's translation is headed: "Here begynneth the book of the subtyl historyes and Fables of Esope whiche were translated out of Frensshe in to Englysshe by wylliam Caxton at westmynstre In the yere of oure Lorde . M.CCCC.LXXXiij." The colophon adds: "And fynysshed the xxvi daye of Marche the yere of oure lord MCCCCLXXXiiij." The Extravagantes are reckoned by Caxton as a sort of fifth Book of Romulus, and are headed "Liber quintus." Some of the Fables of this Book are in an abridged form in both translations, but more abridged in the French than in the English; so that Caxton has probably used a French MS. Caxton's *Esope* has been reprinted as No. 4 of the Bibliothèque de Carabas Series, conducted by Andrew Lang (London, 1889), vol. ii.; the first volume being a *History of the Æsopic Fable*, by the editor, Joseph Jacobs. As for the Latin Romulus, it was published, with very numerous additions by Sebastian Brant, at Basle in 1501 and at Leipzig in 1521. After this the Latin book was supplanted by the translations made from it. Its Fables, in modern languages, swarmed everywhere; especially (as Jacobs remarks) in spelling and reading books. But the name of Romulus was almost forgotten. Nilant, indeed, called some attention to it by his edition, from Leyden MSS., of the *Fabulæ Antiquæ*, and of 45 Fables of Romulus (Leyden, 1709). Lessing was the first really great writer who expressed a desire for a new edition of Romulus, based upon the Latin text in Steinhöwel's *Äsop*, and upon the copy, made by Marquard Gude, about 1660, of an ancient Dijon MS.: see his essay, entitled "Romulus und Rimicius," in *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, Erster Beytrag (Brunswick, 1773), p. 43. Lessing died 15 Feb., 1781, without having seen his wish fulfilled. Johann Gottlob Samuel Schwabe had already, indeed, published his first edition of *Phædrus* (Halle, 1779); but it was not till his second edition that he added the Romulus, "ad Codicem Divionensem et perantiquam editionem Ulmensem," with various readings from Nilant's book: see Schwabe's *Phædrus* (Brunswick, 1806), pp. 585–676. He begins his Preface with mentioning the desire expressed by Lessing. Schwabe's edition was reprinted in Lemaire's *Bibliotheca Classica Latina* (Paris, 1826), vol. liii. pp. 415–492. The text of the present MS. was printed by H. Oesterley, with an Appendix of 73

Fables from other sources, in his *Romulus* (Berlin, 1870). Lastly, an edition, from a MS. now at Munich, written at Florence in 1495, has been printed by L. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. ii. pp. 176–230. In his first volume Hervieux has discoursed at length upon the MSS. of Romulus (pp. 286–296), and upon the printed editions (pp. 312–382).

The whole work of Hervieux has been reviewed by Gaston Paris, in two articles in the *Journal des Savants* (Paris), vol. for 1884, pp. 670–686, and vol. for 1885, pp. 37–51. In the vol. for 1884 Gaston Paris deals with Romulus. He prefers to give to the Fabulæ Antiquæ the title of "l'Ésope d'Adémar," and to the Wissembourg text the title of "l'Ésope à Rufus."

Royal 15 A. vii. ff. 77–83 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 7, in double columns of 39 to 41 lines.

Bound up with a 13th century MS., containing poems by Statius, Claudian, and others; one of the articles being the Fables of Avianus (above, p. 272).

Romulus of Marie de France. Fifty-six Æsopic Fables, belonging to a large collection, closely connected with the metrical French Fables of Marie de France. With a Prologue. *Latin.*

At the end of his *Fabulæ Antiquæ* (Leyden, 1709) J. F. Nilant published 45 Fables from a Leyden MS.; and the latter collection commonly goes by the name of "Romulus Nilantii." It has been republished, from an Oxford MS. (51 Fables), with a small insertion added from a Paris MS., by L. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. ii. pp. 329–364. Another collection, in 22 Fables, was published from two Paris MSS. (the only copies known) by A. C. M. Robert, *Fables inédites* (Paris, 1825), vol. ii. pp. 547–562; and it is commonly called "Romulus Roberti." It was republished by Hervieux (vol. ii. pp. 483–497), under the title of "Romulus Mariæ Gallicæ." A third collection (to which the present Fables belong) was first noticed by H. Oesterley, *Romulus* (Berlin, 1870). He found it in a

Göttingen MS., in 134 Fables, and he gave a list of their titles, compared with those of Marie, etc., pp. xxxi–xxxv; but he only published the texts of 41 in his Appendix. The whole collection has been published, from a Brussels MS., in 136 Fables, by Hervieux (vol. ii. pp. 498–583), under the title of "Fabulæ ex Mariæ Gallicæ Romulo et aliis quoque fontibus exortæ." Some difference exists between the critics as to the relations of these three collections to each other and to Marie de France. Gaston Paris, who reviewed Hervieux in the *Journal des Savants* for 1884 (pp. 670–686), and again for 1885 (pp. 37–51), contended that the Anglo-Saxon collection which was translated by Marie de France was itself translated from an enlarged Anglo-Latin Romulus. He held that this latter collection, which is now lost, is partly represented by the Romulus Roberti (cited by him as R*); and partly also by the third collection (cited by him as R**), of which the present copy contains a portion. A somewhat different view is taken by Dr. Edouard Mall, in Gröber's *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, for April, 1885: see vol. ix. (Halle, 1886), pp. 161–203. He believes that the early English work used by Marie was partly translated (about the beginning of the 12th century) from the Romulus Nilantii, but from no other Latin text. The Romulus Roberti and R** (the latter of which he calls LBG)* he believes to have been compiled in the 13th century, partly from Marie herself, and partly from the original Romulus and similar collections. Mall's article is reviewed by Gaston Paris in *Romania*, vol. xv. (1886), p. 629. Paris accepts most of the conclusions of Mall; but he still expresses doubts as to the origin of R* and R**.

One point of the controversy may be specified here, although it is taken from one of the Fables omitted in the present MS.; because Mall regards it as sufficient of itself to prove his case. One of the Fables of Marie (No. 74 of Harley 978, and No. 64 of Roquefort) turns upon a subject closely connected with an Apologue in Kalilah and Dimnah: see the description of John of Capua's Directorium, Cap. v. (5), Mendicant and Mouse-Maiden (above, p. 169). Marie calls the suitor a "mulez que resemble suriz," evidently a field-mouse (now "mulot"). He resolves to

* From the three principal MSS., at London (the present copy), at Brussels, and at Göttingen.

marry the daughter of the most powerful Being in the world. He applies to the Sun, the Cloud, the Wind, and the Stone Wall; but he ends with the daughter of a Mouse. Now, in the Latin version the suitor is called "Mulus." * This, argues Mall (p. 187), is nothing but a stupid translation of Marie's "mulez." But Gaston Paris replies that, though the coincidence is very odd, it is hardly possible that the Latin writer could have represented a Mule as related to a Mouse. Indeed, this writer specifies the relationship more distinctly than Marie. She makes her "mulez" exclaim, "Ja est la suriz ma parente"; whereas the Latin words are, "Satis est hoc, inquit mulus; sed filia ipsius neptis mea est." Gaston Paris suggests one line of escape from the difficulty. The Anglo-Saxon (or rather Early English) original may have had the word "mol." We know that mulus was used (by at least one early writer) in the sense of a mole; for the Glosses of Reichenau have "Talpas: muli qui terram fodunt." † This ingenious suggestion may serve, for the present, to balance the counter-arguments of Dr. Mall.

The Prologue of the present MS. relates that Æsop's Fables were translated by the Emperor Romulus from Greek into Latin, and thence into English by the order of "rex anglie affrus." The latter is the "reis Alurez" of Marie de France, who is said in her Epilogue to have translated them herself "en engleis" (see Harley 978, f. 67 b). Dr. Mall remarks (p. 202) that we may fairly ascribe the English translation to some unknown Alfred, who has been entitled "King" by the scribes before the time of Marie.

The Prologue is as follows:—"Grecia disciplinarum mater et artium inter ceteros quos tulit mundo sapientes . vnum edidit memoria dignum esopum nomine. Erat enim in genere clarus studio sedulus et placidus facundia. Qui inter cetera que scripsit vtilia fabularum exempla moralitatibus plena etiam litteris com-

---

* See No. 114 of the Göttingen MS., printed by Oesterley, as Appendix 61 of his *Romulus* (Berlin, 1870), p. 115; and see No. 116 of the Brussels MS., printed by Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. ii. pp. 571–2.

† See Friedrich Diez, *Altromanische Glossare* (Bonn, 1865), p. 12. Diez dates the "Reichenauer Glossen" as being of the late 8th century (p. 6). He adds a note: "*Talpa* ist das romanische Wort, aber fr. *mulot* (grosse Feldmaus) lässt auf ein mundartliches *mul* zurückschliessen, das sich im ndl. *mol*, engl. *mole* (Maulwurf) wiederfindet" (p. 51).

misit in unum redegit opusculum in quo et paruuli diligenter instruantur et iocundi reddantur adulti liber iste primo grece conscriptus est ab esopo post hec a romulo imperatore. Deinde rex anglie affrus in anglicam linguam eum transferri precepit. Esopus itaque de fabulis agens res inanimatas introducit loquentes. Arbores videlicet et bestias et uolucres et fabulose quedam de eis scribit sed de singulis moraliter concludit." f. 77.

A more complete and more correct copy of this Prologue is published, from the Göttingen MS., cod. theol. 140 fol., by Oesterley, *Romulus*, p. xxxi.; and another, from the Brussels MS. 536, by Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. ii. p. 498..

In the following Table of the Fables the order of those in Marie de France is taken from Harley 978.

1. Cock and gem (M. de France, No. 1). f. 77.
2. Wolf and Lamb (No. 2). f. 77.
3. Mouse and Frog (No. 3). f. 77, col. 2.
4. Dog versus Sheep (No. 4). f. 77 b.
5. Dog and his shadow (No. 5). f. 77 b.
6. Lion's share, with Buffalo and Wolf (No. 11). f. 77 b.
7. Lion's share, with Cow, Goat, and Ram (No. 12). f. 77 b, col. 2.
8. Sun about to marry (No. 6). f. 77 b, col. 2.
9. Wolf and Crane (No. 7). f. 78.
10. Bitch and Pups in a Neighbour's kennel (No. 8). f. 78.
11. Town-Mouse and Country-Mouse (No. 9). f. 78, col. 2.
12. Fox and Eagle's nest (No. 10). f. 78 b.
13. Eagle and Tortoise (No. 13). f. 78 b, col. 2.
14. Fox and Crow (No. 14). f. 79.
15. Sick Wolf and Ass's hoof (No. 15). f. 79.
16. Ass and Lapdog (No. 16). f. 79.
17. Lion and Mouse (No. 17). f. 79, col. 2.
18. Flax-sowing and Swallow (No. 18). f. 79, col. 2.
19. Frogs, King Log, and King Snake (No. 19). f. 79 b.
20. Pigeons and King Falcon (No. 20). f. 79 b, col. 2.
21. Thief and Watchdog (No. 21). f. 79 b, col. 2.
22. Wolf offering to be midwife to Sow (No. 22). f. 80.
23. Lamb fostered by She-Goat (No. 33). f. 80.
24. Hares and Frogs (No. 23). f. 80.
25. Lion and Shepherd: Androcles (Romulus, iii. 1. Not in Marie). f. 80, col. 2.
26. Horse and Doctor Lion (Rom. iii. 2. Not in Marie). f. 80 b.
27. War between Birds and Beasts; the Bat neutral (No. 24). f. 80 b.
28. Stag at Fountain (No. 25). f. 80 b, col. 2.
29. Widow of Ephesus (No. 26). f. 80 b, col. 2.
30. Youth with elderly Mistress (Rom. iii. 10. Not in Marie). f. 81.
31. War between Wolves and Sheep; Dogs sent as hostages (Rom. iii. 13. Not in Marie). f. 81.
32. Trees and handle of axe (No. 50). f. 81, col. 2.
33. Wolf and Watchdog (No. 27). f. 81, col. 2.
34. Belly and Members (No. 28). f. 81 b.

35. Thief pronounced pregnant; birth of Beetle (No. 44). f. 81 b.
36. Husband persuaded that Lover was his own image in a bucket of water (No. 45). f. 81 b, col. 2.
37. Husband induced to swear that his Wife's Lover was a phantom (No. 46). f. 82.
38. Horse-Dealer and Buyer, and one-eyed Arbiter (No. 48). f. 82.
39. Thief's compact with Devil; he is not saved at the gallows (No. 49. Thief and Witch). f. 82, col. 2.
40. Ram called a salmon by Wolf on fast-day (No. 51). f. 82, col. 2.
41. She-Ape gives her favourite child to be embraced by Bear (No. 52). f. 82 b.
42. Treasure-Dragon's compact with Man; Dragon's egg broken (No. 53). f. 82 b.
43. Hermit tests his Servant by mouse under a jar (No. 54). f. 82 b, col. 2.
44. Peasant has his horse stolen, while praying for a second one (No. 55). f. 82 b, col. 2.
45. Man who only prayed for himself and his wife and children (No. 56). f. 82 b, col. 2.
46. Two Townsmen, who go to law about a dead jackdaw (No. 57). f. 83.
47. The Three Wishes (No. 58). f. 83.
48. Fox thinks the image of the moon in the water is a cheese (No. 59). f. 83.
49. Crow on a Ram's back envied by Wolf (No. 60). f. 83.
50. Woman and her scratching Hen (No. 103). f. 83, col. 2.
51. Baldhead and Fly (Rom. ii. 13. Not in Marie). f. 83, col. 2.
52. King Lion and Courtier Ape: bad breath (Rom. iii. 20. Told of King Wolf in Marie, No. 30). f. 83, col. 2.
53. Ox and puffing Frog (Rom. ii. 21. Not in Marie). f. 83, col. 2.
54. Ape and Fox's tail (No. 29). f. 83, col. 2.
55. Fox and grapes (Rom. iv. 1. Not in Marie). f. 83 b.
56. Liar and Truth-teller before the King of Apes (No. 35). f. 83 b.

Out of these 56 articles, it will be seen that 48 correspond to articles in Marie, and the remaining 8 to articles in Romulus. A variation of one of the latter indeed (No. 52) is to be found in Marie; but it is closer to that in Romulus. In the more complete copies of the present collection, out of 134 or 136 articles (Göttingen and Brussels MSS.) 102 correspond with articles in Marie; whilst of the remaining 34 articles, 30 correspond with articles in Romulus, and 4 are from unknown sources. See the comparative Tables in Hervieux, *Fab. Lat.*, vol. i. pp. 611–613; in Oesterley's *Romulus*, pp. xxxi–xxxv.; and in Dr. Mall's article, at pp. 169–172.

The Prologue and the first 49 Fables of this copy substantially agree with those in the Brussels MS. (printed by Hervieux, vol. ii. pp. 498–533); but the 7 remaining Fables only agree in subject with Nos. 133, 92, 77, 96, 76, 102, and 82, of the Brussels MS., and they are evidently derived from the 2nd, 3rd and 4th books of the ordinary Romulus, taken in the following

order:—iii. 8, ii. 13, iii. 20, ii. 21, iii. 17, iv. 1, iv. 8. These 7 Fables have been printed from the present MS. by Hervieux, vol. ii. pp. 583–585.

Harley 978. ff. 40–67 b.

Vellum; late XIIIth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 28, in double columns of 35 lines. With initials in blue and red. For the contents of the volume see the description of the Lays of Marie de France, *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 407.

FABLES OF MARIE DE FRANCE. Octosyllabic poems, consisting of Æsopic Fables mixed with a few didactic Tales, amounting to 103 numbers altogether; translated from English by Marie de France, at the desire of the "cunte Willame." With a Prologue of 40 lines, and an Epilogue of 22 lines. *French.*

In the first volume of the present *Catalogue* (1883), at pp. 408–415, we described the 12 Lays contained in the present MS. (ff. 118–160). We spoke of them then as having been written, probably for Henry III., about 1250; and we were inclined to accept the assertion made in the Couronnemens Renart (ll. 3360–3363) that Marie's other patron "cunte Willame" was the Count of Flanders, Guillaume de Dampierre II. (1244–1251). We did not mention, however, that among the critics who contested this date and this dedication, the most important was Gaston Paris. In 1879 he published five Lays in *Romania*, vol. viii. (pp. 29–72), three of which he was inclined to attribute to Marie.* He says in his introductory remarks that, when Marie speaks of "le cumte Willaume, Le plus vaillant de cest roiaume," she could not be referring to the Count of Flanders. "Marie (he says) a certainement écrit *l'Isopet* en Angleterre, et

* Tydorel, Guingamor, and Tyolet. Gaston Paris mentions them again, as by Marie, in his *Manuel d'ancien Français* (1888), § 55, p. 91. But in a note on this section (at p. 253) he states that they have not been included by Karl Warnke in his edition of the Lays (Halle, 1885).

cest roiaume ne pent signifier que l'Angleterre" (p. 38). On the next page (p. 39, note 2) he says that the Lays must almost certainly have been written for Henry II. (and therefore before 1189); and he adds that this is the opinion of Dr. Mall. But the two critics were drawn wide apart in April, 1885, when Mall published the article which we have noticed in describing the Romulus of Royal 15. A. vii.*

Mall says that the Purgatorium Sancti Patricii could not have been written by Henry of Sawtry before 1185, and was probably later; and that the translation of it into French verse was the earliest extant work of Marie de France (p. 163). Gaston Paris has reviewed Mall's article in *Romania*, vol. xv. (1886), pp. 629–631. He does not seem inclined to contest the date of the Purgatorium; but he doubts very much whether Marie wrote her Purgatoire before her Lays and Fables, and he expresses impatience to see the proofs promised by Mall. In a later work also Gaston Paris has again asserted, without any hesitation, that the Lays and Fables were written at the court of Henry II.†

Another statement, made in our former description (vol. i. p. 408), must be corrected here. The chief critics have long been disinclined to identify Marie de France with Marie de Compiègne. Dr. Mall wrote an elaborate attack upon that theory in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. i. (1877), pp. 337–356; and Gaston Paris mentioned this attack in terms of general approval in *Romania*, vol. vi. (1877), p. 627.

The Prologue states that the Emperor Romulus sent moral Tales (meaning, no doubt, though Marie does not expressly say so, the present collection) to his son. But she evidently did not use a book with the usual Prologue, in which Romulus claims to have translated the Fables himself. She goes on to say that Æsop wrote a letter to his master (the Epilogue of the usual Romulus, addressed to Magister Rufus), accompanied with Fables which he (Æsop) had translated from Greek into Latin. She ends with saying that the Fables contain several words which are not pleasant for her to turn into French; but that, as a man who

---

* *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. ix. pp. 161–203.

† *Manuel d'ancien Français. Tome i. La littérature française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1888), pp. 91, 118.

is the flower of chivalry and courtesy has begged her to make a full translation of the work, she has consented to do so.*

Our two complete copies of the Prologue are as follows:—

Harley 978 (f. 40).

"Ici cumence le ysope.

Cil ki seiuent de lettrure
Deureient bien mettre cure
Es bons liures. e escriz
E as samples. e as diz
Ke li philosophe trouerent
E escristrent. e remembrerent
Par moralite escriueient
Les bons prouerbes quil oieient
Que cil amender se peussent
Ki lur entente en bien eussent
Ceo firent li ancien pere
Romulus ki fu emperere
A sun fiz escrit si manda
E par essamplé li mustra
Cum il se deust cuntre guater
Que hum nel pust enginner
Esop escrist à sun mestre
Que bien cunust lui. e sun estre
Vnes fables ke ot trouées
De griu en latin translatées:
Merueille en eurent li plusur
Quil mist sun sen en tel labur
Mes ni ad fable de folie
V. il nen ait philosophie
Essamples ki sunt apres
V. des cuntes est tut li fes
A mei ki de la rime faire
Nauenist nient a retraire
Plusurs paroles que i sunt
Mes nepurue cil me sumunt
Ki flurs est de cheualerie
Denseignement de curteisie
E quant tel hume me ad requise
Ne uoil lesser en nule guise
Que ni mette trauail. e peine
Ki que men tienge pur uileine
De fere mut pur sa préére
Si comencerai la premere
Des fables ke esopus escrist
Que a sun mestre manda. e dist."

Harley 4333 (f. 73).

"Si que seuent de lettreure
Si deuroient mettre lor cure
Es boins essemples et es dis
Et des liures et des escris
Que li filosophe trouerent
Et ensegnerent et monstrerent
Par moralitez escrivoient
Les boins prouerbes quil ooient
Que cil amender sen poissent
Que lor entente en bein meisse[n]t
Ce firent li ancien pere
Romulus que fu enperere
A son fil escrist et manda
Et par essemple li mostra
Com il se duit contreguetier
Que nus nel poist engignier
Esopes escrist a son maistre
Que bien connut lu et son mestre
Vnes fiabes quil ot trouees
De gruj en latin translatees
Meruelle en orent li plusor
Que son tens mist en tel labor
Mais il nia rien de folie
Que il ni a philosophie
Es essemples qui sont apres
Ou des contes gisent li fes
A moi que la rime en doi fore
Navenist niant a retrere
Plusors parolles qui i sont
Et ne portant se ne semont
Que flors est de cheualerie
Densegnement de cortoisie
Et quant tex hom men a requise
Ne uuel lassier en nulle guise
Que ni mette traual et paine
Quil ne men tigne pur vilainne
Mult doi faire pur sa proiere
Si commencerai la premiere
Des fiabes quesopes escrist
Que son ami manda et dist."

* Gaston Paris (we believe) was the first to point out the exact sense of this concluding passage: see *Romania*, vol. viii. (1879), p. 39.

Our third copy of the Fables begins imperfectly, having only the last eight lines of the Prologue, written across the page, thus:—

Cotton, Vespasian B. xiv. (f. 19).

" E quant tel home men ad requise ⁊ Ne voil laisser en nule guise
Ke ni mette trauail e peine ⁊ Ki ke me tienge pur vilaine
Mult dei faire pur sa preiere ⁊ Ci comence la premiere
Des fables ke ysopes dist ⁊ Ke a sun maistre manda e escrist."

In the Epilogue Marie names herself, and emphatically adds "si sui de France." She also names her patron, "le cunte Willame." She says that this book is to be called after its author "Esope"; and she repeats the assertion that he translated it from Greek into Latin. She ends with saying that it was then translated into "engleis" by the "reis Alurez"; and that it was turned by herself from English into French. There is a copy of the Epilogue in each of the Harley MSS., but not in Cotton, Vespasian B. xiv. The text is as follows:—

Harley 978 (ff. 67, col. 2–67 b).

" Al finement de cest escrit
Que en romanz ai treite . e dit
Me numerai pur remembrance
Marie ai nun si sui de france
Put cel estre que clerc plusur
Prendreient sur eus mun labur
Ne uoil que nul sur li le die
E il fet que fol ki sei ublie
Pur amur le cunte Willame
Le plus uaillant de nul realme
Meinteniir de cest liure feire
E del engleis en romanz treire
Esope apelum cest liure
Quil translata . e fist escrire
Del griu en latin le turna
Li reis Alurez que mut lama
Le translata puis en engleis
E . ieo lai riméé en franceis
Si cum ieo poi plus proprement
Ore pri a deu omnipotent
Ke a tel oure puisse entendre
Que a lui pusse malme rendre."

Harley 4333 (ff. 95 b, col. 2–96).

" Av finement de cest escrit
Quen romans ai turnie et dit
Me nommerai par remembrance
Marie ai [n]um si sui de france
Puet cel estre li cler plusor
Prendroient sor aus le labor
Ne uuel que nus sor lui le die
Cil ore mal qui si oblie
Por amor le conte Guilliaume
Le plus uaillant de cest roiaume
Mentremis de cest liure fere .
Et de langlois en romans traire
Esope a nom en icest liure
Quil translata et fist escrire
De greu en latin le torna
Li rois Henris qui mult lama
Le translata puis en engloiz
Et je lai rime en francois
Si com iai troue proprement
Or pri a deu omnipotent
Qua tele hueure me lait entendre
Que ie li puisse lame rendre."

Of these two MSS. the first (Harley 978) was probably written in England, whilst the other (Harley 4333) was written in France.* Marie was essentially a poetess "de France." Still, Dr. Mall remarks, her style was probably matured in England, her Fables being evidently in advance of her Purgatoire; and hence she used expressions which were occasionally better understood by the Anglo-Norman scribes than by the French scribes. And thus (he adds) the MSS. favoured by Roquefort are sometimes the furthest from the original.†

We must add a few more words on the ascription of the Fables to King Alfred. The critics seem all to be agreed that Marie really did (as she herself asserts) translate her Fables from an English collection. She uses one or two English words, such as "welke" (a whelk, in Fable 13, f. 43, col. 2), "witecocs" (woodcock, in Fable 58, f. 55 b, col. 2), and "wibet" (a gnat, in Fable 66, f. 57, col. 2). But these are words that, as Dr. Mall remarks, she might easily have picked up among the Anglo-Normans. Mall has found a far more important instance in her use of the word "sepande." This is a Middle-English form of the Anglo-Saxon "sceppend" (Creator). Mall adds (p. 178) that Marie did not herself understand the word, except by the context; for that, in our Fable 97, the Hare who longs for the horns of a Stag prays to "la sepande," and again "La deuesse ad respundu" (f. 66). Here Roquefort (see below, p. 306) prints "la Divesse" and "La Destinée" in his text, but adds "*la Sapaude* ou *Spaude*" as variants (Fable 97, p. 385). In another place Marie seems to have understood the word well enough. This is in Fable 75, when the Beetle, who is jealous of the soaring Eagle, says to his brethren that their Creator ("lur sepande") has done them wrong. Roquefort has here "Destinée" again, adding "leur Spaude" as a variant (Fable 65, p. 281). Again, either Marie herself, or else our present scribe, seems to have translated the word quite correctly in Fable 24, the War between Birds and Beasts. They go to some Divinity with complaints against the Bat. Roquefort prints "à Nature" and "la Nature," adding "leur Sépaude" or "le Sépeude," and "le Sépeude" or "La

* See the description of Harley 4333 by Paul Meyer, *Romania*, vol. i. (1872), p. 206.

† See Gröber's *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. ix. (1885), pp. 168–9.

Serpent" as variants (Fable 31, pp. 166–7). Harley 4333 has "lor iustices" and "La iustice" (Fable 14, f. 77, col. 2). This MS. (Harley 978) has "A lur criere" (f. 46 b). It is true that, when the Creator is named again, the pronoun indicates that a female Divinity (Nature, probably) is intended: "Lur criere lur ad iure Quele en fra lur uolente" (f. 46 b, col. 2). But, on the other hand, it would appear that one (if not more) of the Parisian MSS. has "Le Sepende" (the termination "ude" being palpably a mistake of Roquefort's). In short, the scribes were evidently puzzled by the strange word; but it is difficult to feel quite certain that Marie was puzzled also. Indeed, the change of sex in the creative Divinity may possibly have been already made in her English original.* Mall goes on to argue (pp. 200–201) that the comparatively modern form of "sepande," together with the uncertainty of gender in the definite article prefixed to it, shows that the original must be a work of the 12th century; and he conjectures (p. 202) that the author called himself "Alfred," and that some scribe prefixed "King" to the name. On the other hand, however, it is obvious that a scribe of the 12th century may have been responsible for the later forms in the text, and not responsible for the title given to the author. Mall concludes his article (p. 203) with an alliterative line, quoted (from Alfred's poem, he suggests) by Odo of Cheriton; but to this we shall return further on (p. 353), when describing a variant of the Buzzard hatched in the Hawk's nest, in Add. 8166 (ff. 40–41 b).

In the introductory volume to the reprint of Caxton's *Esope* (London, 1889) the editor, Joseph Jacobs, has accepted all the conclusions of Dr. Mall, and has taken a long step further. He believes that he has actually discovered the literary "reis Alurez." His arguments are most ingenious, and many of them are undoubtedly well-founded. There are several Greek elements in the Fables of Marie, for which it is difficult to account. But in the 12th and 13th centuries Greek was scarcely known, except through Arabic; and for the latter language the translators had always to consult the Jews. Roger Bacon, in a treatise written

* If our Alfred had been writing religious poems, he would certainly have meant "Creator" when he wrote "sceppend" (changed by the later scribes into "sepande"); but we doubt whether he could have used any other word if he had wished to translate the "rerum Natura creatrix" of Lucretius.

in 1292,* denounces the pretentious ignorance of five translators, some of whom he had known personally. One of these was Michael Scot, whose translations were chiefly the work of a Jew named Andrew; and so it was with the rest ("et sic de aliis"). Another of them was Alfred the Englishman. This Alfred is known by one or two scientific treatises. His period is still uncertain. Bale had placed it about 1270. Thomas Wright placed it about 1170. Bale's view has been strongly maintained by Carl Barach, in the Introduction to his Abstract of Alfred's book *De motu cordis* (Innsbruck, 1878). Wright's view has been accepted by Jacobs. But we need hardly consider the matter of dates; for Jacobs is unable to produce any evidence that this Alfred ever wrote a single Tale or Fable. He has all but assumed "Aluredus Anglicus" to be "Li reis Alurez," and he has supplied him with a very efficient "Jewish dragoman." This part of Jacobs's introductory volume is of great interest (pp. 168–178). It concerns the author (or rather the Hebrew translator) of an Arabic collection of Fables, of mixed Greek and Indian origin. This was Berachyah ha-Nakdan (a name equivalent to Benedictus the Punctuator, or the Grammarian), and Jacobs identifies him with an Oxford Jew, "Benedict le puncteur," who paid a contribution to Richard I. on his return from captivity in 1194. His Fables certainly belong in some degree to the same cycle as those of Marie (Jacobs lays special stress on Berachya's having both versions of the Lion's Share, our Nos. 11 and 12); but Jacobs's theory, as to the nature of their connection, belongs to what he himself styles those "hypotheses of my own which have not yet gone through the ordeal of specialist criticism" (p. 211, *note*).

We will now give a comparative Table of the Fables in our three MS., together with those in the printed edition of Roquefort:—

---

* Compendium studii Philosophiæ, edited by J. S. Brewer for the Rolls Series, in vol. i. of Roger Bacon's *Opera inedita* (London, 1859), pp. 471-2.

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Cotton, Vesp. B. xiv.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
1. Cock and Jewel. f. 40, col. 2.	1. Same. f. 73, col. 2.	1. Same. f. 19.	1. p. 62.
2. Wolf and Lamb. f. 40, col. 2.	72. Same. f. 92 b.	2. Same. f. 19.	2. p. 64.
3. Mouse and Frog. f. 40 b.	3. Same. f. 73 b.	3. Same. f. 19.	3. p. 68.
4. Dog versus Sheep. f. 41, col. 2.	73. Same: first 20 lines only. f. 92 b, col. 2.	4. Same. f. 19 b.	4. p. 75.
5. Dog and Shadow. f. 41 b.	Omitted.	5. Same. f. 20.	5. p. 78.
6. Sun about to marry. f. 41 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	6. Same. f. 20.	6. p. 80.
7. Wolf and Crane. f. 42.	69. Same. f. 91 b, col. 2.	7. Same. f. 20.	7. p. 83.
8. Bitch in borrowed kennel. f. 42, col. 2.	70. Same. f. 92.	8. Same. f. 20 b.	8. p. 86.
9. Town-Mouse and Country-Mouse. f. 42 b.	71. Same. f. 92, col. 2.	9. Same. f. 20 b.	9. p. 90.
10. Fox and Eagle's nest. f. 42 b, col. 2.	68. Same. f. 91 b.	10. Same. f. 21.	10. p. 95.
11.*Lion, Buffalo, and Wolf: (Lion's share). f. 43.	Omitted.	11.*Same. f. 21.	11.*p. 97.
12. Lion, Goat, and Sheep: (Lion's share). f. 43, col. 2.	Omitted.	12. Same. f. 21 b.	12. p. 100.
13.†Eagle and "welke." f. 43, col. 2.	2.†Eagle and "miche." f. 73, col. 2.	13.†Eagle and "welke." f. 21 b.	13.†p. 102.
14. Fox, and Raven with cheese. f. 43 b.	4. Same. f. 74, col. 2.	14. Same. f. 21 b.	14. p. 105.
15. Old Lion kicked by Ass. f. 43 b, col. 2.	5. Same. f. 74 b.	15. Same. f. 22.	15. p. 109.
16. Ass and Lapdog. f. 44.	6. Same. f. 74 b, col. 2.	16. Same. f. 22.	16. p. 112.
17. Lion and Mouse. f. 44 b.	7. Same. f. 75.	17. Same. f. 22 b.	17. p. 116.

* The Moral (of 8 lines) is here appended to Fable 12, applying to both versions of the Lion's Share (Fables 11 and 12). In Roquefort the Moral of 8 lines occurs after Fable 11, and another (of 4 lines) is added to Fable 12.

† Roquefort prints "Welke," which he regards as representing a kind of tortoise, the "testudo" of Phædrus (lib. ii. fab. 6); but he says that in two MSS. the word is "mole" or "moule" (mussel). See also the remarks of E. Mall in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. ix. (Halle, 1886), p. 176.

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Cotton, Vesp. B. xiv.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
18. Swallow and other Birds: (warning against the Flax-Sower). f. 44 b, col. 2.	8. Same. f. 75 b.	18. Same. f. 22 b.	18. p. 120.
19. Frogs, King Log, and King Snake. f. 45.	9. Same. f. 75 b, col. 2.	19. Same. f. 23.	26. p. 145.
20. Doves and King Goshawk. f. 45 b.	10. Same. f. 76.	20. Same. f. 23.	27. p. 150.
21. Thief and Watchdog. f. 45 b, col. 2.	11. Same. f. 76, col. 2.	21. Same. f. 23 b.	28. p. 153.
22. Wolf and pregnant Sow. f. 46.	12. Same. f. 76 b.	22. Same. f. 23 b.	29. p. 156.
23. Hares and Frogs. f. 46.	13. Same. f. 76 b, col. 2.	23. Same. f. 24.	30. p. 158.
24. War between Birds and Beasts: (Bat neutral. f. 46 b.	14. Same. f. 77.	24. Same. f. 24.	31. p. 164.
25. Stag at the fountain. f. 46 b, col. 2.	15. Same. f. 77 b.	25. Same. f. 24 b.	32. p. 169.
26. The Widow comforted. f. 47.	16. Same. f. 77 b, col. 2.	26. Same. f. 24 b.	33. p. 171.
27. Wolf and Watchdog: (Moral omitted). f. 47, col. 2.	17. Wolf and Watchdog: (Moral omitted: space left for it). f. 78.	Omitted.	34. Wolf and Watchdog: (with Moral). p. 175.
28. Belly and Members. f. 47 b.	18. Same. f. 78, col. 2.	27. Same. f. 25.	35. p. 179.
29. Ape asks Fox to spare him a part of his tail. f. 47 b, col. 2.	19. Same. f. 78 b.	28. Same. f. 25.	36. p. 182.
30. King Wolf's foul breath, and fate of Courtier Ape. f. 48.	20. Same. f. 78 b, col. 2.	29. Same. f. 25.	37. p. 185.
31. Hunter, Shepherd, and Wolf: (Moral omitted). f. 79 b.	21. Hunter, etc.: (Moral omitted). f. 79 b.	Omitted.	42. (with Moral). p. 214.
32. Peacock covets the voice of Nightingale: (with Moral of 2 lines). f. 49.	22. Peacock, etc.: (Moral omitted). f. 79 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	43. (with Moral of 6 lines). p. 217.
33. Lamb fostered by She-Goat: (Moral omitted). f. 49, col. 2.	23. Lamb, etc.: (Moral omitted). f. 79 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	44. (with Moral). p. 220.
34. Butcher kills a flock of sheep, one after another daily. f. 49, col. 2.	24. Wolf kills a flock. f. 80.	Omitted.	45. Breton kills a flock. p. 222.

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Cotton, Vesp. B. xiv.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
35. Truthteller and Liar at the court of King Ape. f. 49 b.	25. Same. f. 80, col. 2.	33. Same. f. 26 b.	66. p. 285.
36. Lion and braying Ass. f. 50.	26. Same. f. 80 b.	34. Same. f. 27.	67. p. 290.
37. Fox and Old Lion's den: (no returning footsteps). f. 50, col. 2.	27. Same. f. 80 b, col. 2.	35. Same. f. 27.	68. p. 293.
38. Lion and Man at rivalry: (picture). f. 50 b.	28. Same. f. 81.	36. Same. f. 27 b.	69. p. 296.
39. Camel and Flea. f. 51.	29. Camel and Flea. f. 81 b.	37. Camel and "pucele." f. 27 b.	70. p. 300.
40.*Grasshopper and Ant. f. 51.	30. Same. f. 81 b, col. 2.	38. Same. f. 27 b.	19. p. 123.
41. Crow picking wool from Sheep. f. 51, col. 2.	31. Same. f. 81 b, col. 2.	39. Same. f. 28.	20. p. 126.
42. Two Serfs seen talking in whispers, even when quite alone. f. 51 b.	32. Same. f. 82.	40. Same. f. 28.	21. p. 128.
43. A sick Man pronounced to be pregnant, on inspection of his Daughter's blood. f. 51 b.	33. Same. f. 82.	30. Same. f. 26.	38. p. 195.
44. Pregnant Man: (birth of Beetle). f. 51 b, col. 2.	34. Same. f. 82, col. 2.	31. Same. f. 26.	39. p. 203.
45. Peasant, whose Wife showed him his face in a bucket. f. 52.	35. Same. f. 82 b.	Omitted, by mistake: the Moral being appended to the preceding Fable (f. 26), instead of its own Moral.	40. p. 206.
46. Peasant, and his Wife's Double. f. 52, col. 2.	36. Same. f. 82, col. 2.	32. Same. f. 26.	41. p. 209.
47. Parliament of Birds, and Cuckoo. f. 52 b.	37. Same. f. 83, col. 2.	41. Same. f. 28.	22. p. 130.
48. One-eyed Arbiter and Horse. f. 53, col. 2.	39. Same. f. 84.	43. Same. f. 29.	71. (with 8 lines more in Moral). p. 302.

* Grasshopper is here (Harley 978) called "hulchet". In Vesp. B. xiv. it is "criket"; and in Harley 4333 it is "greselon".

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Cotton, Vesp. B. xiv.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
49. Thief and Witch. f. 53 b.	40. Same. f. 84 b.	44. Same. f. 29.	72. (two lines more.) p. 307.
50. Woodcutter and Axe-handle. f. 54.	38. Same. f. 83, col. 2.	42. Same. f. 28 b.	23. p. 137.
51. Sheep called "salmon" by Wolf, in Lent-time. f. 54.	41. Same. f. 84 b, col. 2.	45. Same. f. 29 b.	73. p. 310.
52. Mother-Ape gives her Child to be dandled by Bear. f, 54, col. 2.	42. Same. f. 85.	46. Same. f. 29 b.	74. p. 313.
53. Peasant who professed friendship for Dragon, but who broke Dragon's egg maliciously. f. 54 b.	Omitted.	47. Same. f. 30.	
54. Hermit, Peasant, and Mouse under a dish. f. 54 b, col. 2.	43. Same. f. 85, col. 2.	48. Same. f. 30.	46. p. 225.
55. Peasant's horse stolen at chapel-door, while he is praying for another horse. f. 55, col. 2	44. Same. f. 85 b.	49. Same. f. 30 b.	47. p. 229.
56. Peasant who only prayed for himself and his Family. f. 55, col. 2.	45. Same. f. 85 b, col. 2.	50. Same. f. 30 b.	25. p. 143.
57. Two Peasants go to law for a jackdaw. f. 55 b.	46. Same. f. 85 b, col. 2.	51. Same. f. 30 b.	48. p. 231.
58. The Three Wishes. f. 55 b, col. 2.	47. Same. f. 86.	52. Same. f. 30 b.	24. p. 140.
59.*Fox, and Moon's image in the water. f. 56.	48. Same. f. 86, col. 2.	53. Same. f. 31.	49. p. 236.
60. Wolf envies Raven, who is allowed to sit upon the back of Sheep. f. 56.	49. Same. f. 86 b.	54. Same. f. 31.	50. p. 238.
61. Cock and Fox. f. 56, col. 2.	50. Same. f. 86 b.	55. Same. f. 31.	51. p. 240.
62. Pigeon on the top of a cross, and Fox. f. 56 b.	51. Same. f. 86 b, col. 2.	56. Same. f. 31 b.	52.†p. 233 b.

* In our three MSS. it is the Fox that takes the moon for a cheese; but in Roquefort (as in the Roman de Renart) it is the Wolf.

† In Roquefort, vol. ii., after p. 242, the numbers are repeated from 233 to 242.

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Cotton, Vesp. B. xiv.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
63. King Eagle and Seneschal Goshawk. f. 56 b, col. 2.	52. Same. f. 87.	57. Same. f. 31 b.	53. p. 236 b.
64. Horse hurt by leaping after grass. f. 56 b, col. 2.	53. Same. f. 87, col. 2.	Omitted.	54. p. 238 b.
65. Horse and Ox to be sold in one lot. f. 57.	54. Same. f. 87, col. 2.	58. Same. f. 31 b.	55. p. 239 b.
66A. Wolf and Beetle. f. 57.	55A. Same. f. 87 b.	59. Same. f. 32.	56. p. 241 b.
66B.*Eight lines, on a Wolf's growing old in his original skin. f. 57 b.	55B. Same lines. f. 87 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	82. (first 8 lines). p. 345.
67. Goshawk and Nightingale. f. 57 b.	56. Same. f. 87 b, col. 2.	60. Same. f. 32.	57. p. 246.
68. Raven in Peacock's feathers. f. 57 b, col. 2.	57. Same. f. 88.	61. Same. f. 32 b.	58. p. 248.
69. Wolf flayed, by advice of Fox, in order to cure sick Lion. f. 57 b, col. 2.	58. Same. f. 88, col. 2.	62. Same. f. 32 b.	59. p. 250.
		Vespasian B. xiv. ends here.	

* The eight lines, in Harley 978 (f. 57 b) are as follows:

"Par ueille essample recunte ici
Que tuit li lu sunt enueilli
En cele pel . v . il sunt ne
La remainent tut lur 6é
Ki sur le lu meist bon mestre
Quil doctrinast a estre prestre
Si sereit il tut dis gris lus
Fel e engres . leiz e hidus."

In Harley 978 these lines are written as a distinct article, with a coloured initial. In Harley 4333 they form an appendix to Fable 55. In Roquefort they serve as an Introduction to Fable 82, How a Priest taught a Wolf his letters. For the latter Fable see Harley 978, Fable 82 (f. 62 b); and see Harley 4333, Fable 75 (f. 93, col. 2). See also the remarks of Dr. Mall, in Lemcke's *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Bd. xii. (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 24–26.

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
70. Fox and She-bear. f. 58, col. 2.	59. Same. f. 88 b.	60. p. 255.
71. Sick Lion, Fox, and Stag's heart. f. 58 b.	60. Same. f. 88 b, col. 2.	61. p. 258.
72. Fellowship between Wolf and Hedgehog: Wolf forced to carry Hedgehog out of danger. f. 59.	61. Same. f. 89 b.	62. p. 263.
73. Fellowship between Peasant and Serpent: Peasant strikes Serpent with hatchet. f. 59, col. 2.	62. Same. f. 89 b, col. 2.	63. p. 267.
74.*The Field-Mouse wishes to marry the daughter of the most powerful Being in the world. He applies to the Sun, the Cloud, the Wind, the Stone Wall, but ends in choosing the Mouse. f. 60, col. 2.	65. Same. f. 90 b, col. 2. After the first 6 lines, 60 lines are accidentally omitted.	64. p. 274.
75.†Beetle and Eagle. f. 60 b, col. 2.	66. Same. f. 91.	65. p. 281.
76. Wild Boar and Ass. f. 61, col. 2.	63. Same. f. 90 b.	76. p. 318.
77. Badger and Pigs. f. 61, col. 2.	67. Same. f. 91, col. 2.	77. p. 320.
78. Fellowship between Wolf and Hedgehog: Wolf captured; Hedgehog deserts him, saying that this must be a punishment for some broken vow. f. 61 b.	64. Same. f. 90 b, col. 2.	78. p. 322.
79. Ferryman paid by Wolf with three wise sayings. f. 61 b.	Omitted.	79. p. 324.

* Harley 978 speaks of the creature as "Li mulez que resemble suriz," and Harley 4333 has "mulez" also. There can be little doubt that Marie meant Field-mouse (now "mulot"), though Roquefort has printed the word "muses" (Shrew-mouse). The Wall ("Murs") of our copies becomes "Turs" in Roquefort. The Latin version, in which the creature is called "mulus," and yet is said to be closely related to "mus," is printed by Oesterley (from a Göttingen MS.) in *Romulus* (1870), pp. 115–6; and by Hervieux (from a Brussels MS.), in *Fabulistes Latins* (1884), vol. ii. pp. 571–2. See above, p. 287.

† The Beetle complains that the Creator has been partial towards the Eagle. In Harley 978 the words are: "As autres escarboz le dist Que lur sepande lur mesfist" (f. 61). Harley 4333 has "lor espondes" (f. 91). And Roquefort has "Destinée" (p. 281).

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
80. Goshawk and Owl in one nest. f. 62,	Omitted.	80. p. 327.
81. Eagle orders Goshawk to be captured; Crane tries to do it, but is beaten; she sets out to leave her home in disgrace, but a Sea-Gull advises her to return. f. 62, col. 2.	74. Same: but with 14 lines accidentally omitted after line 4. f. 93.	81. p. 341. The above page ought to be numbered 331. The numbers jump from 328 to 339.
82. Priest teaches Wolf his A B C. f. 62 b.	75. Same. f. 93, col. 2.	82. (with 8 introductory lines, for which see Harley 978, Art. 66 B). p. 345.
83. Serpent and Field. f. 62 b, col. 2.	76. Same. f. 93 b.	83. p. 347.
84. Corn-Sower deceives the Swallow, and captures the Sparrows. f. 62 b, col. 2.	77. Same. f. 93 b.	84. p. 349.
85. The Ox, and Peasant cleaning out the ox-stall. f. 63, col. 2.	78. Same. f. 93 b, col. 2.	85. p. 353.
86. Dispute between Fly and Bee. f. 63, col. 2.	79. Same. f. 94.	86. p. 355.
87. Sick Kite asks his Mother to beg Jay to pray for him. f. 63 b.	Omitted.	87. p. 358.
88. Two Wolves meet in a field, and think of setting the corn on fire. f. 63 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	88. p. 360.
89. Case of Fox versus Wolf, tried by Lion. f. 64.	80. Same. f. 94, col. 2.	89. p. 363.
90. Kid refuses to open the door to Wolf. f. 64.	81. Same. f. 94 b.	90. p. 365.
91. Surveyor complains of his measuring-rod. f. 64, col. 2.	Omitted.	91. p. 367.
92. Hind warns her Fawn against Man. f. 64 b.	82. Same. f. 94 b, col. 2.	92. p. 369.
93. Young Raven asks his Father, if he need avoid Man with nothing in his hands. f. 64 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	93. p. 372.
94. The Ox that begged the Wolf to give him time for a last prayer, and bellowed aloud. f. 64 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	94. p. 374.

Harley 978.	Harley 4333.	Roquefort, vol. ii.
95. Peasant and contradictory Wife: the meadow mown. f. 65, col. 2.	83. Same. f. 95.	95. p. 379.
96. Contradictory Wife: sure to float up-stream. f. 65 b.	84. Same. f. 95, col. 2.	96. pp. 382–386. The next two pages, after p. 386, are also numbered 385, 386.
97. Hare prays "la sepande" to give him Stag's horns. f. 66.	85. Hare prays to "la deuesse": only first 8 lines. f. 95 b.	97. p. 385 b.
98. Wolf and nest-building Dove. f. 66, col. 2.	Omitted.	99. p. 390.
99. Cat, and Fox with his sackful of tricks. f. 66, col. 2.	Omitted.	98. p. 387.
100. Sea-Voyager who prayed about many things in vain, and found that God knew what was best for him. f. 66 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	100. p. 392.
101. Knight who consulted Old Man in what land to settle. f. 66 b, col. 2.	Omitted.	101. p. 394.
102. Cat wishes to bless the Mice as their Bishop. f. 67.	86. Only last two lines of the Moral. f. 95 b.	102. p. 397.
103. Woman and her scratching Hen. f. 67, col. 2.	87. Same. f. 95.	103. p. 399.

These Fables were published by B. de Roquefort in his edition of the *Poésies de Marie de France*, vol. ii. (Paris, 1820), pp. 59–402. A new edition has been promised by Dr. Edouard Mall.

Harley 4333. ff. 73–96.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Duodecimo; ff. 24, in double columns, having 35 lines to a column. With initials in red and blue.

The present article is No. 3. The MS. contains 16 articles altogether. For an account of them, see the description of No. 16, L'Ordène de Chevalerie, *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. (1883), pp. 810–811, and see the article by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, vol. i. (1872), pp. 206–9.

Fables of Marie de France. Eighty-seven of her Fables and Tales (two of which are only Fragments). With the Prologue and Epilogue. *French.*

The present MS. is written by a French scribe: see P. Meyer's article, mentioned above. Of the whole collection, of 103 articles, 16 are entirely omitted. In Harley 978 these are Nos. 5, 6, 11, 12, 53, 79, 80, 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 98–101 (see the Table above, pp. 298–305). There are other omissions of lines in various articles. Thus No. 85 of the present MS. ends after the 8th line, omitting about 18 lines (compare No. 97 of Harley 978); the next 4 articles are then omitted, and the 5th (No. 86 of the present MS., and No. 102 of Harley 978) has only the last two lines of the Moral (f. 95 b). It is evident that in the original used by our scribe there were about 152 lines lost here, probably in the form of a leaf, containing double columns, with 38 lines to a column.

Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (vol. i. p. 636), reckons that 20 articles are omitted here; but he is mistaken. Nos. 20, 78, and 85 (according to Harley 978, but according to Hervieux, 27, 78, and 85) are not omitted; and of No. 102 the last two lines are left.

Cotton, Vespasian B. xiv. ff. 19–32 b.

Vellum; end of xiiith cent. Tall but narrow Octavo; ff. 14, having 42 long lines (each consisting of two short rhyming lines) to a page, excepting the last page, which contains 43 long lines.

The whole MS. has been described, under "Troy", in the *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. (1883), p. 31; another article of this MS. (ff. 1-8 b), the Lay of Lanval, by Marie de France, has also been described in the same volume, p. 415.

FABLES OF MARIE DE FRANCE. Sixty-two of her Fables and Tales. Imperfect at the beginning, being preceded by the last eight lines of the Prologue. Left unfinished, soon after the middle of the Collection; ending with the Fable which answers to No. 69 of Harley 978. Without any Epilogue. *French.*

The present MS. was written in England. Its 62 articles answer to the first 69 of Harley 978, with the omission of 7 Fables, and of one passage of eight lines. The Fables omitted are in Harley 978 numbered thus: 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 45, and 64. The passage omitted (on a grey wolf) is numbered 66 B in our description of Harley 978.

The remaining lines of the Prologue have been quoted in the description of Harley 978. The last Fable, on the Wolf flayed to cure the sick Lion, ends with the following moral:

"Tel purchace le mal de altrui. Ke li malz reuente sur lui.
Si cum li lus fist del gupil. Kil voleit metre a exil. Amen."

f. 32 b.

Harley 2316. ff. 53, 54.

Vellum; xivth cent. Duodecimo; ff. 2, with 44 lines on the first page, 48 on the second, and 8 lines on the other leaf.

The MS. contains: (1) The present article. f. 53. (2) Church legends. f. 54. (3) Miracles of the Virgin. f. 59. (4) Another set of Church legends. ff. 61–64 b. Bound up with a MS. containing another series of legends. ff. 1–52 b.

ROMULUS OF VINCENT DE BEAUVAIS. The first ten Fables of the Romulus, together with the Prologue, which are inserted by

Vincent de Beauvais (about 1250) in his Speculum Historiale, Lib. iii. capp. 2–4. *Latin.*

The Prologue is thus introduced: "Anno rengni Ciri primo Hesopus a desfi' (*mistake for* Delphis) interimitur. [Exta[nt] Hesopi fabule elegantes et famose quas romulus quidam de greco in latinum transtulit et ad filium suum tiberinum diuexit (*sic*) ita scribens / de ciuitate attica Hesopus quidam", etc. f. 53. It goes on with the same Prologue (a couple of lines omitted) as in Burney 59 (above, p. 283).

Vincent has indicated the Moral at the beginning of each Fable. We give below the title and first words of each Fable, and the number of each Fable in the copy in Burney 59.

1. Wolf and Lamb. "Contra calu[m]pniosos / Fingit quod", etc. (Bk. i. 2). f. 53.

2. Mouse and Frog. "Contra illos qui aliene saluti insidias parant / Fingit quod", etc. (i. 3). f. 53.

3. Dog and his Shadow. "Item contra cupidos. Fingit quod", etc. (i. 5). f. 53.

4. Lion's share: (with Cow, Goat, and Sheep). "Item contra illos qui incaute sociantur potentibus. Fingit quod", etc. (i. 6). f. 53.

5. Wolf and Crane. "Item contra illos qui malos incaute iuuant / Fabulam componit dicens", etc. (i. 8). f. 53.

6. Fox and Crow. "Item contra illos qui laudati verbis subdolis gaudent et postea penitent Hanc fabulam fingit cum", etc. (i. 14). f. 53 b.

7. Old Lion and Ass's hoof. "Fingit etiam idem fabulam. homines in dignitate mansuetos esse commonentem hoc modo", etc. (i. 15). f. 53 b.

8. Ass and Lapdog. "Item contra [illos] qui indecenter ad officia meliora reddenda indigni se ingerunt hanc quoque fingit", etc. (i. 16). f. 53 b.

9. Lion and Mouse. "Item ad exortandum ne quis minimos ledat Fingit quod", etc. (i. 17). f. 53 b.

10. Thief and Watchdog. "Contra gulosos qui ad vnum prandium rem suam perdunt hoc quoque componit", etc. (ii. 3). f. 54.

This Fable ends with the dog saying: "Sed nisi recesseris ipse contra te latrabo dominum et familiam suscitabo furemque illis nunciabo."

The next article is headed: "Contra eos qui delectantur in immunda delec[ta]cione." It is the legend of a Nun, who had always been chaste in act, but not in thought. This is followed by an article headed: "Contra gulosos." It is the legend of the Glutton who died singing "Jolyfte, Jolyfte." This is printed by Thomas Wright, *Latin Stories*, (Percy Society, 1842), as No. 94 (p. 81); and his Nos. 95 and 96, with verses in French and English, are also taken from this MS., but he omits the moral headings. The rest of the collection will be described further on in a different class.

All the twenty-nine Fables which were inserted (with a Prologue and an Epilogue) by Vincent de Beauvais in his Speculum Historiale, Lib. iii. capp. 2–8, have been reprinted by Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. ii. pp. 235–246. He has given some account of the life of Vincent, and the editions of his works, in his vol. i. pp. 385–407.

Additional 18,107.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 17, having 32 or 33 lines to a page. At the beginning is a leaf (f. 1) from a Lectionary of the 12th century.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Fifty-eight Æsopic Fables, versified in elegiacs from the first three Books of Romulus; and two Tales, also in elegiac verse. By the author commonly known (from the name of his first modern editor) as Anonymus Neveleti, but who is now often called Walter the Englishman, and who is further conjectured by some writers to have been Walter, tutor of William II., the young king of Sicily, and afterwards Archbishop of Palermo (1169–1190). Followed by two other Æsopic Fables, perhaps by the same author. With a Prologue in 12 lines. *Latin.*

Many names have been assigned to the author of these Elegiac Fables. Léopold Hervieux gives some account of them in his *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. i. pp. 434–452. We will

here mention ten of the guesses.* (1) There used to be a tradition in Parma, that one of its citizens, named Salone, studied at Athens (perhaps in the 12th century), and there turned the Fables from Æsop's Greek prose into Latin elegiacs. This tradition is imperfectly expressed in a gloss in Add. 33,780 (known formerly as Grenville MS. xxxvii.), which makes the author a citizen of Pavia, "Salo papiensis." Taddeo Ugoleto (d. about 1515), a distinguished scholar of Parma and one of the principal collectors for the library of Matthias Corvinus, was very positive in favour of Salone; and a letter of his to that effect was prefixed to the Venetian edition of 1519. (2) A few years later the claims of Salone were disputed by Lilius Giraldus (d. 1552), who believed that the Elegiacs were the work of "Romulus." (3) "Accius" is the name suggested by Julius Scaliger (d. 1558), who confounded the Latin poet with his Italian translator, Accio Zuccho. (4) "Bernardus" was preferred by Caspar Barth (1624); but this was only on account of a distich about the Beaver, which Barth had seen quoted by Giraldus Cambrensis, and which was really composed by Bernard of Chartres, and belonged to a long didactic poem of his, known as "Cosmographia." (5) "Gualterus Anglicus" is mentioned by J. F. Christ (1746), but only as the guess of some gloss-writer, referring (Christ wrongly supposed) to Cardinal Walter of Winterborn (d. 1305). (6) Martin Kropff in his description of MSS. at the Abbey of Mölck, near Vienna (1747), enters No. 86 as containing a Romulus, an Avianus, etc., and "Waltheri Æsopus ...*Inc.* ut juvet et prosit." (7) Jacopo Morelli says (1776) that a printed copy of 1481, which had formerly belonged to Apostolo Zeno, attributed the poems to Nicolas Jenson; but he adds that, as the printer of that name was of the 15th century, Zeno has justly remarked (in a list of his books) that the poet must have been some other Nicolas Jenson. (8) B. J. Docen (1812) found a close resemblance in these poems to those of Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours, upon whom so many other poems have been capriciously fathered; and F. A. Ebert in his *Lexicon* (1821) has entered the book under "Hildebertus Turonensis." The same name found favour with two later writers, Stephan F. L. Endlicher (1836), and Jules Fleutelot (1850); but they both

* For the printed records of them, see the footnote further on.

seem to have merely followed Ebert. (9) A. C. M. Robert (1825) calls our author "Gauffredus" in one place; but further on he doubts whether he ought not to be called "Garritus." (10) Finally, Ugobardus of Sulmona was the real name according to Chr. T. Dressler, the editor of *Phædrus* (1838). But Dressler depended entirely upon a marginal gloss in a single MS. This was a copy of the late 13th century, lent to him by Gustav Haenel. The gloss refers the first invention of the Fables to the figures, painted by artists of Sulmona, upon the margins of the MS. It is printed by Dressler (p. 159) thus:—"In principio hujus operis attenduntur quatuor: causa materialis, formalis, efficiens et finalis. Causa efficiens est duplex, sc. inveniens et compilans. Inveniens fuerunt Sulmonenses pingentes istas historias, causa compilans Ugobardus Sulmonensis qui ipse compilavit metra." Dressler explains "compilavit" as equivalent to "composuit." But that is a forced explanation; and Ugobardus was probably nothing but the scribe.*

---

* The works, in which these various names are advocated are as follows:—(1) "Salone of Parma." See Ireneo Affò, *Scrittori Parmigiani*, vol. i. (Parma, 1789), p. 17; with some additions in vol. vi. pt. ii. (1827), pp. 19–29. See also *Æsopi Phrygis fabulae ccxiiij*, etc. (Venice, 1519). The letter of Ugoleto is at sig. G. 5 b: it is followed by the Elegiac Fables, sigg. G. 6—I. 8 b. (2) "Romulus." See Lilius Gregorius Giraldus, of Ferrara, in his 5th Dialogue "De poetarum historia", included in his *Opera* (Basle, 1580), vol. ii. p. 223. (3) "Accius." See J. C. Scaliger, in Lib. vi. cap. 4 of his *Poetices Libri vii.* (Lyons, 1561), p. 304. Scaliger called his sixth Book "Hypercriticus"; and it is by this title that Lessing refers to it in his article on the Anonymus Neveleti in the Essays *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, Fifth Part (Brunswick, 1781), p. 48. (4). "Bernardus." See Caspar Barth, *Adversaria* (Frankfort. 1624), Lib. iii. cap. 22. And for the passage in the poem, "Cosmographia", see Cotton MS., Cleopatra A. xiv. f. 7 b, ll. 11, 12; and see also *Histoire littéraire*, vol. xii. (1830), p. 272. (5). "Gualterus Anglicus." See Johann Friedrich Christ, *Prolusio de Phædro* (Leipzig, 1746), p. 56. This reference is derived from Lessing's last Essay, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, Fifth Part, ed. J. J. Eschenburg (Brunswick, 1781), pp. v–vi, and p. 56; and also from Hervieux, vol. i. p. 153 note, and p. 439 note 2. (6) "Waltheri Æsopus." See Martin Kropff, *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* (Vienna, 1747), pp. 45–6. (7) "Nicolas Jenson." See Jacopo Morelli, *Codices manuscripti bibl. Nanianae* (Venice, 1776), pp. 152–3. (8.) "Hildebert." See B. J. Docen, in the *Intelligenz-blatt* of the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, No. 34 (1812), p. 268. This paper is reprinted by Wendelin Förster, in his Altfranzösische Bibliothek, vol. v., containing *Lyoner Yzopet* (Heilbronn, 1882), pp. xx–xxi. Docen mentions his guess again, but evidently with more hesitation, and without offering any of the

Hervieux has examined sixty MSS., and he has recorded other peoples' descriptions of about twenty more: see his vol. i. pp. 460–541. Few of them contain any names. He has only found "Salo" in the one MS. already mentioned (Additional 33,780). Among the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one has "Garritus" in the gloss, and another is headed "a magistro Gauffredo."* A MS. at Vienna has "Galterus" in the gloss; and one MS. at Trèves has "Galterus Anglicus", also in the gloss. An early Italian edition, as we have said already, states in the Title that the Fables were "a Salone Parmense" (Venice, 1519). A still earlier French edition (Lyon, 1480) says in the gloss, after alluding to the Greek original: "Alii dicunt quod Galterus anglicus fecit hunc librum sub nomine Esopi." As for the name "Garritus" (or "Garicius"), Hervieux observes (at p. 443) that the gloss-writer in the one MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale which contains this name, after saying "causa efficiens fuit magister Garritus," has added "Alii dicunt quod Ysopus fecit istum librum qui cognomine vocabatur Garritus." We are certainly inclined to believe, with Hervieux, that the latter opinion was the more correct of the two; and that "Garritus" was originally a sort of cognomen (perhaps in the form of Garritor) attached to Æsop. It reminds us, we may further remark, of a phrase used by Horace, in one of his Satires, when he introduces his neighbour Cervius, who is just about to relate the Fable of

---

proofs that he had promised, in an article (dated "München im Aug. 1812") published by Joh. Chr. von Aretin in his *Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur*, vol. ix. (Munich, with 1807 on the title-page), pp. 1235–1249. See also Fried. Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Bd. i. (Leipzig, 1821), col. 780. See also Stephan F. L. Endlicher, *Catalogus Codicum Philologicorum Lat. Bibl. Palat. Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1836), p. 158. And see the *Notice sur Phèdre*, by Jules Fleutelot, in Nisard's *Collection des auteurs Latins*, vol. iv. (Paris, 1850), pp. 687 and 698–9. (9) "Gauffredus," or "Garritus." See A. C. M. Robert, *Fables inédites* (Paris, 1825), vol. i. pp. xciii, ccxxiv. (10) "Ugobardus." See Christian Timotheus Dressler, *Phædrus* (Bautzen, 1838), p. 159.

* Noted by Hervieux, vol. i. pp. 442–3, as MSS. examined by himself. But when he says that MS. Aa. 163 at the Royal Library at Madrid was described by Gustav Haenel as containing the name "Garicius", he apparently gives a wrong reference; for in Haenel's *Catalogi*, etc. (Leipzig, 1830), to which he refers, it is only described (col. 965) as "Aa. 163. Æsopi fabulae; membr. 4." E. Du Méril, however, says that the Madrid MS., "A, 163," names "Garicius" (*Poésies inédites*, Paris, 1854, p. 162, note 2).

the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse: "Cervius hæc inter vicinus garrit aniles Ex re fabellas" (Lib. ii. Sat. vi. ll. 77–8).

Lessing was writing an Essay upon this subject when he died.* He brushes a few of the names aside, and expresses some wonder where J. F. Christ could have found the name of Gualterus Anglicus. Eschenburg, who edited this Essay, refers (pp. v–vi) to a note by Tyrwhitt, throwing some light upon the subject. Vol. v. of the *Canterbury Tales* (London, 1778) contains his Glossary; and in the Supplement to this, under "Ysope" (pp. 280–2), he speaks of "the anonymous author of 60 fables in Elegiac metre, which are printed in Nevelet's collection under the title of *Anonymi fabulæ Æsopicæ*. I have seen," he says, "an edition of them in 1503, by Wynkyn de Worde, in which they are entitled simply *Esopi fabulæ*."† And he adds in a note: "In the edition of these fables in 1503, the commentator (of no great authority, I confess) mentions an opinion of some people, that '*Galterus Angelicus fecit hunc librum sub nomine Esopi.*'" This is a copy of the same gloss as that in the Lyons edition of 1480. Tyrwhitt continues: "I suppose the person meant was *Gualterus Anglicus*, who had been tutor to William II., King of Sicily, and was Archbishop of Palermo about the year 1170. I cannot believe that they were much older than his time; and in the beginning of the next century they seem to be mentioned under the name of *Æsopus*, among the books commonly read in schools, by Eberhardus Bethuniensis in his *Labyrinthus*, Tract iii. *de Versificatione*, v. 11. See Leyser, *Hist. Poet. Med. Ævi.* p. 826."‡

It appears then that J. F. Christ was the first (in 1746) to mention that the name of "Gualterus Anglicus" occurred in one of the glosses; and that Tyrwhitt was the first (in 1778) to suggest

---

* Ueber den Anonymus des Nevelet; published (after Lessing's death) in *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, Part V. (Brunswick, 1781), pp. 45–58. After the latter page the Essay is continued by J. J. Eschenburg, down to p. 76.

† A copy of W. de Worde's edition is in the British Museum, "Bequeathed by Thos. Tyrwhitt Esq. 1786."

‡ These passages out of Tyrwhitt were reprinted (in German) by Eschenburg, in his Preface to Lessing's Essay (1781). The same reference and the same deduction were made by Docen (1812); though Wendelin Foerster ascribes all the merits of the discovery to him (*Lyoner Yzopet*, p. xxii). In the second paper written by Docen (again in 1812) he refers to Eschenburg's quotation from Tyrwhitt. Docen does not reject the claims of "Galterus Anglicus"; he only wishes them to be examined further.

that he really might be the author of the Fables, and moreover that he might be the Archbishop of Palermo. These were mere suggestions; and they can hardly be said to be more, even now.

And now we come to the second suggestion. It is true that the Church historians of Sicily say that their Archbishop Walter (consecrated about 1170, died 1190) was an Englishman; but their only distinct authority is John Bale.* Critics know well that Bale was a great deal too imaginative; and the Sicilian writers have done nothing to test his assertions. In the 2nd volume of his Catalogue (p. 151) he gives an account of "Gvaltervs Panormitanvs." He says that Walter was an Englishman, and Chaplain to Henry II. He was so highly esteemed by the King that he was sent to Sicily to be tutor to the young King William, who was engaged to marry Henry's daughter, Joanna; as Ralph de Diceto and other authors relate ("quemadmodum Radulphus Dicetensis et alii authores referunt"). He not only instructed William well in grammar, but he taught him to write Latin verses. He became Archbishop of Palermo; and he solemnised the marriage of King William and Princess Joanna, at the beginning of 1177. Bale can only name one of his writings: "Pro latinæ linguæ exercitijs, Lib. 1." Now this account is partly true and partly doubtful. The historical works of Ralph de Diceto have been published. They mention that Archbishop Walter presided at the royal marriage, but that is all.†

Among the letters of Peter of Blois, who was Keeper of the Seals in Sicily about 1167–9, and Chancellor of the Archbishop of Canterbury about 1175 (died about 1200), there is one addressed to Walter, Archbishop of Palermo.‡ Peter begins with congratu-

---

* Bale first made this assertion in the Additions to the first edition of his work, which was then entitled *Illvstrivm Maioris Britanniae Scriptorvm Summarium* (Wesel, 1548), fol. 253 b. But our account above is taken from the fuller article in his later edition, *Scriptorvm....Catalogus*, Part ii. (Basle, 1559), p. 151.

† *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, vol. i. (1876), p. 418; see also *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, in the same series, vol. i. (1867) p. 157. It is there said that Joanna arrived at Palermo at the beginning of February, 1177, and that "Walterus ejusdem sedis archiepiscopus celebravit divina idus Februarii" [13 Feb.].

‡ See Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. ccvii., containing *Petri Blesensis....Opera* (Paris, 1855); Epistola lxvi. (cols. 195–210) is addressed "Ad Walterum Archiepisc. Panormitanum."

lating Walter on his having been raised so high "de pulvere" and "de contemptibili paupertate." He then proceeds to satisfy his correspondent's strong desire to learn all about the personal appearance and the character of the English king: "Quod autem a me cum omni instantia postulastis, ut formam et mores domini regis Angliæ vobis sub certa descriptione transmittam," etc. (Migne, col. 197). We may presume, therefore, that Walter had never been Chaplain to Henry II. But, on the other hand, Peter does confirm Bale's assertion that Walter had taught the little king of Sicily the elements of Latin, and how to write Latin verses. He says: "Scitis, quod dominus rex Siciliæ per annum discipulus meus fuit, et qui a vobis versificatoriæ atque litteratoriæ artis primitias habuerat, per industriam et sollicitudinem meam beneficium scientiæ plenioris obtinuit" (*ib.* col. 198). The letter gives a long description of Henry II., and relates his penance for the death of Becket, and his troubles with his sons; but it does not contain a hint of its being addressed to a man of English birth. In fact, it implies an ignorance of English affairs in the recipient which points directly the other way.

As far as we can ascertain, the early Italian writers speak of "Gualterius" as Dean of Girgenti, and as Archbishop of Palermo, without any allusion to his nationality, or to his bearing any other name.* The first assertor of his English origin appears to have been Bale. John Pits did very little, except copy Bale; but it is to Pits that the authors of *Sicilia Sacra* refer.† In the first edition (1630)‡ Rocco Pirro says (p. 121): "1169. Gvalterivs ii Panormi constituitur Archipręsul: erat is natione Anglus, vnde cognomen Anglici apud vulgus adeptus est"; and he makes a reference to Pits. The same is repeated in the second edition (1644), p. 121. Gualterio (who died 1190) was succeeded (p. 129, both edd.) by his brother Bartolomeo, who

* See the contemporary Chroniclers, published by Giov. Batt. Caruso, in his *Bibliotheca Historica regni Siciliæ* (Palermo, 1723), pp. 484, 874. And see Thomas Fazellus, *Rervm Sicvlarvm Scriptores* (ed. Frankfurt a. M., 1579), pp. 158, 421, 426, 431, 433, 434.

† *Joannis Pitsei ... Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus*, more generally known as "De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus" (Paris, 1619); the article "De Gualtero Anglico" is at p. 240.

‡ At first entitled *Notitiae Siciliensium ecclesiarum* (Palermo, 1630); but generally known by its subsequent name, *Sicilia Sacra*.

had been Bishop of Girgenti since 1172. The earlier career of the latter, accordingly, appears under "Agrigentinæ ecclesiæ notitia", in the same author's second volume of *Sicilia Sacra* (1641), p. 278, where the account of Bartolomeo, as Bishop of Girgenti (Agrigentum, 1172–1194), begins: "Bartholomæus Ophamilius genere Anglus germanus frater Gualterij Ophamilij"; and to this Pirro has added a marginal reference (probably only for the name, not for the nationality) to the records of a monastery in Palermo, in these words: "ex tabul. mon. Pan. S. Mariæ de Amirato nunc de Martorana an. mundi 6081. sal. 1173". Antonino Mongitore, the editor of the third edition of *Sicilia Sacra* (1733), has repeated these passages (cols. 103, 113, 699); and he has appended "(„ Ophamilius)" to his first mention of "Gualterius II." of Palermo (col. 103).

Lastly, Francesco Testa, Archbishop of Monreale (1754–1773), in his Life of William II. of Sicily,* says: "Habuere Guilelmus ejusque fratres præceptorem, qui ipsorum puerilem ætatem moribus et literis informaret, Gualterium Ophamillium (*a*) Britannum, tum Cephaleditanæ Ecclesiæ Archidiaconum," etc. To this he adds a strange foot-note: "(*a*) Anglice idem valet dicere *Gualterius Ophamillius*, quam Italice *Gualtieri del Molino* vox composita ex præpositione *Off* quæ del significat, et *Mill*, quod sonat *Molino*" (pp. 18–19).†

After considering all these various guesses and assertions, we have come to the conclusion that the evidence is slightly in favour of our author's having borne the name of Walter, and perhaps, indeed, of his having been an Englishman. But it is

---

* *De vita, et rebus gestis Guilelmi ii. Siciliæ Regis, Monregalensis Ecclesiæ Fundatoris Libri quatuor*, in Latin and Italian (Monreale, 1769). The work is not anonymous, as Mrs. M. A. Everett Green has stated, in her *Lives of the Princesses of England*, vol. i. (London, 1849), p. 310, note 2. The Archbishop's name is not on the title-page, but it stands at the head of the Preface, in which he claims the sole authorship.

† Mrs. Green has misunderstood the above passage. She says that "Gualterio del Molino" was so called in Sicily; and that "Testa makes an odd attempt to translate his surname, and gives the prelate the comical appellation of *Ophamillius*," etc. (p. 311). The translation, in point of fact, was in the opposite direction. The name "Ophamilius" appeared in print more than a hundred years before Testa's work; but his interpretation, and translation of it into "del Molino," were probably his own.

not strong enough to overthrow the designation used by the best of the old critics, and notably by Lessing.

If our author is ever proved to be Walter, Archbishop of Palermo (1170–1190), the poems must have been written within the 12th century; but we have no other evidence of their being so early. They must have been known in the first half of the 13th century, for a line out of them is quoted by Odo of Cheriton (d. 1246/7). It is here spoken by the Country Mouse, when she is taking leave of the Town Mouse, and it runs: "Rodere malo fabam quam cura perpete rodi" (Fable xii. l. 23).* It is quoted by Odo at the end of his version of the same Fable: see Arundel 275, art. 23 (f. 70 b), and Harley 219, art. 21 (f. 4 b). There is another early reference, which we have already mentioned, as being first noted by Tyrwhitt and by Docen. It occurs in a grammatical poem called "Labyrinthus," which is printed entire by Leyser, and attributed by him to Ebrard of Bethune (in Artois).† This author is supposed to have written his best authenticated poem, "Graecismus", in 1212. In the other poem, headed by Leyser "Laborintvs," the third and last Part, "De versificatione," concludes (l. 689) with the author's naming himself Eberhardus. Earlier in the same Part (ll. 71–72) "Graecismus" is described as a work used in schools. There does not seem to be any other evidence as to the authorship of Labyrinthus.‡ The allusion to the present work, under the name of Æsopus, is to be found in Part iii. (ll. 11–12). These lines are thus printed by Leyser (p. 826): "Æsopvs metrum non sopit fabula flores Producit fructum flos parit, ille sapit." Compare with lines 3–4 of our Prologue: "Hortulus iste parit fructum cum flore, favorem Flos et fructus emunt; hic sapit, ille nitet" (see Hervieux, ii. p. 385).

In our MS. the couplet just quoted is badly spelt, and two of the verbs are misplaced. The whole Prologue is as follows:—

"Vt iuuet et prosit conatur pagina presens
Dulcius arident seria picta iocis

* In the present MS. it is slightly misspelt and misarranged: "Rodere mallo fabam quam rodi perpete cura." (f. 4).

† *Historia poetarum medii aevi* (Halle, 1721), pp. 796–854.

‡ See M. Daunou's article on "Évrard de Béthune," *Hist. littéraire*, vol. xvii. (1832), pp. 129–139. And see Dr. J. Wrobel, *Graecismus* (Breslau, 1887), p. viii.

Ortulus iste parit fructum cum flore fauorem
Flos et fructus emunt : hic nittet : ille sapit .
Si fructus plus flore placet / fructum lege . si flos
Plus fructu . florem . si duo carpe duo :
Ne mihi torpentem sopiret inhercia sensum
In quo peruigillet mens mea mouit opus
Vt mesis pretium de uilli surgat agello
Verbula sicca deus complue rore tuo
Verborum leuitas morum fert pondus honustum
Et nucleum celat arida testa bonum : " f. 2.

The Fables are for the most part only 6, 8, 10, or 12 lines long; but a few are from 14 to 32 lines long. The following is a List of the subjects, with the numeration of the Fables compared with that in Romulus.

1. Cock and Jewel (Rom. i. 1). f. 2.
2. Wolf and Lamb (i. 2). f. 2.
3. Mouse, Frog, and Kite (i. 3). f. 2 b.
4. Dog and Sheep (i. 4). f. 2 b.
5. Dog and his Shadow (i. 5). f. 3.
6. Lion's share: Heifer, Goat, and Sheep defrauded (i. 6). f. 3.
7. Thief's wedding, with Fable of the Sun about to marry (i. 7). f. 3.
8. Wolf and Crane (i. 8). f. 3.
9. Bitch with Young in a Neighbour's kennel (i. 9). f. 3 b.
10. Man and frozen Serpent (i. 10). f. 3 b.
11. Wild Boar and Ass (i. 11). f. 3 b.
12. Town Mouse and Country Mouse (i. 12). f. 4.
13. Fox and Eagle's nest (ii. 8). f. 4 b.
14. Eagle and Tortoise (i. 13). f. 4 b.
15. Fox and Crow (i. 14). f. 4 b.
16. Ass and dying Lion (i. 15). f. 5.
17. Ass and Lapdog (i. 16). f. 5.
18. Lion and Mouse (i. 17). f. 5 b.
19. Sick Kite (i. 18). f. 5 b.
20. Hemp-sowing, and Swallow (i. 19). f. 6.
21. Athenians, with Fable of Frogs and King Log and King Water-Snake (ii. 1). f. 6.
22. Hawk chosen king by Doves (ii. 2). f. 6 b.
23. Thief and Watchdog (ii. 3). f. 7.
24. Wolf and pregnant Sow (ii. 4). f. 7.
25. Mountain in labour (ii. 5). f. 7.
26. Lamb fostered by She-Goat (ii. 6). f. 7 b.
27. Old Dog and Master (ii. 7). f. 7 b.
28. Hares and Frogs (ii. 9). f. 8.
29. Wolf and Kid (ii. 10). f. 8.
30. Peasant and Serpent (ii. 11). f. 8 b.
31. Stag, Sheep, and Wolf (ii. 12). f. 8 b.
32. Baldhead and Fly (ii. 13). f. 8 b.
33. Fox and Stork (ii. 14). f. 9.
34. Wolf and Head of Statue (ii. 15). f. 9.
35. Daw in borrowed plumes (ii. 16). f. 9.
36. Fly and Mule (ii. 17). f. 9 b.
37. Ant and Fly (ii. 18). f. 9 b.
38. Wolf and Fox before Judge Ape (ii. 19). f. 10.
39. Man and Weasel (ii. 20). f. 10 b.

40. Frog and Ox (ii. 21). f. 10 b.
41. Shepherd and Lion: Androcles (iii. 1). f. 10 b.
42. Horse and Doctor Lion (iii. 2). f. 11.
43. Proud Horse and Ass (iii. 3). f. 11 b.
44. War between Birds and Beasts: Bat neutral (iii. 4). f. 12.
45. Hawk, and Nightingale with her Nestlings (iii. 5). f. 12.
46. Wolf betrayed by Fox (iii. 6). f. 12 b.
47. Stag at the Fountain (iii. 7). f. 12 b.
48. Widow consoled (iii. 9). f. 13.
49. Youth and Harlot (iii. 10). f. 13 b.
50. Ox and Calf yoked together (iii. 11). f. 13 b.
51. Viper and File (iii. 12). f. 14.
52. Truce between Wolves and Sheep: Dogs given as hostages (iii. 13). f. 14.
53. Axe granted a handle by trees (iii. 14). f. 14 b.
54. Wolf and Watchdog (iii. 15). f. 14 b.
55. Belly and Members (iii. 16). f. 15.
56. Ape and Fox's tail (iii. 17). f. 15.
57. Ass killed by beating, and his hide beaten on drums (iii. 18). f. 15.
58. Stag in Ox's stall (iii. 19). f. 15 b.

59. Jew and King's Butler. Jew, travelling with treasure, is given by the King his Butler as an escort. Butler kills Jew, who predicts (when threatened with death) that his murder will be declared by a partridge flying before them. A year afterwards Butler serves up a partridge to his Master, and smiles in spite of himself. King manages to extort the secret from him, and orders him to be crucified. Properly in 24 lines, but here only in 22, the couplet describing the flight of the partridge being accidentally omitted. f. 16.

60. "De Ciue et equite." Knight accuses King's Steward of theft, and challenges him. Council decides that Steward (an old man) may fight by proxy. His Ploughman (in most of the later lines called Herdsman) meets Knight with a club. Knight receives such a blow that he is forced to sit down. Ploughman sits down himself, and refuses to rise till the Knight rises. Knight cannot stir. Umpires make Ploughman rise, and Knight owns himself vanquished. In 90 lines. ff. 16–17 b.

So far the original Collection extends. In many MSS., however, there are two or three supplementary Fables or Tales, which amount (taking the copies all together) to something over a dozen. The commonest of all are the two Fables given here.

61. "De capone et accipitre." The Hawk upbraids the Fowl for scudding away from their Master (20 lines.) f. 17 b.

See the French version of Kalilah and Dimnah, by A. Galland

and D. D. Cardonne, republished in one of the volumes of "Romans" in the *Panthéon littéraire* (Paris, 1838), p. 446, col. 2. The footnotes there mention it as the first of three Æsopic Fables introduced into the collection by the Persian author of "Anwari-Sohaïli." They are inserted in the chapter of the Lion and the Bull (Ch. ii. of the Directorium of John of Capua), between the two Apologues which we have numbered 9 and 10: see above, p. 166.

62. "De pastore et lupo." Sheepdog is surrendered, to confirm the alliance between Shepherd and Wolf (14 lines). f. 18.

This is a variant of No. 52 (derived from Romulus iii. 13), in which it is the Sheep themselves who surrender the Dogs. In Fable 21 of Aphthonius, a Greek rhetorician at Antioch (about A.D. 315), the situation is the same as in Romulus: see Nevelet's *Mythologia Æsopica* (Frankfurt, 1610) p. 338.

Colophon: "Explicit liber Esopi Deo gratias Amen." f. 18.

The popularity of this work was so great that, for some centuries, whenever writers allude to "Esopus," we may be almost certain that they are thinking of the present version.

Published at Rome in 1473 and 1475. Hervieux gives a detailed description of more than twenty other editions before 1500: see his *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. i. pp. 542–554. After this time the taste of the Renaissance caused the work to be neglected; and Hervieux records only twelve editions (pp. 554–560). In "Steinhöwels Äsop" (already mentioned under Romulus) the Prologue and the 58 Æsopic Fables were printed (Ulm, about 1476–80); and to these were added the two Tales (our Nos. 59 and 60) in the enlarged edition, the "Äsop," by Sebastian Brant (Basle, 1501). The editor from whom our author received the name of "Anonymus Neveleti" was Isaac Nicole Nevelet. His father, Pierre Nevelet, Sieur de Dosches, and a nephew of the two brothers Pithou who introduced Phædrus to modern Europe, was himself born at (or near) Troyes in Champagne; but, being a Calvinist, he retired to Switzerland. Nevelet the younger published the present poems as Art. 8 in *Mythologia Æsopica* (Frankfurt, 1610). It is dedicated to his father, "Petro Neveleto Doschio." After the dedication and a few "Testimonia," the contents are:—(1) Life of Æsop. *Gr.* and *Lat.* p. 4. (2) Fables, 297 in number, beginning with the

Fox and the Eagle's nest. *Gr.* and *Lat.* p. 83. (3) Aphthonius, 40 Fables. *Gr.* and *Lat.* p. 322. (4) "Gabriæ Græci Tetrasticha," 42 in number, with a 43rd longer poem at the end. *Gr.* and *Lat.* p. 354. (5) "Babriæ Fabulæ," 11 in number. *Gr.* and *Lat.* p. 381. (6) Phædrus, in 5 Books. *Lat.* p. 389. (7) "Avieni Fabvlæ Æsopicæ," 42 in number, preceded by the prose Dedication to Theodosius. *Lat.* p. 453. (8) "Anonymi Fabvlæ Æsopeæ," the Prologue, 58 Fables, and 2 Tales. *Lat.* pp. 486–530. (9) Laurentius Abstemius, 199 Fables and Tales. *Lat.* p. 531. (10) Notes by Nevelet. *Lat.* pp. 621–678.

The latest edition of the present Fables is that of Hervieux, in his vol. ii. (1884), under the title "Gualteri Anglici Romuleæ Fabulæ", etc. He has printed the Prologue, the 58 Fables, and the two Tales, at pp. 385–418; and he has added an Appendix of fourteen other Fables at pp. 418–426, the first two being the Supplementary Fables in the present copy (Nos. 61, 62).

There are two French metrical versions. One was published by A. C. Robert, *Fables Inédites* (2 vols. Paris, 1825), and is called by him "Ysopet i": see the description of our copy of it, forming Part i. of Add. MS. 33,781, formerly Grenville MS. xiii. (below, p. 335). The other version, contained in a Lyons MS. of about 1300, has been published by W. Foerster, as vol. v. of his Altfranzösische Bibliothek, under the title of *Lyoner Yzopet* (Heilbronn, 1882). Foerster has also given an edition of the Latin original, the present work, in the same volume (pp. 96–137), which has somehow been overlooked by Hervieux.

Additional 11,966. ff. 13–35.

Vellum; xvth cent. Octavo; ff. 23, having 24 lines to a full page. With headings, etc., in red, and coloured initials.

The contents of the volume are:—(1) Portions of the Epistles and Ars Poetica of Horace. f. 3. (2) The present article. f. 13. (3) "Seneca moralis de quatuor virtutibus." ff. 36–47. At the end, on three paper fly-leaves (ff. 48–50), are a few extracts from Plutarch, in *Latin*. This MS. is a palimpsest. Sir F. Madden has made a note at the beginning (f. 1), saying: "The palimpsest portion (ff. 9–29) is not earlier than the 10th cent. and formed part of a Church Service Book."

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Sixty Æsopic Fables, and two Tales. With a Prologue. In *Latin* elegiacs.

Heading: "Esopi fabulę feliciter incipiunt."

The series agrees with that in Add. 18,107. The fourteen introductory lines of Fable 21 are headed: "De atica carente rege" (f. 18 b); and the Fable itself is headed: "De ranis querentibus dominum habuerun[t] serpentem" (f. 19).

Described by L. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. i. (1884), p. 522.

Royal 15 A. xxviii.

Vellum; xvth cent. Octavo; ff. 16, having 35 lines to a page. With initials in blue and red, and an illuminated letter at the beginning, enclosing a half-length human figure; and with other coloured figures of a cock, and of dogs and birds, and a man, at ff. 1, 1 b, 2, 2 b, 3 b, 5 b. Written in Italy.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Sixty Æsopic Fables, and two Tales. With a Prologue. In *Latin* elegiacs.

The first fifty-eight Fables and the first of the two Tales (ff. 1–14) correspond to the first fifty-nine articles in Add. 18,107; but after that the order differs a little. Articles 60 and 61 are the two supplementary Fables (f. 14 b), and answer to Articles 61 and 62 of Add. 18,107; and thus the second Tale becomes Article 62.

The fourteen introductory lines of Fable 21 are headed "De atheniensibus qui fecerunt regem"; while the narrative is headed "De ranis petentibus regem" (f. 5). The last Tale is headed, as usual, "De ciue et equite" (f. 15); but a division occurs after the eighteenth line, with a second heading "De dillatione cene et querella senis" (f. 15). The Tale then continues, and it ends with two lines (not in Add. 18,107):

"Fine fruor uersu gemino quod cogitet omnis
Fabula declarat datque quod intus habet" (f. 16).

The concluding couplet is in the printed editions: see Hervieux, vol. ii. p. 418. This MS. is described in his vol. i. pp. 517–8.

Additional 10,089. ff. 13 b–33 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 21, having 23 to 29 lines to a page. With coloured initials, and headings in red. The whole MS. contains:—(1) Theoduli Ecloga, with glosses, etc. f. 2. See the description of Royal 15 A. vii. art. 2 (p. 272 above), a MS. which contains an Avianus (ff. 14–25). (2) The present article. f. 13 b. (3) "Liber parui Doctrinalis". f. 34. This is frequently printed as one of the poems of Alain de Lille; but see the description of Harley 4967, art. 10 (p. 276 above). (4) "Liber Sinonomorum. Johannes" [de Garlandia]. ff. 46–69 b. See again Harley 4967, art. 14.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Sixty Æsopic Fables, and two Tales. With a Prologue. In *Latin* elegiacs. With some marginal and interlinear glosses in *Latin*, and a few words in *English*.

The present copy agrees with that in Add. 18,107; except that Fable 21 is not here divided into two (see f. 19), and that the last Tale ends with the additional couplet (f. 33) which occurs in Roy. 15 A. xxviii. (f. 16), and also in the printed editions.

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 518.

Additional 27,625. ff. 1–25 b.

Vellum and Paper; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 25, having 22 lines to a page. With headings and initials in red.

The rest of the volume (ff. 26–84 b) contains Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiæ.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Sixty Æsopic Fables, and three Tales, the last of which is the Tale of the Boy begotten by the snow. With a Prologue. In *Latin* elegiacs.

The series (apart from the supplementary Tale) agrees with that in Add. 18,107; except that Fable 60 contains (f. 24 b) the two concluding lines that occur in Roy. 15 A. xxviii. (f. 16) and in the printed editions. Fable 21 has the usual fourteen introductory lines headed "D[e] ateniensibus", etc.; and the Fable itself is headed "De ranis", etc. (f. 7 b). The supplementary Tale, in eighteen elegiacs, is headed: "De uxore et uiro et puero." It begins: "Absenti figit dum cornua sponsa marito." f. 25; and ends: "Falere falentem suspicor esse pium." f. 25 b. The scribe has added "Ego . F . feci hoc opus."

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 522.

Additional 10,088.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 18, having 32 lines to a page. With headings and initials in red. Written in an Italian hand. In the original binding of stamped leather, with the title "Esopus" on one of the sides.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Sixty Æsopic Fables, and three Tales, the last of which is the Tale of the Boy begotten by the snow. With a Prologue. In *Latin* elegiacs.

The series (apart from the supplementary Tale) agrees with that in Add. 18,107; except that Fable 60 ends (f. 17) with the additional couplet that occurs in Royal 15 A. xxviii. (f. 16) and also in the printed editions. Fable 21 has the usual fourteen introductory lines, headed: "De terra athica que accepit regem" (f. 5); and the Fable itself is headed: "De ranis que acceperunt regem" (f. 5 b). The supplementary Tale (which is in 18 lines) is headed: "De sponsa et marito absente." It begins: "Absenti

fingit dum cornua sponsa marito." f. 17 b; and ends: "Fallere falentem suspicor esse pium." f. 18. Colophon: "Explicit Esopus. Deo gratias. Amen." f. 18.

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 518.

Additional 11,896. ff. 2–25 b.

Vellum; A.D. 1477. Folio; ff. 24, having 23 lines to a page. With headings in red, and illuminated initials; and with the figure of a cock at the beginning, together with the arms of Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan (1476–1494), for whom (a child of nine years) the book was written. On f. 1 the name of the first owner has been inscribed, IO GZ DVX MLI.

A subsequent owner has copied this inscription except MLI, and has added his own name* and monogram, with the words "Iste liber est mei Farandi de nobilibus Chairi."

The MS. contains:—(1) The present article. f. 2. (2) "Vita Esopi fabulatoris clarissimi . e grẹco latina per Rinucium facta ad reuerendissimum patrem dominum Antonium tituli sancti Chrysostomi prẹsbyterum cardinalem." f. 26. This Life of Æsop was composed, in Greek, by Maximus Planudes. The translator (whose name is often wrongly written "Remicius") was Rinuccio of Arezzo, who began to translate the Life and Fables before the papacy of Nicolas V. (1447–1455): see the words of the presentation-copy, given by Domenico Giorgi in his *Vita Nicolai Quinti* (Rome, 1742), p. 195. Rinuccio and another Greek scholar, Aurispa, were Secretaries under Nicolas V. This is attested by Lorenzo Valla, who says that they regarded him as their disciple: see his *Antidoti in Pogium liber quartus* (Sienna, 1498), sig. G. 6. (3) A hundred Æsopic Fables, in prose, by the same translator, with the colophon: "Vita ẹsopi . et fabulẹ per Rynucium thettalum traductẹ. Mediolani absolutẹ quarto nonas Junias pro Illustrisimo et Excellentisimo D. domino. Io. Ga. Duce Mli etc. 1477." ff. 68–100 b. The epithet (probably quite fanciful) of Thessalian, here and elsewhere applied to Rinuccio, has often been noted, but never explained: see Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertazioni Vossiane*, vol. ii. (Venice, 1753), pp. 210–211. The Latin Life and Fables, with the same denomination of Rinuccio as "Thettalus," were printed (in a volume beginning with a few Greek Fables, etc.) by Bonus Accursius, in Milan, about 1480.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Sixty Æsopic Fables and two Tales. With a Prologue. In elegiacs. Followed by a supplementary Tale, in eight hexameters. *Latin.*

* The initial of the owner's name might be a J with a cross through the middle; but Jarandi seems an impossible name, whereas Farandi is mentioned as the name of a Milanese by Johann Hallervordt, *Bibliotheca Curiosa* (Frankfurt, 1676), p. 347. He there appears as Prosper Farandi, Mediolanensis, and as a translator of Thomas à Kempis into Italian.

Fable 21 is divided into two (ff. 8, 8 b), as usual; and the first fifty-eight Fables and the first Tale run in the usual order. But the two supplementary Fables are here inserted between the first and second Tales; so that Articles 60, 61, and 62, of the present MS. (ff. 22 b, 23, 23 b) correspond to 61, 62, and 60 of Add. 18,107. The last Tale (Art. 62) is here divided into two by an illuminated initial (f. 24); though not by any distinct Heading, as it is in Roy. 15 A. xxviii.

The supplementary Tale is as follows:

"De pueris ludentibus et lepore.
Lvdentes pueri suspendunt ridiculose
Vnum de sociis: quem seruant absque dolore.
Tunc lepus hac transit pueri quem prehendere currunt.
Sed dolor immensus fuit illis cum redierunt.
Cernunt defunctum pueriliter ante ligatum.
Artem nec noscunt: qua possint reddere uitam.
Cum quid facturus sis rerum respice finem.
Multa quidem risu fiunt portantia mortem." f. 25 b.

Colophon: "Deo laus et eius genitrici M[edio]l[an]i Kl. aprilibus 1477."

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. pp. 520–522.

Additional 33,780 (Grenville xxxvii.).

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 32, having 29 to 35 lines to a page. With initials in red and blue. A few rude figures of animals are scribbled on six of the margins (ff. 6 b, 7, 7 b, 15 b, 16, 19), and one of these (f. 7 b) is coloured. At the beginning is inserted a note to Thomas Grenville, the owner of the MS., from Francis Douce (for whom see below, p. 336, note), 23 Sept., 1816 (f. 1); and at the end of the note (f. 1 b) are a few additional jottings signed T[homas] G[renville].

Anonymus Neveleti. Fifty-eight Æsopic Fables, and two Tales. With a Prologue. In elegiacs. Furnished with glosses at the foot of each article. *Latin.*

The chief peculiarity of this MS. is, that the authorship is

attributed to one "Salon," who is here said to be a native of Pavia. The first Gloss, attached to the Prologue, begins: "Salon quidam sapiens homo fuit qui iuit athenas . ibique inuenit . librum esopi greci poete prosaice scriptum . et metrice de diuersis fabulis . et iacebat quasi exille opus cumque ibi cepisset legere et uidisset ad figuram posse conuerti . ad figuram nostri carminis adduxit . fecit inde quemdam librum latinis uersibus" (f. 2). This was at one time a common tradition in Parma. Hervieux quotes a passage from an edition of Venice, 1519, which was copied by Taddeo Ugoleto (a scholar of Parma) * from a "Codex uetustus de uita Æsopi," running thus: "Salo autem poeta Parmensis, dum studeret Athenis, easdem fabulas de græco in latinum nostris moribus aptando metrice composuit" (see Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, vol. i. p. 437, note). But in the present MS. the gloss says, a little further on: "libri titulus talis est. Incipit liber esopi greci poete. Vel incipit liber salonis papiensis poete". f. 2.

The series agrees with that in Add. 18,107, except that it does not contain the two supplementary Fables; and that Fables 5 and 6 (according to the usual arrangement) are here placed in reverse order (f. 4). The fourteen introductory lines of Fable 21 are headed "De terra attica carente rege" (f. 10); and they are followed by a gloss, and the gloss by the heading "De ranis petentibus regem," together with the Fable itself (f. 10 b). There is no general Heading. The Colophon runs: "Explicit Esopus cum exposicione." f. 33 b.

Described (as Grenville xxxvii.) by Hervieux, vol. i. pp. 526–7.

---

* See the description of Add. 18,107 above, p. 310.

Harley 2745. ff. 136–152 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 17, having 29 to 32 lines to a page.
The rest of the MS. contains extracts from the works of Ovid and other Latin Classics, among which is inserted (at ff. 47–50) a portion of the beginning of the Alexandreis. These poems are altogether disarranged. Thus, the first portion of the spurious Ovidian poem De Vetula occupies ff. 153–160 b, whilst the rest of the poem is on ff. 1–31.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Fifty-eight Æsopic Fables, and two Tales. With a Prologue. In elegiacs. Furnished with marginal glosses on the first three leaves. *Latin.*

The series agrees with that in Add. 18,107, except that it does not contain the two supplementary Fables. Heading: "Incipit liber Esopi." f. 136. At the end of Fable 20 is added: "Explicit liber 1^us^. incipit 2^us^." f. 140 b. The fourteen introductory lines of Fable 21 are separated from the narrative by the rubric "De ranis." f. 141. Colophon: "Explicit liber esopi." f. 152 b.

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 518.

Additional 11,897.

Paper; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 28, having 20 lines to a full page. With initials in blue and red, and headings in red.

ANONYMUS NEVELETI. Fifty-eight Æsopic Fables, and two Tales. With a Prologue. In elegiacs. Furnished with marginal and interlinear glosses. *Latin.*

This copy agrees with that in Add. 18,107; except that the positions of Fables 29–30 (f. 12 b), and also of Fables 51-2 (ff. 21 b, 22), are reversed; and that it does not contain the last two of Add. 18,107. Fable 21 has the usual fourteen introductory lines, which are here headed: "Sequitur Hystoria de gente attica" (f. 9); and the Fable itself is headed: "De ranis postu-

lantibus sibi dari regem a Joue" (f. 9 b). The last Tale (No. 60) concludes (f. 28) with two verses similar to those in Royal 15 A. xxviii. and in the printed editions. To this is added:

"Explicit esopus totus quasi nectare potus
Quo decies sena stat fabula scriptaque bina
Versus nongentos per quinquagintaque cunctos
Ysopus est herba esopus dat bona uerba." f. 28.

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 522.

Egerton 832. ff. 171–187.

Paper; xvith cent. Duodecimo; ff. 17, having 33 lines to a page. With three initials in red.

The MS. contains (all in *Latin*):—(1) History of Susannah, in elegiacs. f. 1. (2) Liber "de doctrina cordis", a work ascribed by Fabricius, on the authority of Sanderus (*Bibl. Belgica*, p. 359), to a certain Joannes Divinus; presented to the Nuns of Fontevraud by "Magister Martialis Masurier" (Master of Theology at the Sorbonne in 1509, d. 1550), with a Preface by himself. f. 5. (3) "Floretus," a religious Summa, in hexameters. f. 142. (4) Parabolæ, by Alanus de Insulis. f. 161. (5) The present Article. f. 171. (6) "Liber de arte poetrie," by Horace. f. 187 b. (7) De consolatione Philosophiæ, by Boethius. f. 195. (8) "Gregorius in pastorali": extracts from the Pastoral Cure of Gregory the Great. f. 265. (9) "Liber de maximis theologie", by Alanus de Insulis. ff. 270–318 b.

Anonymus Neveleti. Fifty-eight Æsopic Fables, and two Tales; divided into three Books. With a Prologue. In elegiacs. Preceded by an Epigram, in two couplets. *Latin.*

The present series agrees with that in Add. 18,107; except that Nos. 39 and 40 are here reversed (ff. 179 b–180); and that the two additional Fables are omitted. Fable 21 is divided in the usual way (f. 176). The Epigram at the beginning is headed: "Epigrama in esopicas fabulas." It is as follows:

"Jocundos flores fructus editque salubres
Ortulus esopi . carpe quid ipse voles
Jure legendus erit qui miscuit vtile dulci
Si bene perpendis noster hoc actor agit." f. 171.

After the Prologue (f. 171 b) come Fables 1–20. Fables 21–40 are headed: "Incipit liber secundus" (f. 175 b). Fables 41–58, and the two Tales, are headed: "Liber Tercius" (f. 180). Colophon: "Explicit apologiarum esopi liber Tercius." f. 187.

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 517.

Additional 10,093. ff. 57–65 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Duodecimo; ff. 9, having 29 to 32 lines to a page. With headings and initials in red.

The first part of the volume contains:—(1) Disticha Catonis. f. 1. (2) A short grammatical Treatise. f. 7. (3) Liber Epigrammatum ex sententiis S. Augustini, by Prosper Aquitanus, followed by 96 lines of his Poema "conjugis ad uxorem": imperfect. ff. 18–39, and 39–40 b. (4) Two Books of Boethius De Consolatione, followed by a few lines of Book iii. ff. 41–56.

Anonymus Neveleti. Thirty-eight Fables (two of them imperfect). With a Prologue. In elegiacs. *Latin.*

The series agrees with that in Add. 18,107. But it breaks off after l. 9 of Fable 35 (f. 64 b), and begins again (f. 65) with Fable 42, ending finally (f. 65 b) with l. 11 of Fable 44. Fable 21 has the usual fourteen introductory lines, headed: "De populo petente Regem" (f. 61 b); the Fable itself being headed: "De ranis petentibus regem [J]oui." (f. 61 b).

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 519.

Additional 11,675.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Octavo; ff. 8, having 26 lines to a page. With initials in blue and red.

Anonymus Neveleti. Thirty Æsopic Fables, and the first four lines of Fable 31. With a Prologue. In elegiacs. Furnished with some marginal and interlinear glosses. *Latin.*

The series, so far as it goes, corresponds with that in Add. 18,107. The second leaf has been misplaced; it ought

to come at the end. It contains the last 8 lines of Fable 27, and Fables 28–30, together with the first four lines of Fable 31. Fable 21 (f. 7) consists of two divisions, the fourteen introductory lines, and the narrative about the Frogs. Fable 31 ends (imperfectly) with l. 4: "Namque die fixo debita spondet ouis" (f. 2 b).

Described by Hervieux, vol. i. p. 520.

Additional 10,389.

Paper; A.D. 1462. Folio; ff. 54, having 30 to 34 lines to a page. Imperfect, a leaf being lost after f. 27. Followed (ff. 56 b and 57 b) by other entries in *Latin* verse and prose. With initials in blue and red, and 76 coloured drawings. At the foot of the first page is a shield of arms, bendy nebuly of 8, argent and gules. The shield is between two lozenges, one of them bearing the motto "Pax Aeterna", and the other bearing a device which looks something like a tradesman's mark, together with the initials "b" and "A" (f. 3). The arms and motto are repeated further on, upon the trappings of a knight's horse (f. 54); and the colophon gives the name of the scribe as "Jhoanes benedictus aurifex," together with the same motto (f. 57). At the beginning is inserted a letter, addressed to Richard Heber (the owner), from Francis Douce, 17 Feb., 1817 (f. 1). Douce remarks: "The MS. affords many various readings of the barbarous text, of which scarcely two copies agree, and which Master Benedict, the Goldsmith, and transcriber of your MS., has now and then rather obscured than improved, *à la mode des copistes*. The chief value of the MS. consists perhaps in the illuminations, the work of no mean artist, and curiously illustrative of the old Venetian costume. I can make nothing of the shield of arms in the first page, which I think cannot well belong to Master Goldsmith, the custom being, as I should suppose, in Italy, as in other countries, that none beneath the rank of gentlemen should bear arms, and therefore he has given his *merchant's mark* in one of the escutcheons below." Again: "I have called the transcriber a goldsmith, rather than by the surname of *Orefice*, which he might seem to have Latinized into Aurifex, because the letter b seems to fit the name of Benedictus, and the merchant's mark to correspond with the goldsmith. The epitaph that immediately follows the work [f. 56 b] is that of John Visconti, Duke of Milan; you will find it, with much variation, in Paul Jovius's lives of the Dukes. The list on the last page [f. 57 b] is of the early Doges of Venice."

Esopo Zuccarino. Fifty-seven Æsopic Fables (originally fifty-eight, one, No. 33, having been lost) and two Tales, with a

Prologue, by the author known as Anonymus Neveleti; together with two Supplementary Fables and two Supplementary Tales. In elegiacs. *Latin.* Each Latin article is followed by two *Italian* sonnets, namely a translation in 16 lines, headed "Sonetus," and a moral poem in 14 to 17 lines, headed "Comentum." With a "Sonetus" and "Comentum" as an Introduction, and with a Canzonetta and a Canzone as a conclusion. The Italian poems are the composition of Accio Zucco, of Somma-Campagna, near Verona.

The introductory poems are accompanied by a coloured drawing, which represents Æsop giving to Accio Zucco his Book of Fables (f. 3); and the Prologue has the figure of Æsop pointing out flowers to his pupil Zucco (f. 4). There were originally 64 Fables and Tales, all illustrated. No. 32 (Fly and Baldhead) remains, in its Latin form (f. 27 b); but the Italian poems on the subject, and the drawing, are lost. No. 33 (Fox and Stork) is lost, in the Latin; and only the end of the "Comentum" and the illustration remain (f. 28). On the other hand, No. 21 is divided into two distinct Parts (Athenians, and Frogs, demanding a king), each with its own illustration (ff. 19, 20). Nos. 15, 18, 20, 39, 43, 46, and 64, have two drawings each, and No. 48 has three (ff. 14 b, 17, 18 b, 32 b, 35 b and 36, 38, 53 b and 54, and 39 b and 40). Thus there are 73 illustrations left, of the Fables and Tales; there is one of the Introduction, another of the Prologue; and another drawing (two young men drinking farewell to each other) is appended to the concluding Canzone (f. 56).

The work is headed: "Incipit liber Exopi Zucarini editi a Zucone de Suma campanea." The first introductory poem, headed "Sonetus," is as follows:—

"El me conuien uestir de laltru fronde
Perche lenzegno mio troppo e ligiero
E seguir lorma per si bon sentero
Che al mio rimar faça perfecte sponde
Eccoti exopo che qui mi responde
Con chiaro uolto e animo sanciero
E disse a me cun suo parlar mainero
I dono a te le mie faule jocunde

I spiriti mei alor tuti fuor mossi
Per lalegreza quali eran dij prima
Tuti occupati e dignorancia grossi
Cominciar uolgio adonca dala cima
E reuestir di lui li nudi dossi
Tanto che redurolo tuto in rima
Colui che regie nel celeste regno
Sua gratia preste al mio picolo ingiegno." f. 3.

The rest of the page is occupied with the second introductory sonnet (in this case of 16 lines), headed "Comentum." On the next page the Prologue b-gins: "Vt iuuet et prosit conatur pagina presens", etc.; and it is followed by the "Sonetus" and the "Comentum" in Italian. The first 62 Latin Fables and Tales (with exception of the lost No. 33) agree with those in Add. 18,107. To these are added two more Tales: (1) The Child of snow. f. 52 b;—(2) Protest of Hell against receiving the stinking soul of a Peasant. f. 53 b. The last "Sonetus" and "Comentum" are followed by the canzonetta (in 32 lines), beginning:—

"Volume mio quel poco dargumento
Il qual tu spandi so che biaxemato
Seray per zascun lato." f. 54 b.

The concluding Canzone is in 8 stanzas of 15 lines, with an Envoy of 11 lines. The first stanza ends with giving a name to the work. The stanza is as follows:—

"Qvi si conchude il fin de lopra mia
Che si contene auanti nel principio
Del polito hedifficio
Chel buon doctore mi dono luy stesso
O examinato in omni allegoria
Coliendol il fiore per lo primo indicio
E per lo beneficio
Il fructo retentino o fermo messo
Lun dopo laltro seguitando apresso
Per hauer doppo il fin qualche memoria
E per che questa ystoria

Per me uolgarizando e posta in rima
Cogliendo di sentencia la piu cima
E in uolgaro tracta dal latino
Ollo nomato exopo Zucharino." f. 55.

The Envoy ends with the name and surname of Accio Zucco and his place of birth:—

"Tu ai canzon ben perfecto noxiglio
Sia pur secca la guscia quanto uole
Facian poche parole
Chel tropo dir talora recresse
Sel nome mio alcun saper uolesse
Digli che azo el proprio nome mio
Or uatene con dio
E franchamente mostra la tua arte
E se tu troui in parte
Che del pronome mio saper si lagna
Risponde il zucho da soma campagna." f. 56.

Colophon (f. 57):—"De sorio Jhoanes benedictus aurifex scripsit die . 15 . augustij 1462 . in contrata sancti saluarij . PAX AETERNA."

In the first printed edition (Verona, 1479) the figure of Æsop giving his book to Zucco forms the frontispiece, on the reverse of which is a Sonnet, not in the present MS., and six lines of Latin elegiacs, both referring to the figure of Æsop. The Title then follows: *Accii Zuchi Summa Campanee Veronensis viri eruditissimi in Aesopi fabulas Interpretatio per rhythmos in libellum Zucharinum inscriptum contexta foeliciter incipit.* Other editions were published at Rome in 1483, Brescia in 1487, Venice in 1497, Milan in 1498, Venice in 1502, Milan in 1520, and Venice in 1533 and 1549. In two of the Venetian editions (1497 and 1502) the work is entitled *Esopo Historiado.*

Additional 33,781 (Grenville xiii.).

Vellum; xivth cent. Small quarto; ff. 132, having 26 lines to a page. With 83 miniatures drawn with pen and ink, the background diapered and washed with very pale yellow; 64 being prefixed to the Fables of the Ysopet, and 19 to those of the Avionnet. Two or three leaves are lost at the beginning.

YSOPET-AVIONNET. Eighty-three Fables, in two Parts. The first Part contains 59 of the Fables of the Anonymus Neveleti (including that of the Athenians asking for a king, which is usually reckoned as a Prologue to the Frogs asking for a king) and 5 Fables from other sources; and the second Part contains 18 Fables of Avianus, with one by an unknown mediæval writer. In elegiacs. *Latin.* Each Fable followed by a version in *French* octosyllabics. Dedicated, in a general Epilogue in *French*, to Jeanne of Burgundy, Queen of Philip VI. of Valois.

Of the French version of Part I. of this collection of Fables, called by A. C. Robert "Ysopet I." (so as to distinguish it from "Ysopet II.", a French version of the Fables of Neckham), there are six copies described by Hervieux (vol. i. pp. 475–495, 523–526, and 531–2). Three of these are stated by him to be almost identical, both in texts and in miniatures. The first is the MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale used by Robert (at that time numbered 7616, but now known as MS. français 1594: see the description of it by Robert, *Fables inédites*, vol. i. pp. clxiv–clxix., and also that of Hervieux, vol. i. pp. 475–487). The second is the present MS. (Hervieux, vol. i. pp. 523–6). The third is the Brussels MS. 11,193 (Hervieux, vol. i. pp. 531–2). Our MS. and the Brussels MS. Hervieux (p. 532) conjectures to have been written by the same scribe.

In the present copy there are about two leaves lost at the beginning, which must have contained the Latin Prologue and nearly the whole of the French version of it. The last eight lines of the French prologue were scraped off the first leaf, which now forms f. 7; and a scribe of the 18th century has written in their place "Sensuivent Les Fables Dysopet et Damonet (*mistake for* Davionet) moralisées en Latin et en Romans Lan 1316." The

date here given by the 18th century scribe is drawn from a few lines in the Epilogue, "En le honneur de ma dame chiere La Roÿne a tres belle chiere ma dame iehanne de borgoingne," to which has been added on the margin, probably by the same modern scribe, "femme de philipes Le Long qvi reignoit 1316" (f. 138). But this mistake has been corrected by Francis Douce,* in a letter to T. Grenville, prefixed to the volume, and dated by the recipient 28 Mar. 1816. Douce says:—"The mention of 'Madame Jehanne de Bourgoingne' in the French translator's epilogue has misled some former possessor of the MS. and induced him to give the composition of the translation a wrong date. He had supposed that Jeanne de Bourgogne the wife of Philip le long was alluded to, but that is not the case. It is Jeanne the daughter of Robert II. Duke of Burgundy, married 1313 to the Dauphin Philip, afterwards Philip VI. de Valois, who reigned from 1328 to 1350. Jeanne died 1348. The above is manifest from the subsequent mention in the epilogue of 'Lainsne fil dou bon roy de France' and 'Madame Bonne, sa compaigne.' The Dauphin John (afterwards John le bon, prisoner at the battle of Poitiers) is this *fils ainé*, who in 1332 married Bonne the daughter of John de Luxembourg, the blind and heroic king of Bohemia slain at the battle of Crecy. She died 1349, a year before her husband came to the throne, after having had several children by him, and therefore this translation must have been made between 1332 and 1348, and probably near the latter year on account of the mention of Madame Bonne's children. The MS. has been written a few years afterwards." This passage, with most of the letter besides, was printed in the Grenville Catalogue, *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana* (London, 1842), vol. i. pp. 8–9. Hervieux remarks (vol. i. p. 524) that the cataloguer has taken this from Robert (vol. i. p. clxvi); but Douce's letter, it will be perceived, was written in March 1816, nine years before the publication of Robert's volumes.

Hervieux goes on (p. 525) to describe the present MS. (at that time styled Grenville MS. xiii.). He remarks that each Latin Fable is preceded by a miniature, closely resembling those in the

* Francis Douce (b. 1757, d. 1834) was an Assistant Librarian (with charge of the MSS.) in the British Museum in 1807–1812. He bequeathed his own fine collections to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Bibliothèque MS. 1594; and each is followed by a French version. The moral of each Latin Fable, originally only a distich, is augmented throughout (as in Bibl. Nat. MS. 1594) by two, three, or even four distiches. Again, here, as in MS. 1594, Nos. 48–50, 60 of the Anonymus Neveleti are omitted; whilst five insertions are made (besides the two usual Supplementary Fables, as on p. 319), namely Nos. 47, 61–64 of the present collection.

The following is a Table of the subjects of these Fables (Latin and French), as compared with the copy of the Anonymus Neveleti in Add. 18,107; and with a reference to the French versions published, from MS. 1594, by A. C. M. Robert, *Fables inédites* (2 vols., Paris, 1825).

Add. 33,781.	Add. 18,107.	Robert, *Fables inédites.*
No.	No.	
1. Cock and Jewel. f. 7.	1.	vol. i. p. 82.
2. Wolf and Lamb. f. 8.	2.	vol. i. p. 58.
3. Frog and Mouse. f. 9.	3.	vol. i. p. 259.
4. Dog versus Sheep. f. 10 b.	4.	vol. ii. p. 449.
5. Dog and Shadow. f. 11 b.	5.	vol. ii. p. 50.
6. Heifer, Sheep, Goat, and Lion. f. 12 b.	6.	vol. i. p. 34.
7. Woman and Thief (and marriage of the Sun). f. 14.	7.	vol. ii. p. 28.
8. Wolf and Crane. f. 15.	8.	vol. i. p. 195.
9. Bitch in her Neighbour's kennel. f. 16.	9.	vol. i. p. 116.
10. Husbandman and Serpent. f. 17.	10.	vol. ii. p. 33.
11. Ass and Boar. f. 18.	11.	vol. ii. p. 148.
12. Town Mouse and Country Mouse. f. 19.	12.	vol. i. p. 53.
13. Eagle and Fox. f. 21 b.	13.	vol. ii. p. 451.
14. Eagle and Tortoise. f. 23.	14.	vol. ii. p. 453.
15. Fox and Crow. f. 24.	15.	vol. i. p. 9.
16. Old Lion and Ass's hoof. f. 25.	16.	vol. i. p. 208.
17. Ass and Lapdog. f. 27.	17.	vol. i. p. 234.
18. Lion and Mouse. f. 29.	18.	vol. i. p. 131.
19. Frogs asking for King. f. 31. Without the usual Introduction (Athenians asking for King), which in this collection is treated as a separate Fable, No. 59.	21B.	vol. i. p. 182.
20. Wolf and Sow. f. 32 b.	24.	vol. ii. p. 455.
21. Doves and Kite. f. 33 b.	22.	vol. ii. p. 83.
22. Thief and Watchdog. f. 34 b.	23.	vol. ii. p. 457.
23. Earth in labour (Mouse). f. 36.	25.	vol. i. p. 327.
24. Kite's Son taken ill. f 37.	19.	vol. ii. p. 459.

Add. 33,781.	Add. 18,107.	Robert, *Fables inédites.*
No.	No.	
25. Swallows and Hemp-sower. f. 38.	20.	vol. i. p. 42.
26. Wolf, and Lamb fostered by Goat. f. 39 b.	26.	vol. ii. p. 461.
27. Old Dog beaten by Master. f. 41.	27.	vol. ii. p. 463.
28. Hares and Frogs. f. 43.	28.	vol. i. p. 140.
29. Wolf and Kid. f. 44 b.	29.	vol. i. p. 278.
30. Peasant and tame Snake. f. 45 b.	30.	vol. ii. p. 272.
31. Stag, Sheep, and Wolf. f. 47.	31.	vol. ii. p. 465.
32. Baldhead and Fly. f. 48.	32.	vol. ii. p. 467.
33. Fox and Stork. f. 49.	33.	vol. i. p. 76.
34. Crow in Peacock's plumes. f. 50 b.	35.	vol. i. p. 251.
35. Muleteer, Mule, and Fly. f. 52.	36.	vol. ii. p. 86.
36. Fly and Ant. f. 53.	37.	vol. i. p. 226.
37. Fox and Hare; Ape as judge. f. 56.	38.	vol. i. p. 103.
38. Goodman and Weasel. f. 58.	39.	vol. ii. p. 469.
39. Ox and Frog. f. 59 b.	40.	vol. i. p. 14.
40. Shepherd and Lion: Androcles legend. f. 61.	41.	vol. ii. p. 471.
41. Horse and Doctor Lion. f. 63 b.	42.	vol. i. p. 319.
42. Horse and Ass. f. 65.	43.	vol. i. p. 17.
43. Wolf and traitor Fox. f. 68 b.	46.	vol. i. p. 267.
44. Stag at fountain. f. 71.	47.	vol. ii. p. 19.
45. Battle of Birds and Beasts: Bat neutral. f. 72 b.	44.	vol. i. p. 110.
46. Hawk and Mother-Nightingale. f. 74.	45.	vol. ii. p. 38.
47. Wolf and Sheep: Sheep called Salmon. f. 75 b. Not belonging to the original collection. Perhaps derived, by a later versifier, from the prose Fable in Romulus Roberti, No. 14.	om.	vol. ii. p. 474.
48. Viper and File. f. 76 b.	51.	vol. i. p. 338.
49. Wolves and Sheep: Dogs given as hostages. f. 79.	52.	vol. i. p. 202.
50. Trees and Woodcutter's hatchet. f. 80 b.	53.	vol. ii. p. 362.
51. Wolf and Watchdog. f. 81 b.	54.	vol. i. p. 26.
52. Belly and Members. f. 84.	55.	vol. i. p. 171.
53. Ape and Fox's tail. f. 86.	56.	vol. ii. p. 476.
54. Trader and his Ass. f. 87 b.	57.	vol. ii. p. 478.
55. Stag in Ox's stall. f. 89.	58.	vol. i. p. 297.
56. Falcon and Fowl and Master. f. 91 b. 1st Supplementary Fable.	61.	vol. ii. p. 165.
57. Wolf and Shepherd, and Shepherd's Dog. f. 93. 2nd Supplementary Fable.	62.	vol. ii. p. 480.
58. Jew and King's Butler. f. 94.	59.	vol. ii. p. 482.

Add. 33,781. No.	Add. 18,107. No.	Robert, *Fables inédites.*
59. Athenians asking for King. f. 96 b. Generally reckoned as a mere Introduction to Frogs asking for King, which is here a separate Fable, No. 19.	21A.	vol. ii. p. 485.
60. Wolf and image of a Man's head. f. 98. The four following Nos. (61, 62, 63, 64) did not form part of the original collection.	34.	vol. i. p. 275.
61. Sparrowhawk and Mother-Dove. f. 99 b.	om.	vol. ii. p. 42.
62. Mice wishing to bell the Cat. f. 104.	om.	vol. i. p. 100.
63. Mouse telling young Mouse not to be afraid of Cock; but warning it against Cat. f. 105 b.	om.	vol. ii. p. 12.
64. Woman who commended her cow every day to a different Saint. f. 106.	om.	vol. ii. p. 487.

These 64 Fables, in Latin and French, forming the "Ysopet," are followed (f. 108) by a French Epilogue in 84 lines, the author of which says that he has translated the Latin Fables for the sake of the ladies. He then introduces the "Avionnet" in a Prologue of 30 lines. The Avionnet consists of 18 Fables of Avianus, in Latin and French, and a 19th article containing a mediæval Tale, also in Latin and French. Avianus (not Rufus Festus Avienus, with whom Robert confounds him in his vol. i. p. lxxvii.) has left 42 Fables in elegiacs, with a prose Introduction addressed to a certain Theodosius (see above, p. 272). W. S. Teuffel, when giving an account of Avianus, says:—"It is possible that this preface is addressed to the grammarian Macrobius Theodosius" (*Roman Literature*, Engl. ed., 1873, § 443, vol. ii. p. 462). In § 438 (vol. ii. p. 452) Teuffel says that Macrobius produced his works at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century.

The Avionnet is headed with the Rubric—"Ci commence le liure auionnet." The following is a Table of the subjects, with the numbers of the Latin Fables of Avianus, and references to the pages of Robert where the French versions are printed:—

Add. 33,781.	Avianus. Fab.	Robert, *Fables inédites.*
1. Nurse threatening Child with Wolf. f. 110.	i.	vol. i. p. 283.
2. Crab and her Son. f. 111 b.	iii.	vol. ii. p. 342.
3. Sun and Wind contending for Traveller's cloak. f. 113.	iv.	vol. ii. p. 6.
4. Two Travellers and Bear. f. 114.	ix.	vol. i. p. 357.
5. Bald Knight's wig lost in the Campus Martius. f. 116.	x.	vol. ii. p. 505.
6. Peasant who found a treasure, and was ungrateful to Fortune. f. 117.	xii.	vol. ii. p. 102.
7. Ape who brought his Son to Jupiter. f. 118.	xiv.	vol. i. p. 352.
8. Peacock and Crane. f. 119 b.	xv.	vol. ii. p. 507.
9. Oak and Bulrush. f. 121.	xvi.	vol. i. p. 91.
10. Lion and four Bulls. f. 122 b.	xviii.	vol. i. p. 289.
11. Fir tree and Bramble. f. 124 b.	xix.	vol. i. p. 93.
12. Fisherman and little Fish. f. 126.	xx.	vol. i. p. 310.
13. Two Minstrels, the one covetous and the other envious (losing an eye). f. 127.	xxii.	vol. ii. p. 509.
14. Child who deceived a Thief (jumping down a well). f. 128 b.	xxv.	vol. ii. p. 511.
15. Crow raising water in pitcher with stones. f. 130.	xxvii.	vol. ii. p. 513.
16. Ape-Mother and her two little ones. f. 130 b.	xxxv.	vol. ii. p. 514.
17. Young Bull taunting old Ox at the plough. f. 132.	xxxvi.	vol. ii. p. 516.
18. Fox and Leopard. f. 134.	xl.	vol. ii. p. 202.
19. The Minstrel who came for a cloak to a Canon (a Canon of Troyes, according to the heading of the French version). f. 136.	om.	vol. ii. p. 518.

The whole work concludes with an Epilogue of 86 lines, preceded by this Rubric:—"Comment lacteur a compile ses liures auecques aucunes addicions en lonneur de ma dame la Roÿne." To this is added the heading:—"Addicion." The Epilogue begins:—

"Or est temps que ie doie entendre
A dieu loer et graces rendre
Pour cui ie me suis entremis
De ce liuret ci ou ie mis

Ce que me semble que bon est
De ẏsopet et de ammonnet." f. 137.

The scribe has here misspelt the title of the work; he had previously, however, written it correctly, "Auionnet", in the Prologue, and in the heading (ff. 109 b, 110). The dedication to Jeanne of Burgundy, wife of Philip VI. of France, of which we have quoted the description given by Douce, begins with line 39, as follows:—

"En le honneur de ma dame chiere
Le Roẏne a tres belle chiere
Ma dame iehanne de borgoingne
Ou na ne maute ne vergoinge
Fille dou duc dicelle terre
Ceste matiere ai voulu querre." f. 132.

After 22 more lines it goes on to commend the Queen to God; and it ends with commending in like manner her husband, and the Duke of Normandy (afterwards King John of France), and the Duke's wife Bonne (see Douce, as quoted above). These 20 concluding lines are as follows:—

"Auoir la vueille en sa garde
Le roẏ puissant qui trestout garde
Le Roẏ phelippe son seigneur
Leur lignage sus tous greigneur
Leur enfans toute la lignie
De france qui tant est prisie
Quapres les ennuiz de ce monde
Soient ou tous soulaz habunde
Monseigneur ne vueil trespasser
Le duc mes li vueil amasser
Lainsne fil dou bon Roẏ de france
Qui est de iustice balance
Ma dame bonne sa compaigne
Qui de bonte porte lenseigne
Ne semble pas estre rime
Qui nest clerement exprime

De sa belle succession
De ses enfans pour qui prion
Que ihesu criz le Roy de gloire
Auoir les vueille en sa memoire." ff. 138 b–139.

The MS. at the Bibliothèque (No. 1594) used by Robert (1825) is in some places imperfect. Hervieux has used the present MS. in correcting and completing six of the Fables in his Appendix to the work of the Anonymus Neveleti (see his *Fabulistes Latins*, 1884, vol. ii. pp. 421–6); and also in supplying a few words in the Epilogue (see vol. i. pp. 483–5, 526). He has not, however, mentioned that, whereas Jeanne of Burgundy is called in MS. 1594 "Fille du roy de celle terre," she is here called "Fille dou duc dicelle terre" (see line 43 of the Epilogue), a correction worth adopting.

Additional 11,619. ff. 189–210.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 22, having 25 to 29 lines to a page. With headings in red, and initials in blue and red.

The whole MS. (all in *Latin*) contains:—(1) Short pieces, partly didactic, partly narrative, in verse and prose. f. 1. (2) Drawings from subjects in the Romance of Tristram, washed with purple, green and red. f. 6. (3) "Summa de bono et optimo modo predicandi." f. 10. (4) Treatises on the Passion, etc. f. 74. (5) Sententiæ of Isidore of Seville, in 3 books; abridged, especially in the last two books. f. 107. (6) Virtues and Vices, in 40 leonine hexameters. f. 135. (7) "Tractatus de pueris in claustro nutriendis." f. 135 b. (8) De Antichristo: an Epistle, here ascribed to Alcuin (but see Migne, vol. ci. col. 1289). f. 137. (9) "Vita secundi philosophi." f. 142. (10) Apocalypsis Goliæ. f. 145 b. (11) Epistle, on occasion of a death. f. 153. (12) De adulatione. f. 159. (13) Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins. f. 159 b. (14) Reflections, in leonine verses, and in prose; followed by miscellaneous notes. f. 186 b. (15) The present article. f. 189. (16) Reflections on conjugal duties. f. 210. (17) Narrative of the Passion of Christ. f. 211. (18) The Calf in the sack, from the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfunsi. f. 234. A second hand begins with the next article. (19) "Liber Moralitatis." f. 235. (20) Address to the Cross. f. 266. (21) Thirty-six elegiacs, reminding a Patron that he had promised to send an Ox to the writer, with the burthen "a boue principium", and with the colophon "explicit goli"[as?]. f. 266 b. (22) Forty hexameters, in praise of Alan of Galloway. f. 267. This Alan was Constable of

Scotland about 1210: see *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, edited by Joseph Bain, vol. i. (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. xxvii, 88, 135, etc. (23) Elegiacs on phlebotomy, and on the merits of various meats. f. 268. (24) "Miraculum beati augustini anglorum apostoli." f. 269. (25) Four leaves containing: (a) list of Latin names of numbers, imperfect at the beginning; (b) notice of the harsh or sweet voices of certain birds; and (c) a treatise (mutilated at the end) on the fascinations of womankind. ff. 272–275.

ÆSOPIC FABLES, fifty-two in number. In two Books, the first Book containing 18 Fables, and the second Book 34. With a Prologue. In mono-rhymed quatrains; each quatrain having three lines of 13 syllables, while the fourth line is an hexameter. *Latin.*

Title (on the margin): "Incipiunt Fabule Esopi." The Prologue (in three quatrains) makes no allusion to Romulus. The first quatrain is:—

> "Attendentes insule de longo uenite.
> Esopi fabulas uigiles audite.
> Que sunt per metaphoram . recitate rite.
> Vos qui sermones nostros non uultis abite." f. 189.

The first 49 Fables are based upon the prose collection known as Romulus Nilantii, with some slight additions. The subjects are as follows, with references to the Romulus Nilantii, as re-published by Hervieux.

Bk. i.

1. Cock and Jewel (Rom. Nil. i. 1). f. 189.
2. Wolf and Lamb (i. 2). f. 189.
3. Mouse and Frog (i. 3). f. 189 b.
4. Dog versus Sheep (i. 4). f. 190.
5. Dog and his Shadow (i. 5). f. 190.
6. Lion's share: in company with Buffalo and Wolf* (i. 6). f. 190 b.
7. Lion's share: with Cow, Goat, and Sheep (i. 7). f. 191.
8. Thieves' Wedding: including Fable of the Sun about to marry (i. 8). f. 191.

Bk. i.

9. Wolf and Crane (i. 9). f. 191 b.
10. Bitch in borrowed kennel (i. 10). f. 192.
11. Town Mouse and Country Mouse (i. 11). f. 192.
12. Mother-Fox and Eagle's nest (i. 12). f. 192 b.
13. Eagle with Tortoise, and Crow (i. 13). f. 193.
14. Fox, and Raven with cheese (i. 14). f. 193 b.
15. Sick Lion struck by Boar and Bull (i. 15).† f. 193 b.
16. Ass and Lapdog (i. 16). f. 194.

* Not in the copy published by Nilant, 1709.

† The Ass is not mentioned in our version of the above Fable (No. 15), nor yet in the prose Fable published by Nilant; but he is mentioned, as kicking the Lion, in the copy published by Hervieux.

Bk. i.
17. Lion helped out of a pit by Mouse and her companions (i. 17). f. 194 b.

Bk. i.
18. Swallow and other Birds, and Hemp-sower (i. 18). f. 195.

Colophon: "Explicit liber primus habens capitula xviij." f. 195 b.

Book ii. Heading: "Incipit Liber secundus." f. 195 b.

Bk. ii.
1. Frogs, King Log, and King Water-Snake (ii. 1).* f. 195 b.
2. Kite elected King of Doves (ii. 2). f. 196.
3. Thief offers bread to House-Dog (ii. 3). f. 196.
4. Wolf offers to be Midwife to Sow (ii. 4). f. 196 b.
5. Pregnant Man: Mouse is born (ii. 5).† f. 197.
6. Lamb tells Dog that she loves her Foster-Mother, She-Goat, better than her real Mother (ii. 6). f. 197.
7. Hares and Frogs (ii. 7). f. 197 b.
8. Lion relieved by Shepherd: Androcles (ii. 8). f. 198.
9. Horse kicks Dr. Lion (ii. 9). f. 198 b.
10. War of Birds and Beasts: Bat on both sides (ii. 10). f. 199.
11. Hawk makes Nightingale sing; and eats her Nestling (ii. 11). f. 199.
12. Stag at fountain (ii. 12). f. 199 b.
13. Widow and Sentry: Widow of Ephesus (ii. 13). f. 200.

Bk. ii.
14. Harlot and Youth, both pretending love (ii. 14). f. 200 b.
15. Wolves and Sheep: Dogs given as hostages (ii. 15). f. 200 b.
16. Trees grant Woodman a handle for his axe (ii. 16). f. 201.
17. Wolf prefers liberty to servitude of Dog (ii. 17). f. 201.
18. Belly and Members (ii. 18). f. 201 b.
19. Ape begs Fox for a share of his tail (ii. 19). f. 202.
20. King Lion and Courtier Ape (ii. 20.) f. 202 b.
21. Wolf, flying before Hunter, takes refuge with Herdsman; who half screens him, and half betrays him with a wink (iii. 1). f. 203.
22. Peacock asks Juno for the voice of Nightingale (iii. 2). f. 203 b.
23. Lion carries off a flock of Sheep, one by one (iii. 3).‡ f. 203 b.
24. Birds, and Fowler with weeping eyes (iii. 4).§ f. 204.
25. Truth-teller and Liar in the land of Apes (iii. 5). f. 204 b.

* The usual Introduction of this Fable, turning upon the desire of the Athenians for a king, is omitted in our version. It occurs in both editions of the Romulus Nilantii.

† In these two versions the "Mountain in labour" is changed into a Man; in Marie de France the same change takes place, and the Mouse is also changed into a Beetle (see Harley 978, Fable 44, f. 51 b, col. 2).

‡ In the prose versions of this Fable the Sheep are carried off by a Butcher ("Lanius" in the copy published by Nilant, "lanio" in that published by Hervieux); here it is "leo."

§ Not in the copy published by Nilant.

Bk. ii.
26. Lion and braying Ass (iii. 6). f. 205.
27. Infirm Lion and Fox: "vestigia nulla retrorsum" (iii. 7). f. 205 b.
28. Man and Lion: Man appeals to picture (iii. 8). f. 205 b.

Bk. ii.
29. Camel and Flea (iii. 9).* f. 206.
30. Ant and Grasshopper (iii. 10). f. 206 b.
31. Raven on the back of Sheep (iii. 11). f. 206 b.

Fable 30 is the last of the 45 Fables of the Romulus Nilantii, as published by Nilant (p. 132). The edition of Hervieux contains four more numbers (pp. 362–4).

Fable 31 is the last of those versified from the Romulus Nilantii. The remaining three numbers are from other sources. Hervieux, who has hitherto followed the Bodleian MS. (Digby 172), inserts here a very small fragment (about a Man finding a sword) from the MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 18,270), which he reckons as No. 12 of Book iii.; and he then returns to the Bodleian MS., and concludes with two Nos., namely No. 13, Statue of Æsop, and No. 14, Æsop's Letter to Rufus.

32. He-Goat carrying kidskins to market is defrauded of them by Fox. f. 207.

First quatrain:—

"Hircus altis cornibus statura procera .
Villosus et hyspidus . deformisque fera .
Perrexit ad nundinas non cum merce mera
Portans caprarum pelles baculo sine pera." f. 207.

Last quatrain:—

"Sic edos . xij. coactus est dare
Et noctis conradium satis emit care
Monet nos hec fabula rufos euitare
Quos color et fama notat . illis sociare." f. 207 b.

33. Wolf doing penance. He is ordered to go to Rome. Having no money, he promises to pay three secrets for the passage. His secrets turn out to be old platitudes. ff. 207 b–208 b.

* Not in the copy published by Nilant.

First quatrain :—

"Fuit quondam presbiter senex et sensatus
Armentis et ouibus hunde (*for* abunde) ditatus
Cuius diu copia lupus inpinguatus
Incidit in pedicas tandem misere laqueatus."

Last quatrain :—

"Tangit hec parabola modum peruersorum
Qui mala retribuunt pro factis bonorum
Sanctitatem simulant vanum cor eorum
Hiis bona si confers sunt premia nulla laborum."

A prose version of this is published by Dr. Ernst Voigt, in his *Kleinere Lateinische Denkmäler der Thiersage*, forming No. 25 of Bernhard Ten Brink's *Quellen und Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1878), p. 147.

34. Stag and Hedgehog run a race, to settle their respective claims upon a field. Hedgehog's Wife starts up at the goal before Stag reaches it; and she is supposed to be Hedgehog himself. ff. 208 b–210.

Begins :—

"Ceruus et hericius agrum conseuere." f. 208 b.

Ends :—

"Hoc designat fabula quam modo narrauit.
Vni quod omnipotens cuncta non donauit.
Sed ex parte erigit quos ex parte strauit.
Consilio pollet cui vim natura negauit. Explicit." f. 210.

At the foot of two of the preceding pages the scribe has written the following two lines: (1) "Est Res Enormis. cum fuerit hyrcus. En. Dor. Mys." f. 205 b; and (2) "Cum sit deformis bene debuit esse de hor Mys." f. 206.

These lines have no connection with the Fables on the pages above them (Nos. 27, 28, 29).

Published, from the present MS. alone, by Thomas Wright, as No. i. of the Appendix to his *Latin Stories*, Percy Society (London, 1842), pp. 136–173; with Notes at pp. 244-9. Republished, from the present MS., with various readings from

MS. 177 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. ii. pp. 436–479, with Introduction in his vol. i. pp. 577–582.

Cotton, Vespasian B. xxiii. Part iii. ff. 110 b–118 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Narrow small Folio; ff. 9, having from 42 to 47 lines to a page. With initials in blue, flourished with red. The present article is followed by the Latin poem on the Fall of Troy, by Simon Chèvre d'Or (for this and the rest of the volume see *Cat. of Romances*, vol. i. p. 33).

NOVUS ÆSOPUS, by Alexander Neckam; consisting of 42 Fables, of which 37 are derived from Romulus, and 5 from other sources. In elegiacs; the Fables having usually from 10 to 16 lines apiece, but some having 20 to 30, and one of them (No. 37) having 50 lines. *Latin.*

The author's name was almost, if not quite, universally written "Nequam" by his contemporaries. He was born at St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, in or about 1157. He spent his boyhood at his birth-place, as he says himself, in lines 318–322 of his poem *De laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ* (see the Rolls edition of his work *De naturis rerum*, p. 503). Thomas Wright, in his Preface to the Rolls volume, proceeds to state that "Alexander is said to have made such rapid advance in learning, that while still very young the direction of the school at Dunstable, a dependency of the abbey of St. Alban's, was entrusted to him" (p. x). He afterwards proceeded to Paris, where he studied in the University under his countryman Adam "du Petit Pont"; and where he himself seems to have become a Professor as early as 1180 (p. x). He became Abbot of Cirencester in 1213 (see the Annals of Dunstable, in the *Annales Monastici*, p. 40*). His

* Edited by H. R. Luard for the Rolls Series, in 4 volumes (1864–9), with a volume of Index (1869). They contain the Dunstable Annals, and also the three others which are mentioned above; namely those of Tewkesbury (vol. i.), of Waverley (vol. ii.), and of Worcester (vol. iv.).

death, in 1217, is mentioned in three Annals, those of Tewkesbury (p. 63), of Waverley (p. 289), and of Worcester (p. 409). The last-mentioned Annals add that he died "apud Kemeseye" (Kempsey near Worcester), and was buried at Worcester. All these Annals spell his name "Nequam."

A romantic addition to his biography was first published by Bishop Thomas Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca* (London, 1748), p. 539, note *d*. He there quotes one of the transcripts of old MSS. made by Richard James, the first Cottonian Librarian, and left by him to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The quotation is: "'Mense Septembri natus est ann. MCLVII. regi filius Ricardus nomine apud Windleshore, eadem nocte natus est Alex. Neckam apud S. Albanum, cujus mater fovit Ricardum ex mamilla dextra, sed Alexandrum fovit ex mamilla sua sinistra.' Ita Jamesius, *Coll.* vii. 34. ex MS. quodam penes comit. Arundel." We hardly believe that Richard, even as a babe, would have been contented with anything less than the Lion's Share. And moreover, even if the story were received, we should still be left a little uncertain as to the exact day of the birth. The contemporary annalists all (we believe) go no further than saying that Richard was born in September, 1157.*

John Bale, *Scriptorum Catalogus*, Part i. (Basle, 1557), pp. 272–3, gives a list of Neckam's works, amounting to fifty-five. Some of these may, indeed, be repetitions of the same work under two or three different titles. Only five of the works have yet been published. These are: (1) The present Fables; (2) a recast of the first six Fables of Avianus, known as 'Novus Avianus'; (3) a little Treatise 'De Utensilibus'; and (4 and 5) a large work in prose 'De naturis rerum,' with a smaller supplementary work in elegiacs 'De laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ.' †

---

* The Rev. R. W. Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.* (1878), p. 30, gives the date as 8 Sept.; and in Note 5 he says that "the Chronicle of St. Alban's gives the exact day, viz. September 8th."

† The five works mentioned above have been edited as follows: (1) by Édélestand du Méril, *Poésies inédites du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1854), pp. 176–212, and again by Léopold Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins* (Paris, 1884), vol. ii. pp. 787–812; (2) by Du Méril, *Poésies*, etc., pp. 260–267; and again by Wilhelm Froehner, at the end of his edition of *Avianus* (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 57–63; (3) by Thomas Wright, *Volume of Vocabularies* (Liverpool, 1857), pp. 96–119, and again by Auguste Scheler, *Trois Traités*, etc. (Leipzig,

The work De naturis rerum contains a great many stories, four of which are Æsopic Fables (ed. Wright, pp. 206, 208, 230, 348). The first Fable is the Fox and Raven (food in beak), not the same version as that in the present collection (No. 27), but taken from Apuleius ("Florida," Lib. iv. Num. 23). The second instance is little more than an allusion to the Mother-Ape and her two Little Ones (Avianus, No. 35). The other two are from Romulus. They are: Lion and Man (painting), from Rom. iv. 17; and Frogs and King Stork, from Rom. ii. 1. second Part.

Bale entitles the present collection "Nouus Aesopus"; and he quotes most of the first line thus: "Ingluuie cogente lupus dum deuor." In our MS. the heading is merely: "Hic incipit Esopvs."

The first word of the first Fable is here spoilt by an absurd mistake. The first couplet is:—

"Inter Gluuie cogente lupus dum deuorat ossa
Pars ossis fracti faucibus hesit ei."

The subjects are as follows, with references to Romulus and the *Fabulæ Antiquæ* of Nilant *:—

1. Wolf and Crane (i. 8). f. 110 b.
2. War between Birds and Beasts (iii. 4). f. 111.
3. Combat between Bull and Gnat (Rom., om.; *Fab. Ant.* 36). f. 111.
4. Sheep-Dogs given as hostages to Wolves (iii. 13). f. 111.
5. Ass and Lapdog (i. 16). f. 111 b.
6. Mouse and Frog: crossing river (i. 3). f. 111 b.
7. Mother-Eagle and Old Vulture (om.). f. 111 b.
   Old Vulture usurps the place of Eaglets. He is fed for some days by Mother-Eagle. A thunder-storm comes on. Eagle says she has never seen such a storm before. Vulture exclaims "I have," and thus betrays himself. Eagle flings him out, and kills him.
8. Lion and braying Ass (iv. 10). f. 112.
9. Lion's Share: with Sheep, Cow, and Goat (i. 6). f. 112.
10. Wolf and Lamb (i. 2). f. 112 b.
11. Driver of mules at Olympic Games (om.). f. 112 b.

1867), pp. 84–118; (4 and 5) by T. Wright, for the Rolls Series (London, 1863).

* This collection has gone by various designations. The latest writer on this subject, Joseph Jacobs, says in his *Fables of Aesop* (London, 1889), vol. i., p. 5: "there is a collection of sixty-seven Romulean fables first published by Nilant in 1709, and known accordingly as the 'Anonymus Nilanti,' but now ascertained to have been compiled by the chronicler Ademar de Chabannes (988–1030)."

12. Daw in peacocks' feathers (ii. 16). f. 112 b.
13. Dog and his Shadow (i. 5). f. 113.
14. Hare and Eagle; Sparrow and Hawk (Rom., om.; *Fab. Ant.* 57). f. 113.
15. Case of Dog versus Sheep (i. 4). f. 113.
16. Serpent and File (iii. 12). f. 113 b.
17. Thief's wedding, introducing Fable of the Sun about to marry (i. 7). f. 113 b.
18. Swallow warning other Birds against Hemp-Sower (i. 19). f. 113 b.
19. Baldhead and Fly (ii. 13). f. 114.
20. Lion and Shepherd: Androcles (iii. 1). f. 114.
21. Sick Ass objects to Dr. Wolf (iv. 15). f. 114.
22. Herdsman questioned by Hunter about Wolf (iv. 3). f. 114 b.
23. Mother-Fox burns the nest of Eagle (ii. 8). f. 114 b.
24. Horse kicks Dr. Lion (iii. 2). f. 114 b.
25. Hawk elected king by the Doves (ii. 2). f. 115.
26. Stag overcome by Horse with Rider (iv. 9). f. 115.
27. Fox, and Raven with cheese (i. 14). f. 115 b.
28. Bitch in a borrowed kennel (i. 9) f. 115 b.
29. Ant and Grasshopper (iv. 19).* f. 115 b.
30. Flock slaughtered by Butcher, one after another (iv. 6). f. 115 b.
31. Truth-teller and Liar before the King of Apes (iv. 8). f. 116.
32. Proud Horse and Ass (iii. 3). f. 116.
33. Stag at the fountain (iii. 7). f. 116 b.
34. Hares and Frogs: 15 lines, one omitted by mistake (ii. 9). f. 116 b.
35. Mountain brings forth Mouse (ii. 5). f. 116 b.
36. Camel and Flea (iv. 18). f. 117.
37. Belly and Members (iii. 16). f. 117.
38. Magpie cannot get rid of old habit of wagging its tail (om.). f. 117 b.
39. Wolf and House-dog (iii. 15). f. 117 b.
40. Peacock begs Juno to give him voice of Nightingale (iv. 4). f. 118.
41. Lion set free by Mouse (i. 17). f. 118.
42. Wolf and Kid (ii. 10). f. 118 b.

Hervieux states (vol. i. p. 707) that four lines of Fable 10 (Wolf and Lamb) are borrowed by Neckam from Fable 2 of Anonymus Neveleti (or, as he calls the author, "Walther"); but in a note in his vol. ii. (p. 793) he allows that a Berlin copy of Neckam's Fables does not contain the four borrowed lines, and he concludes that they may have been inserted by the scribe in the MS. used for his edition. This conclusion is confirmed by the present MS., which does not contain the lines in question. Fable

* Line 7 is: "Hinc formica refert cantasti tunc modo salta." This is singularly close to Lafontaine's version: "Vous chantiez! J'en suis fort aise. Hé bien; dansez maintenant."

10 has here (f. 112 b) only 16 lines, whereas in both the printed editions there are twenty.

Each of the Fables in the present copy has a Heading. Fable 42 is headed "De capella et lupo." This Fable contains 16 lines. Wolf has affected the voice of Mother-Goat, and has told Kid to open the door. The narrative ends:—

"Materni sed consilii non immemor hedus
Spectans per rimas comperit insidias
Sub specie matris inquit me perfide queris
Perdere sed mutilum non habet illa caput."

Moral:—

"Consiliis nos ista monent parere parentum
Que nostre causas vtilitatis habent."

Colophon:—

"Expliciunt fabule ysopi." f. 118 b.

As the Fables of the Anonymus Neveleti were turned into two French metrical versions, respectively answering to the "Ysopet i" of A. C. M. Robert (1825), and to the "Lyoner Yzopet" of Wendelin Foerster (1882); so, in like manner, the Novus Æsopus of Neckam was turned into two French metrical versions, respectively answering to the "Ysopet ii" of Robert, and to the *Fables en vers du xiii^e siècle*, edited from a Chartres MS. by Duplessis (Chartres, 1834).*

The first six Fables of the Novus Æsopus were printed by A. C. M. Robert just before (or in one case just after) the French equivalents in "Ysopet ii": see his *Fables inédites* (Paris, 1825), vol. i. pp. 109, 124, 194, 205, 237, 260. The copy of the Novus Æsopus which he used (2904 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) ended with the title of the 7th Fable. Édélestand du Méril found a full copy of the Novus Æsopus in another MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 8471), and he published it (with an introductory account of Neckam) in his *Poésies inédites du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1854), pp. 169–212. Again, L. Hervieux gives an account of Neckam, *Fabulistes Latins* (1884), vol. i. pp. 702–715; and he reprints the Novus Æsopus (from the Paris MS., No. 8471), vol. ii. pp. 787–812.

* For this reference we are indebted to Hervieux, vol. i. p. 714.

Additional 8166. ff. 40–42 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Tall Quarto; ff. 3, having 38 lines to a page.

The volume seems to have been intended to form a collection of the works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster in 1085–1117. He is mentioned in the Bodleian MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1117, as having died "viii Idus Decembris" (6 Dec.). The whole MS. (all in *Latin*) contains:—(1) Table of syllogistic forms. f. 3. (2) Interpretation of certain names, chiefly Scriptural. f. 3. (3) "Disputacio Gisleberti abbatis Westmonasterii contra iudeos." Preceded by an Epistle to Archbishop Anselm, and followed by a supplementary Dialogue. ff. 3 b, 4, 15. (4) "Sermo eiusdem in ramis palmarum." f. 17 b. (5) Another Dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, beginning "De angelo perdito." f. 18 b. (6) Four poems: namely, two in leonines, "de confessione," and "de corpore et sanguine domini"; a Lyric "ad anselmum archiepiscopum," written in adonics; and elegiacs, "de creacione sex dierum." ff. 28–29. (7) Disputation between a Christian and a Heathen ("gentilis"), "edita a gilleberto Abbate Westmonasterii." f. 29. (8) "Disputacio gisleberti abbatis de anima." f. 37. (9) Proverbial sayings, alphabetically arranged, from A to I. f. 39 b. (10) "Versus eiusdem de rege querenti uxorem." This is merely a Title, the poem which immediately follows having nothing to do with it. f. 40. (11) The present article. ff. 40–42 b.

Two ÆSOPIC FABLES, in hexameters, the first having 99 lines, and the other ending imperfectly at line 96. *Latin.*

1. Kite in the Hawk's nest. ff. 40–41 b. The Kite is hatched with three young Hawks. He betrays his humble origin by fouling the nest, and by taking pride in catching mice. The Father-Hawk splits his skull in two, and the young ones tear him to pieces.

Beg.:—

"Qvid natura queat . contra licet instruat usus .
Exemplis unum de multis accipiamus .
Miluo uicinum sibi fecit pluribus annis .
Accipiter nidum . preda uiuebat uterque .
Sed colubros ranas et mures miluus edebat .
Alter edebat aues quas sustinet unda uel aer."
ff. 40–40 b, line 1.

The Moral (9 lines) ends:—

"Sic natiuorum uis permanet insita morum
Ne supra uires quis presumendo laboret." f. 41 b.

In Marie de France the foster-mother is a Goshawk ("ostur") and the foster-child an Owl: see Fable 80 (Harley 978, f. 62). The Goshawk says of the Owl: "Del oef le poe ie bien geter .... Nel poi fors mettre de nature." In Odo of Cheriton the foster-child is a Buzzard: see Fable 6 (Add. 11,579, f. 98 b). The Mother-Hawk says there, addressing the Buzzard: "Of aye ich þe brouste of aþele ich ne miste." Mall is inclined to believe that Odo was there quoting from the English original of Marie de France, called by her the Æsop of King Alfred: see Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. ix. (1885), pp. 202–3.

2. Ram in skin of Dog. ff. 41 b–42 b. A Rustic has had charge of a splendid hound, belonging to his Lord, and has used him to get a Dog out of a she-wolf. He has kept the wolves at bay with this Dog for years; and he does not know how to fill his place when he dies. He puts the skin of the Dog upon a Ram. Imperfect; first 96 lines remaining.

Beg.: "Rvsticus in saltu sibi quondam tecta locarat." f. 41 b.

The parents of the Dog are introduced in the following lines:—

"Armentis erat his custos canis acer . et atrox .
Et plures aderant . sed multis fortior unus .
Quod genus extiterit . que uires . accipe paucis .
Rusticus a domino patrem susceperat eius .
Nobilis ille canis quia ceruum solus et aprum .
Vi poterat retinere sua . nec pulcrior usquam .
Corpus erat nigrum . caput album . crura nigredo .
Postremos albedo pedes discreuerat ipsos .
Aures et collum color aspergebat uterque .
Leserat hunc ceruus . perfoderat alia [*for* ilia] cornu .
Commissumque sibi seruabat rusticus illum .
Vulnere curatus iam uadit ubique solutus .
Forte lupam dudum captam nutriuerat ille .
Hanc sequitur canis . et coitu commixtus adhesit .
Atque canem genuit cui commendatur ouile."

ff. 41 b–42.

After describing how, when this Dog died, the courage of the wolves revived and they approached the flocks, and how the Ram assumed the skin of the Dog, the poem breaks off with these lines:—

"Iam cogente fame . siluas et concaua seui .
Deseruere lupi . uestitos et subiere .
Armentis campos . sed quam spectare solebant .
Aspiciunt pellem . restant . gressumque retardant .
Et quia mutus erat . quia non latrare ualebat .
Hoc fieri summa delusi fraude putabant .
Pars fugiendo . uias et campos stercorat omnes .
Pars stetit et quid nam gerat hoc mirabile monstrum .
Eminus aspectat . noua terret uisio rerum." f. 42 b.

* * * * *

This is the same subject as the 21st Fable of the Alter Æsopus of Balbo: see Du Méril, *Poésies Inédites* (Paris, 1854), pp. 251–2. Balbo appears to have been an Italian, of the 12th or 13th century. His first twenty Fables are nearly all taken from some version of Kalilah and Dimna. The present (his No. 21) is not known elsewhere, except as No. 15 of the "Fabulæ Extravagantes" of Stainhöwel; and hence also as No. 15 of "Liber Quintus" of Caxton's *Aesop* (see Jacobs's reprint, pp. 180–182). Jacobs (*Aesop*, vol. i. p. 186) conjectures that in these "Fabulæ Extravagantes" we have "a German revision of Alfred's Æsop."

Harley 3865.

Paper; A.D. 1571. Folio; ff. 75, having 19 to 25 lines to a page. With two coloured illustrations (ff. 3 b, 43 b), a coloured title-page and tailpiece, and fourteen coloured initials.

FABLES WITH MORALIZATIONS, in verse, by Robert Henryson of Dunfermline; probably written about 1470–1480. A series of 13 Fables, with two Prologues, containing altogether 2968 lines, arranged in 416 seven-line stanzas and 7 eight-line stanzas. *English.*

In the edition of Henryson's poems published in 1865 (pp. xii, xiii) the editor, David Laing, quotes official documents which show that "Magister Robertus Henrisone in Artibus Licentiatus et in Decretis Bachalarius" was admitted a member of the

University of Glasgow on 10 Sept. 1462, and that he was acting as Public Notary at Dunfermline in March and July, 1478. On the title-page of the present and also of another volume he is called "Scolmaister of Dunfermling"; but it is doubtful what is meant by this designation (pp. xv, xvi). In Dunbar's *Lament* (printed in 1508) Henryson is mentioned as dead (Laing, as above, p. xxi).

The title-page of the present volume is as follows:—"The Morall Fabillis of Esope compylit be Maister Robert Henrisoun Scolmaister of Dunfermling," with the date "1571." f. 1 b. The general "Prolog" is in 9 seven-line stanzas. ff. 2–3. The second "Prolog," prefixed to "The taill of the Lyoun and the Mous," is in 12 seven-line stanzas. ff. 36–37 b.

In the following enumeration of the Fables, the stanzas are all of seven lines, except where otherwise stated.

1. Cock and Jewel, in 9 stanzas; with a "Moralitas" in 5 stanzas. f. 3 b.

2. Town Mouse and Country Mouse, 29 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 4 eight-line stanzas. f. 6 b.

3. Cock and Fox (imitated from Chaucer), 27 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 3 stanzas. (In Laing's edition, 4 stanzas, the second of which is omitted here.) f. 12 b.

4. Fox confessing to Friar Wolf, 23 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 3 stanzas. f. 18.

5. Parliament of Beasts, 43 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 7 stanzas. f. 23.

6. Dog versus Sheep, Wolf as Judge, 16 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 9 stanzas. f. 31 b.

This is followed by the second "Prolog." ff. 36–37 b.

7. Lion and Mouse, 24 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 7 stanzas. f. 38.

8. Swallow and other Birds (flax-sowing), 38 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 9 stanzas. f. 43 b.

9. Fox and Wolf and the creel of herrings (adapted from the Roman de Renart), 36 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 4 stanzas. f. 51 b.

10. Fox and Wolf and the shadow of the moon, 28 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 4 stanzas. f. 58.

11. Wolf and Ram (Ram putting on the skin of dead Dog), 19 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 4 stanzas. f. 63 b.

12. Wolf and Lamb, 13 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 10 stanzas. f. 67.

13. Mouse and Frog (crossing river), 19 stanzas; "Moralitas" in 9 stanzas, of which the first 3 are of eight lines. f. 71–75.

In the *Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson*, edited by David Laing (Edinburgh, 1865), this MS. is described at p. 228, and again (more fully) at p. 266; and the latter page is followed by engravings of the two drawings here, namely "The taill of the Cok and the Jasp" (f. 3 b), and "The preiching of the Swallow" (f. 43 b).

Sloane 1783. ff. 1–6 b.

Paper; about A.D. 1600. ff. 6. With 11 coloured drawings, one at the head of each page, with the exception of f. 4. On ff. 2, 3 an owner has written "William Emott boke."

ÆSOPIC FABLES. Eleven Fables, turned into heroic verse; the eleventh being imperfect. With a sentence in Latin at the head of each Fable, and generally another at the foot of each. *English.*

1. Mouse, Frog, and Kite (a variant of Romulus, Lib. i. cap. 3). In 10 lines, with 4 lines of Moral. f. 1.

Beg.: "A Mouse and Frogg most feircely combating
For that each of the marsh woulde raigne as king."

2. Dog and Shadow (Rom. i. 5). In 10 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 1 b.

Beg.: "While through the streame, a dogg some flesh did beare:"

3. Ass and Lapdog (Rom. i. 16). In 18 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 2.

Beg.: "While on his Master, flatteringly did leape."

4. Sick Kite (Rom. i. 18). In 6 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 2 b.

Beg.: "While sicke in bedd a younger kyte doth lye:"

5. Man and frozen Serpent (Rom. i. 10). In 10 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 3.

Beg.: "While in the snowe, nigh deade with chilling colde;"

6. Town-mouse and Country-mouse (Rom. i. 12). In 34 lines, with 4 of Moral. ff. 3 b–4.

Beg.: "Vppon a tyme, it pleas'd the citty mouse:"

7. Eagle and Tortoise (Rom. i. 13). In 8 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 4 b.

Beg.: "While shelly fish an eagle cannott breake:"

8. Cock and Jewel (Rom. i. 1). In 8 lines, with 2 of Moral. f. 5.

Beg.: "While scrapeing in the dounge, some foode to finde."

9. Wolf and Lamb (Rom. i. 2). In 12 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 5 b.

Beg.: "While bloudy woolfe at fountaines head doth drinke."

10. Hemp-sowing and Swallow (Rom. i. 19). In 12 lines, with 4 of Moral. f. 6.

Beg.: "When first of all, men Hempe began to sowe."

11. King Log and King Stork (Rom. ii. 1). In 22 lines. Imperfect. f. 6 b.

Beg.: "While first the froggs free from all thraldom lyve."

Breaks off with the couplet:

"But all in vaine: for they which first deny'd
A gentle King, nowe must a feirce abyde."

Egerton 1121.

Vellum; about A.D. 1450. Quarto; ff. 127, having 30 lines (or in a few instances, 32 or 33 lines) to a page. With initials in blue and red, and the first of them illuminated; and with 74 illuminated miniatures.

SPIEGEL DER WEISHEIT. A Translation of the Latin Book of Fables, which is known as "Speculum Sapientiæ Beati Cirilli

Episcopi." Originally composed in 4 Books, containing respectively 27, 30, 27, and 11 chapters. Imperfect in the present copy, only Books i. and ii. being complete, Book iii. having 13 chapters and fragments of 7 more, and Book iv. being lost altogether. *German.*

The original is now generally considered as a Latin composition of the 13th century. But in the half-dozen editions, published in France and Germany in the years 1475–1505, it is sometimes expressly said that the work was translated out of Greek, and it is always attributed to a certain Cyril, Bishop and Saint, whom the scribes and publishers probably imagined to be St. Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), or St. Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444). A MS. that had once belonged to the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus came into the hands of the Jesuit Balthasar Corderius; and he, supposing it to be unedited, copied it out, with any alterations that pleased him, and published it under the title of *Apologi Morales S. Cyrilli* (Vienna, 1630). He says in his address to the Reader that he feels doubtful what Cyril this may be, whether of Jerusalem or Alexandria or some other place; and he adds that, the text of his MS. being very corrupt and obscure, he has had to take some liberties, which cannot be properly tested until a copy of the Greek text is discovered. This edition is mentioned as if it were the only one, by another Jesuit, Bohuslaus Balbinus, in his *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. i. (Prague, 1677), p. 9. But he introduces it there, when treating of the two Apostles of the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodius; and it is to the former, commonly known (from his place of birth) as Cyril of Thessalonica (d. 869), that he attributes the authorship of these Fables. He maintains that Cyril wrote them in Greek, and that either he or one of his disciples translated them into Slavonic; and he asserts that many very old MSS. (apparently of the Slavonic version) still exist in various libraries in Bohemia, especially in Krumau (or Krumlov). He even seems inclined to think that Corderius found the work in Greek, and translated it into Latin. Meanwhile, the Latin work had been turned into German prose, and published at Augsburg in 1490; and another German version in prose had been published at Basle in 1520, and at Frankfurt in 1564; the latter had also been turned into verse by a Master-singer, Daniel Holzmann, and published by him at Augsburg in 1571. Holzmann's name was almost for-

gotten, when A. G. Meissner published prose abridgments of 67 of his *Fabeln* at Leipzig in 1782, with some of his verses in the Introduction. Meissner's volume was noticed in H. C. Boie's periodical, *Deutsches Museum* (vol. ii. for 1783), pp. 143–154, in a very judicious Essay by Johann Joachim Eschenburg. This Essay was afterwards republished by its author, with a few additions, under the title of "Über die Cyrillischen Fabeln und den Meistersänger Daniel Holzmann," in his *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst* (Bremen, 1799), pp. 365–384. An attempt to re-establish the authorship of St. Cyril of Thessalonica was made by J. F. Adry, in Milliu's *Magasin Encyclopédique* (vol. ii. for 1806), pp. 17–38. But it is not at all probable that anything will upset the conclusion of Eschenburg (*Denkmäler*, p. 370) that the name of Cyril is a mere ornament, attached to a mediæval Latin composition. "Guidrinus" is the name unreservedly given to the author by Ernst Voigt, in his *Kleinere Lateinische Denkmäler der Thiersage* (No. 25 of B. ten Brink's *Quellen und Forschungen*, Strassburg, 1878), pp. 51–57. In a Breslau MS. (his codex V) Voigt found the inscription "Liber uocatur Gwidrinus sic nominatur" (see his p. 51), and in a Leipzig MS. (his codex L) he found "libri quattuor Gwidrini" (p. 52); and he imagines that he can trace some Italian colour both in the language and the allusions of the work, and this confirms him in heading his article "Guidrinus." We believe, with Voigt, that the work is at least as late as the 13th century; but we doubt whether this is absolutely proved by a quotation made (Book iii. ch. 27) from Nigel Wireker, for this couplet may easily be an insertion. The couplet indeed occurs in the edition supposed to have been printed at Cologne in 1480 (at sign. e. 6, col. 2), but in the other five early editions which we have seen, ascribed to the years 1475–1505, and also in the two early German versions, there is no trace of it. It occurs again in the edition of Corderius (1630), p. 277; and thence it was transferred into the third German version (Vienna, 1645), p. 328. Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe, the latest editor of the Latin *Speculum Sapientiæ* * (Tübingen,

* Published, together with another work of the same class, the "Dialogus Creaturarum," as No. 148 of the Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart (1880), under the curious title of *Die beiden ältesten lateinischen Fabelbücher des Mittelalters.*

1880), has founded his concluding remarks (pp. 285–302) upon Eschenburg's Essay, adding several details about MSS. in Latin, German and Bohemian (pp. 288–9, and 297–302). In the former of these passages (pp. 288–9) Grässe quotes, from the Bohemian philologists Dobrowsky and Hanka, and also from Zeidler (writing in 1880, as Librarian at Prague University), two curious additions to the title, which have been found in Prague MSS. The first is that the book was "editus a cirillo episcopo alias/gwidenon laureato poëta"; and the other is "Cyrilli alias Sycinderini Poëtæ laureati Apologorum libri 4." No explanation has been offered of either of these names, except the wild guess of Dobrowsky (as reported by Grässe, p. 288), that the first refers to some unknown "Cyrillus de Quidenon," and that he was a Neapolitan "aus Quidone, einer kleinen stadt der provinz Capitanata." It is just possible, on the other hand, that "Gwidenon," "Sycinderinus," and Voigt's "Guidrinus," may each stand for the same name; but, in that case, two of them at least must have been distorted beyond recognition. The "Guidone" of Grässe has been sufficiently ridiculed by Pio Rajna, in the *Giornale storico della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. iii. (Turin, 1884), p. 2, note 1. The main subject, however, of Rajna's three articles, *Giornale*, vol. iii. (1884), pp. 1–26, vol. iv. (1884), pp. 337–360, and vol. x. (1887), pp. 42–113, is the character and authorship of the Dialogus Creaturarum. Rajna shows that it must have been composed in North Italy, and probably by Mayno de' Mayneri, a Physician at the Court of Milan in the middle of the 14th century. Rajna naturally begins his first article with objecting to Grässe's title, *Die beiden ältesten lat. Fabelbücher*, etc.

The present work is not founded upon any version of the Romulus, nor upon any other known collection; though various situations have been suggested by older Æsopic Fables, or by the Bestiaries,* or by the adventures of Reynard the Fox. Five of these Fox-Fables have been edited by Ernst Voigt, under the heading of "Guidrinus," in *Quellen und Forschungen*, xxv. (1878), pp. 139–146; answering to the narratives in our Book i. chaps. 5,

* See, for example, the Fox shamming death (Book i., ch. 5); derived (through the Bestiaries) from the Greek work, *Physiologus*, where it is No. 15 (see Friedrich Lauchert's edition, Strassburg, 1889, p. 247). The early Latin translation of the Physiologus passed, at the beginning of the 6th cent., under the name of St. Ambrosius: see Lauchert, p. 88.

13, 24; Book ii. chap. 15; and Book iii. chap. 11. The dialogues are often very long, and learned remarks are assigned to the animals without any regard to their natural characters, except that the Fox and the Raven are the two chief expounders of wisdom.

The Prologue begins:—"Der hachswebend in naturleichen chunsten Maister Aristotiles sprichet in propleumatibus das ist in seinen chunstleichen vnd sweren fragen. Wy wol sich all menschen frewen das sy geleret werden in ewenpilden vnd in geleichnissen. Idoch geuellet in das michelspas wa das gepew der sitten mit sichtigen ewenpilden vnd geleichnissen chlarleich erczaiget wirdet. Dauon sind aus den siten der naturleichen tyr vnd aus aigenschaft beschaffner dinge als aus lewentigen pildern menschleiches lebens naturleiche aigenschaft entworffen vnd gepildet wirdet. Seyd alle welt nicht anders ist wenn ain schul naturleichen lere vnd alle beschaffne ding sint vol vernunft vnd weishait." f. 1. The Master then, addressing his Pupil as "mein aller liebster sun," goes on to say that, as the four Cardinal Virtues are "Weishait Grosmutigchait Gerechtigchait vnd messigchait" (in the Latin text, Prudentia, Magnanimitas, Justitia, and Modestia), so their opposing Vices are "Tarhait Hachuart Geitigchait vnd vnmassigchait" (Dementia, Superbia, Avaritia, and Intemperantia). He therefore proposes to divide his work into 4 Books, each directed against one of these Vices. Of these Books only the first two and a half remain in the present copy. The contents are as follows:—

Book I.

Chap 1. Aged Fox begs Raven to teach him true wisdom. f. 2 b.

Chap. 2. Eagle questions Sun, who replies that he is not a passenger in the ship of wisdom. f. 3.

Chap. 3. Animals in council debate as to which is the best pattern of wisdom; Birds choose Raven, and Beasts choose Fox; Ape lectures both sides. f. 4 b.

Chap. 4. Nightingale ("Grasmuk") and Ant. f. 5 b. Originally the same as Lafontaine's "Cigale," the Latin text having "Cicada."

Chap. 5. Fox shams death; Raven drops stone upon him. f. 7.

Chap. 6. Spider delivers moral discourse to Fly, and ends with catching him. f. 8.

Chap. 7. Mouse taunts Snail for his slowness; Snail retorts upon Mouse for her want of defensive armour. f. 9 b.

Chap. 8. Fisherman lights a fire on Whale's back, thinking him to be an island. f. 10 b.

Chap. 9. Fox wonders why Ape rejoices in the full moon. f. 12 b.

Chap. 10. Fox asks Ant why she is changing her habitation. f. 14. In the Latin text it is Fox who makes the change.

Chap. 11. Ox discourses to Pig on the merits of chewing the cud. f. 16.

Chap. 12. Horse derides Ox for his slow pace and cloven hoof; Ox replies. f. 17 b.

Chap. 13. Raven persuades Hens to come and hear Fox (now turned Nun) chanting the Vespers. Cock meets them, and warns the Hens back again. f. 19. The Latin text speaks habitually of Fox as a female; and in this case the German text has followed it.

Chap. 14. Idle Wolf advises Ox to shake off his yoke; Ox replies. f. 21.

Chap. 15. Raven, having learned to talk by hard work, lectures Frog against being garrulous; Frog replies. f, 22.

Chap. 16. Wolves unmoved by the loudest braying of Ass, but scared by the mere smell of his hunting-companion, Lion. f. 24.

Chap. 17. Mercury (the planet) wonders why Sun is always so regular; Sun replies. f. 25.

Chap. 18. Lion and Fox meet Mouse; Lion salutes her, Fox passes her disdainfully; the two hunting-companions fall each into a snare; Mouse gnaws Lion free, but only derides Fox. f. 26 b.

Chap. 19. Hedgehog, speaking to Adder, likens himself to a true friend. f. 28.

Chap. 20. Raven discourses to Dove on the danger of confiding secrets, even to one friend. f. 29 b.

Chap. 21. Grain of corn, that has sprung up into life again, discourses to Stone at his side. f. 31.

Chap. 22. Bear tears Lamb; Dove upbraids him. f. 33.

Chap. 23. Fox and Snake bite each other; Fox, some time

after, offers a kiss of peace, but Snake refuses to trust him. f. 34 b.

Chap. 24. Fox, grown old, goes on pilgrimage; he refuses the companionship of Watch-Dog, Wild Ass, Bear, Lion, Peacock, Wolf, Pig, and Mule; he chooses the companionship of Panther, Ape, Lamb, Hare, Hedgehog, Ox, young Hound, and Ant; they meet a Raven, and Fox says a few words on the wisdom of choosing wise companions. f. 36.

Chap. 25. The human Ear complains to Nature that she has given him no such protection as the eyebrows, which she has given to the Eye. f. 38. The Latin text has "palpebra."

Chap. 26. Three precious stones, "Gelosia Abeston vnd Sinoclites," contend as to which is the most precious; Carbuncle appeases them. f. 39.

Chap. 27. Debate between Fig-tree and four Evergreens, Laurel, Olive, Larch ("lerchpawm"), and Palm, as to how they keep their leaves in winter. f. 40 b. Instead of the larch (which is not an evergreen) the Latin text has Orange ("Arangius").

The first Book ends: "Also endet sich das erste puch von der edeln weishait." f. 41 b. The second Book is headed: "Nu hebet sich das ander puch an von der Grosmutichait wider das laster der hochuart etc. ut infra." f. 41 b.

Book II.

Chap. 1. Air taunts Earth for her immobility; Earth replies. f. 42.

Chap. 2. Soul leaves Body for a time; on returning she finds Body swollen; they discourse. f. 43.

Chap. 3. He-Goat admires his image in a stream; Hedgehog derides him. f. 44.

Chap. 4. Ostrich, in spite of the warnings of Hen, tries to fly from the top of a rock, and breaks his bones. f. 45 b.

Chap. 5. Bear, in spite of the warnings of Mule, is killed in battle. f. 47. The Latin version speaks of a War-horse; it begins "Loricatus equus sub milite de longe prelium odoratus." The present version begins "Ein wolgebaffenter vrss vnder ainem streitparn Ritter veruieng mit seinem riechen von verren ainen ritterleichen veltstreit." The miniature represents the animal as a bear, and the printed edition of this version has

"Per," with a woodcut of a bear wielding a battle-axe (f. xxxiiii). The second German version has "ross" (Basle, 1520, f. xxviii. b).

Chap. 6. Ape is advised by Raven not to climb a mast, and by Fox not to sit on a throne; he does both things, and has to suffer for them. f. 48 b.

Chap. 7. Sparrow discourses with Hare on the merits and demerits of solitude. f. 50. In the Latin text the second speaker, instead of a Hare, is a Bee.

Chap. 8. Reason reproves Will for presumption. f. 51.

Chap. 9. Stray Sheep returns home by advice of Stag. f. 52 b.

Chap. 10. Appetite for power rebuked by Understanding. f. 54 b.

Chap. 11. Fox persuades Hind to go with him to Bear, to be given a pair of horns; on the way they meet Stag, who warns Hind of her danger, and tells her how Bear lost his ears. f. 56.

Chap. 12. Cloud rebuked for flightiness by her mother, Earth. f. 58.

Chap. 13. Ant wishes to spend her life flying about, like Nightingale and Bee; but Bee dissuades her. f. 60.

Chap. 14. Reed boasts of being taller than Sugar-cane, and is rebuked by the latter. f. 62.

Chap. 15. Cock, in spite of his learning, is decoyed into kissing Fox. f. 63.

Chap. 16. Frog exults in having lost his tail and gained his voice; Eel takes the opposite view. f. 65.

Chap. 17. Fish, though armed with seven rows of teeth, envies Swordfish. f. 67.

Chap. 18. Unicorn tries to pierce Raven, and breaks his horn. f. 68 b.

Chap. 19. "Burd" (in Latin Burdo), offspring of Horse and She-Ass, despises Mule, offspring of Jack-Ass and Mare. f. 70 b.

Chap. 20. Fox, full of fowls and geese, scoffs at hungry Ape. f. 72.

Chap. 21. Vanity of Peacock reproved by Hedgehog. f. 74.

Chap. 22. Ostrich boasts he has the finest wings in the world; other Birds elect Raven as their speaker. f. 76.

Chap. 23. Thorn derides Fig-tree for having no flowers; Fig-tree retorts by saying that Thorn has no fruit. f. 78.

Chap. 24. Firmament rebuked by Saturn for vain-glory. f. 79.

Chap. 25. Peacock derided by Raven for vanity. f. 81.

Chap. 26. Nightingale derided by Raven for vanity. f. 83.

Chap. 27. Raven, gloating over his past misdeeds, is rebuked by Fox. f. 84 b.

Chap. 28. Cock rebuked by Raven for self-praise. f. 86 b.

Chap. 29. Ape, rejoicing in the sunshine, finds Wild Ass in deep melancholy; Wild Ass says that his eyes will not bear the light. f. 88 b.

Chap. 30. Dove flies down into muddy water, and is ridiculed by Mud. f. 91 b.

A space is here left for the colophon of Book II. and the heading of Book III.

Book III.

Chap. 1. Raven desires wealth; Fox lectures him on the dangers of it. f. 93.

Chap. 2. Mole complains to Nature that she has made him with eyes, but without sight; Nature replies. f. 95.

Chap. 3. "Strofilus" (a small bird, the τροχίλος of Herodotus) sees "die giftig slange Cocodrillus" sleeping with his mouth open, creeps down his throat, and tears his entrails out. f. 96 b.

Chap. 4. Fortune rebukes a wealthy Man for desiring more. f. 99.

Chap. 5. Ape envies Fox his tail; they consult Elephant and other animals, as to the happiness obtained by the gifts of Nature. f. 101 b.

Chap. 6. Raven derides Peacock for having been spoiled of his tail feathers. f. 104 b.

Chap. 7. Dragon, proud of the precious stone, named "Dracontides," which he bears upon his head, is rebuked by Hyæna ("Yenn"). f. 107.

Chap. 8. Dropsical Fox cured by Weasel. f. 109.

Chap. 9. Ape, wearing clothes and a chain round his waist, is proud of both, till Fox shows him what they mean. f. 112.

Chap. 10. Youth goes to a mountain of gold in India, but finds it guarded by griffins; Sage gives him good advice. f. 114.

Chap. 11. Fox, lean with fasting, creeps through narrow hole into cellar; by advice of Weasel, he eats moderately, and creeps out again. f. 117 b.

Chap. 12. Conversation between Ape, who bewails his nakedness, and Court Minstrel. ff. 119, 123, 120–121 b. One of the leaves (f. 123), it will be seen, has been here displaced. After this article the eight chapters still remaining are for the most part imperfect, and disarranged.

Chap. 13. Gourd rejoices at having grown as much in a few days as his neighbour, Palm-tree, in a hundred years. Imperfect, ending with the words "vnd dancket gar mit grossem lob vnd . . ." f. 121 b. (See ed. of 1490, fol. lxxxiii. col. 2, ll. 18–19.)

Chap. 14. Leech admonished by Ant for sucking strange blood. Imperfect at beginning, the first words being "du nie vertanden wer fremdes pluet mit luste in sich saugent." f. 126. (See ed. of 1490, fol. lxxxiiii b, ll. 1–3). Ends at bottom of f. 126 b.

Chap. 15. Conversation between Spider and Bee caught in Spider's web. ff. 127, 124.

Chap. 16. Wolf urges Ox to spurn the yoke, and to eat flesh. f. 124. Imperfect, ending with the words: "die grossen schuld des raubes. So sahest . . ." f. 124 b. (See ed. of 1490, fol. lxxxvi b, ll. 18–19.)

The next four chapters (17–20) are lost, and only 8 lines remain of the following chapter.

Chap. 21. Heaven and Earth. Imperfect, only the conclusion of the speech of Heaven (in the Latin text "primum mobile") being left, beginning "hnechte der Ir muz cze dienste steen." f. 122. (See ed. of 1490, fol. lxxxxi, col. 2, ll. 34–35.)

Chap. 22. Complaint of Night against Day. f. 122. Imperfect at the end, breaking off with the words: "wann in den gaben die da gegeben werden." f. 122 b. (See ed. of 1490, fol. lxxxxii, line 11.)

Chapters 23, 24, and 25 are altogether lost.

Chap. 26. The Viper that reproached her Young for gnawing their way out of her. Imperfect, beginning: "erliden han vnd das an mass noch poser ist." f. 125. (See ed. of 1490, fol. lxxxxv b, col. 2, ll. 11–12.)

Chap. 27. Beaten Dog urged by Wolf to rebel against his Master. f. 125 b. Imperfect, only 8 lines remaining, the last line being: "vnd damit er tet trösten den hunt / den er in leiden." (See ed. of 1490, f. lxxxxvi b, ll. 14–15.)

The present version was printed as *Das bůch der Natürlichen*

weiszheit (Augsburg, 1490). The second German version is entitled *Spiegel der wyszheit* (Basle, 1520, and Frankfurt, 1564); the translator of this version, at the head of his address to the Reader, styles himself "B. S. M." The Latin text of Corderius was also turned into German, and published as *Apologi Morales, oder Sittliche Fabelreden der unvernünfftigen Thier. Ausz ainem alten geschribenen Buch dem heiligen Cyrillo zugeaignet* (Vienna, 1645).

REYNARD THE FOX.

Additional 15,229.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 122. In double columns of 40 lines. With initials in red and blue, and a few with gold; and with 13 miniatures. Misarranged by the binder; so that the first eight leaves (ff. 3–10) ought to come after f. 36, and the volume would then begin with the present f. 11. Imperfect; 20 leaves being lost, 18 before f. 11 (which on its reverse side is numbered "xix"), and two before f. 15 (which on its reverse side is numbered "xxv").

ROMAN DE RENART. A collection of the first 15 Branches of this metrical Romance, according to the numeration, though not according to the arrangement, of its latest editor, Ernst Martin. By various authors of the 12th and 13th centuries; one of whom is Richard de Lison, of Normandy, while another styles himself a Priest of La Croix-en-Brie (near Nangis, in the Ile-de-France). The rest are anonymous, and are supposed to have chiefly belonged to Picardy. In 14 articles, containing 18,819 lines. *French.*

In all the known versions of Reynard the Lion is King of the Beasts. This, of itself, is enough to indicate the influence of Greek or of Eastern Fables. The Fox is generally replaced in Indian tales by the Jackal; and the incidents have often manifestly passed from one country to the other. Our present MS., for instance, begins in the middle of a tale, commonly called "Renart teinturier," relating how Reynard, rushing away from his enemies, springs by accident into a dye-vat and comes out all yellow and completely disguised from friends and foes. The same accident (with only a difference of colour) happens to "the Blue Jackal" in Panchatantra, Book i. Tale 10. Indeed, the figures of Wolf and Fox, as courtiers of the Lion-King, remind one strongly, at first sight, of the two Jackals, Kalilah and Dimnah. On further inspection, however, the resemblance is very much diminished. Kalilah is only a prudent friend, full of

sage saws, and quite unlike Isengrim the Wolf; and Dimnah, though ready to intrigue against all other animals, has a sincere affection for Kalilah. But Reynard is an utter scamp; not only intriguing, but delighting in mischief for its own sake, and never so happy as when making a butt and a victim of poor Isengrim, his Gossip (and sometimes styled his Uncle), leading him into traps or down a well, and finally persuading King Lion to have him flayed alive. If the German critics, however, were still inclined to believe in Grimm's theory of the great Indo-Germanic Beast-epic, they might naturally hold Dimnah and Reynard to be Eastern and Western developments of the same personage.

In the earlier part of the century there was a sharp contest between French and German writers as to the origin of the Reynard-cycle. A new era in this study (says the Dutch antiquary Jonckbloet) was opened by Jacob Grimm, when he published his *Reinhart Fuchs* in 1834. Some of his views were questioned by Fauriel in an article in 1852. But Grimm's most determined opponent was Paulin Paris, in 1861; and it was to the latter that Jonckbloet replied, in 1863.*

It is certainly a strong argument in favour of German invention that the two chief heroes of the main subject bear German names. These were both very ancient names of men. "Isegrim," it appears (from Jonckbloet and from later critics), is a term still applied to a grumbling, quarrelsome fellow, both in Flemish and Low German. This use of the word, no doubt, was suggested by the termination; though the older form, it is now supposed, was "Îsangrîm" (*i.e.* with the second i long), and stood for "Iron-helm." But this name is of comparatively small importance. It was the other name that furnished Grimm with the most material part of his etymological scaffolding (to use the designation of Paulin Paris, p. 348). Grimm asserts (at pp. ccxl–ccxlii) that the old form, "Raginohard," is founded upon "ragin," "consilium," and has much the same meaning as "ragineis," "consiliarius." He offers some proof that this meaning had been forgotten by the 9th century; and he comes to the conclusion that the title must

* Jacob Grimm, *Reinhart Fuchs* (Berlin, 1834); Fauriel, in *Histoire littéraire*, vol. xxii. (Paris, 1852), pp. 889–946; Paulin Paris, "Nouvelle Étude sur le Roman de Renart," published at the end of his *Aventures de Maître Renart* (Paris, 1861), pp. 323–365; W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Étude sur le Roman de Renart* (Groningen, 1863), pp. 1–76.

have been given to the Fox, as Chief Counsellor of the King of Beasts, before the Frankish speech was affected by the Gaulish; and, indeed, that the Franks, while still in their German forests, were familiar with the rivalries of Reynard and Isengrim and brought the cycle with them into Gaul. Grimm has already (pp. xxxiii–iv) given several instances, in various languages, of the Fox being styled the counsellor; and he now (p. ccxli) quotes a passage from the Roman de Renart, which he believes to be derived from a German source. The Fox is speaking to the Boor, Lietart, and boasting of his powers, both for good and evil. He says:—

"Maint preudome ay deceu
Et maint saige abriconne
Si ay maint bon conseil donne
Par mon droit non ay non R[enart]." See the present MS., f. 23.

Grimm's theory, it will be observed, rests so far upon very narrow foundations; and he finds very few (if any) historical facts to prop it up. He tries to do this by showing that the Fox-fables had been introduced into the cycle of German legends in very early times. The instance offered by him is the Stag without a heart (see Babrius, 95). This is the Ass without a heart of the Indian versions (see Panchatantra, iv. 2, where the deceiver is a Jackal; and see our description above, p. 169, of John of Capua's Directorium, chap. vi. Apologue *a*, where the deceiver is a Fox). Grimm mentions that this Fable occurs in Fredegar (about 660), as having been related to Dietrich of Bern, when at Constantinople, to warn him against the designs of the Greek Emperor.* Grimm also gives a different version of the same Fable, applied to Bavarian history by Froumund of Tegernsee (about 1040), said by him to be then existing "in veteribus libris"; and there the King of Beasts is a Bear.†

Grimm was quite ready to allow that there was no direct

* *Fredegarii Chronica*, etc., ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888), in *Scriptorum Merovingicarum tomus ii.* of the *Monumenta Germaniæ historica*. Liber ii. cap. 57 contains the romantic career of Theodericus, introducing this Fable at p. 81.

† Ch. V. of the history of the monastic Foundation at Tegernsee in Bavaria, by one of the monks, Froumundus; printed by Bernhard Pez in his *Thesaurus*, vol. iii. Part iii. cols. 475–496. The Fable is at col. 494.

proof of the Gothic origin of the rivalry between Isengrim and Reynard. Both names were borne by Germans in early times. There was a Bishop of Ratisbon named "Isengrimus" in 933; and Reynard (in its various German forms) has been a common man's name from much older times.* But neither of the names has been found, as applied to wolf or fox, earlier than 1112; and then it is in a Chronicle written by a Frenchman, and dealing with events in Laon. It is true that the earliest known composition in which the various animals bear personal names is a Latin poem, written (before the end of 1148) by a canon of Ghent; but we do not know much about his sources, except that his refined beasts speak French, while the Wolf is styled "Teutonicus," and the Ass brays in Bavarian.† Again, it is true that one of the earliest versions (perhaps the earliest extant) in any modern language is in German, the "Reinhart Fuchs," written about 1180 by Henry the "Glichezare" (an appellation which is now said to denote a Vagrant Clerk). But Grimm himself (as well as subsequent critics) allowed that this was an imitation (if not an actual translation) of some lost French poem. Lastly, the Flemish "Reinaert," written by one Willem about 1250, and the source (through the Low German) of the modern "Reineke Fuchs," was avowedly derived from French books. In short, all the substantial evidence is in favour of the priority of the French "Branches," except that most of the established names are German; and no allusion to these names, as applied to beasts,

* See Förstemann's *Deutsches Namenbuch*, Bd. i. (Nordhausen, 1854–6), for several examples, from the 8th to 11th centuries, given under "Isangrim" (col. 807); and for very numerous examples, from the 3rd to 11th centuries, given under "Raginhart" (col. 1018). August Lübben, however, speaks of the Bp. of Ratisbon in 933 as the earliest known example of "Isengrimus"; see his *Programm* at the Oldenburg Gymnasium (1863), p. 22. The name does not seem to have been common in the later Middle Ages. Yet there is a Deed (Brit. Mus., Campbell Charter xix. 2) relative to Tong in Shropshire, granted by Roger la Zouche (d. 1238), which is witnessed by a Knight of that name, thus: "Dño Ysangrim plauntefolie." It is here spelt (it will be observed) in the old German form.

† This poem was edited by F. J. Mone, in 4 Books, under the title of *Reinardus Vulpes* (Stuttgart, 1832). It has been edited by Ernst Voigt, in about the same number of lines, but divided into 7 Books, under the title of *Ysengrimus* (Halle, 1884). The shorter poem, which was published under the latter title by Grimm (in his *Reinhart Fuchs*), is analysed by Voigt (pp. cxx–cxxxix) as "Ysengrimus abbreuiatus."

has been found in Anglo-Saxon, or Scandinavian, or in any other language before the 12th century.

In the Roman de Renart the descriptive beast-names are French; such are "Nobles," the Lion; "Chanteclers" and his wife "Pinte" (speckled); "Rousel" (*i.e.* Rufus; Chaucer's "Dan Russel"), the Squirrel (and also one of the young Foxes); "Belin" (allied to bélier), the Ram; "Bruns," our "Bruin," and so on. But when a man's name is given to a beast, it is always (we think) of German derivation. Such are Isengrim, Reynard, "Baudouin" the Ass, "Grimbert" the Badger, and "Tibert" the Tom-Cat. But we believe that these names were almost as common in North France as in Germany itself. With regard to the chief of them, the latest editor, Ernst Martin, makes the following remark in a Supplement to his edition. He is dealing with the Branch containing the Funeral Procession of Reynard (Branche xvii. according to his arrangement, 27 according to Grimm in *Reinhart Fuchs*, pp. cxxxvi–vii); and he tells how the royal messengers come to arrest Reynard at his dwelling, Malpertuis, and how his Wife shows them a tomb in the neighbourhood bearing the name of "Renart." Martin then remarks that the author of this Branch evidently regarded the name as common among the peasants; and in fact (he continues, writing in French, though himself a German critic) "c'est là l'origine du nom de Renart, donné au fameux voleur de volaille, parce qu'il était le plus familier, comme de nos jours l'ours est nommé Martin, parce que ce nom est un des plus répandus en France" (*Observations*, p. 90).

Martin published his *Observations* in 1887; but many years before that several German critics had renounced Grimm's theory.* Otto Keller, for instance, in his article upon Greek Fable (in 1862),† names other writers who had opposed it before

* It is curious, however, that Carl Goedeke in his account of the "Tiersage" in his *Grundrisz zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung* (published at Dresden so late as 1884), p. 15, states Grimm's theory, as if it were still generally accepted; and, although he refers (at p. 70) to the article of K. Müllenhoff in the *Zeitschrift* for 1875, yet he never mentions that it contains a formal renunciation of Grimm's theory.

† In *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pædagogik*, 4ter Supplement-Band (Leipzig, 1861–7), under second title of *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Bd. iv.* Keller's article (at pp. 309–418) is the first in Heft iii. (1862).

himself (p. 320). Again, in 1875, Karl Müllenhoff published an article "Ueber Reinhart Fuchs," which may be regarded as a kind of manifesto on the part of at least an important section of the German critics.* Müllenhoff adopts the suggestion of Lübben (in his *Programm*, 1863, p. 6: see above, p. 371, note) that the old German form "Raginhard" had the same meaning as the Anglo-Saxon "regen-heard (Beov. 649), valde durus." This may be doubted; "-hard" may have been a mere termination when the name was formed, but it is not a matter of much importance, when every other evidence points to its having been a man's name for centuries before it was given to the fox. We shall return to the Beast-names presently. Meanwhile, we will mention a remark of Müllenhoff's, as to the early appearance of the Stag without a heart among German traditions. He doubts whether the Gesta Theodorici, of which an abstract is given by Fredegar, containing the Fable, is itself of German origin. Instead of the historical or the legendary Dietrich, we get the child of Macedonian parents, born in Rome and adopted by a patrician named Idacius, elected "patricius" by the Romans as well as the Goths, and eventually king of all Italy. In short, Müllenhoff is strongly inclined to regard it as a mere Italian concoction.

The present German views of the Reynard cycle (as expounded by Müllenhoff, Scherer, Voigt, and Martin) do not very materially differ from those of the French school. They may be briefly stated as follows. The Æsopic Fables were never forgotten in the clerkly world. They were preserved in Romulus and in other similar collections, and were often turned into Latin verse; but the writers showed a growing inclination to drop the moral and to develope the narrative for purposes of mere amusement. A few new Fables were added, but none (as far as we can ascertain) of a distinctively German character. The most striking additions were first suggested by the Biblical phrase of "Wolves in sheep's clothing." They relate how a Wolf turned Monk; how he looked askance at the Agnus Dei; how he saluted a sheep (on a Fast-day) with "Good morrow, Salmon": — and so on. Other

* In Haupt's *Zeitschrift* (*Z. für Deutsches Alterthum*), at that time under the joint editorship of Müllenhoff und Steinmeyer, vol. xviii. (Berlin, 1875), pp. 1–9.

additions deal with various tricks played by the Fox upon the Wolf and the Bear. These appear to have been sometimes dramatically performed in the cloisters, according to the verses of Froumond of Tegernsee, about the year 1000.*

The cruellest record of the Fox, however, *viz.* how the Wolf was flayed alive, which forms the kernel of the Reynard-cycle, does not seem to have been a mediæval addition. It almost certainly belonged to a set of genuine Æsopic Fables of Indian origin, in which the part of the Jackal was usurped by the Fox, as the chief courtier of King Lion. Most probably it was one of the many lost Fables of Babrius. But it now only occurs, in Greek, in a prose version of uncertain age.† There is a Latin poem, in which it is the Bear who is flayed, which is said to have been read at the Court of Charlemagne, between 782 and 786, by Paulus Diaconus. He brought the Fable (Müllenhoff surmises) out of Italy.‡ This is perhaps the earliest extant version. The next is found in the Ecbasis Captivi, a poem first discovered by Grimm in 1834, and published by him in 1838.§

This very curious poem, in 1229 hexameters (most of them leonines), was composed by a young Monk of Saint Evre at Toul, about 940. He is pronounced by Voigt (the last editor) to have been born a German of the borderland, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Luxembourg. He had entered on his noviciate as a mere stripling, at a time when monastic discipline was lax. But a period of reform soon followed, and the rules were strictly enforced. He had been rebellious, and was undergoing some

---

* Published by Pez, *Thesaurus*, vol. vi. (Augsburg, 1729), Part i. col. 184.

† See Halm, *Fabulæ Æsopicæ collectæ* (Leipzig, 1852), p. 124. The metrical version, published by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, as No. 40 of his Supplement to Babrius (London, 1859), is now pronounced to be a modern forgery. The subject is in Marie de France (No. 69 of Harley 978; above, p. 302); and also in *Fabulæ Extravagantes*, No. ix.

‡ See Müllenhoff, Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xviii. p. 3; and Ernst Voigt, at p. 57 of his edition of the *Ecbasis Captivi* (see the next note).

§ In *Lateinische Gedichte des x. und xi. Jh.*, edited by Jac. Grimm and Andr. Schmeller (Göttingen, 1838), pp. 243–285. The *Ecbasis* was re-edited by Ernst Voigt in B. Ten Brink's *Quellen und Forschungen*, No. viii. (Strassburg, 1875).

sentence of captivity; when, tempted by the spring weather, he broke prison, and enjoyed himself for a little while. This was the "ecbasis captivi." He was recaptured, beaten, and treated much more harshly than before; but he was allowed pens and ink. He wrote this poem, partly as a mark of contrition, partly to show that his schooling had not been thrown away (see Voigt, pp. 21–26). He represents himself as a runaway Calf. He is frisking about in the valleys of the Vosges when he comes face to face with a Wolf-Monk, chanting hymns. The Wolf takes the Calf home to his cave, in order to eat him next day after Mass. He sets two other animals to watch over his prey, and falls asleep; but he soon wakes up, with bad dreams, and relates the cause of enmity between Wolf and Fox. This inner Fable occupies lines 392–1095 (with a short break of dialogue), amounting to more than half the Ecbasis. It is mainly the old Æsopic story, told by the Wolf as the record of events in the time of his Great-grandfather. King Lion is sick. All Beasts come to Court, except the Fox. He is outlawed; and the Wolf, his uncle, raises a tall gallows in wait for him. The Fox comes, and says he has just returned from Italy, after searching many lands for drugs to cure the king. He has brought them now; but a most essential part of the cure is a Wolf's hide hot. The Wolf is flayed, and the Fox becomes Viceroy. A great many details of Court life follow, introducing many animals. The outer Fable is then resumed: the Calf escapes, thanks to the Fox, who entices the Wolf out of his cave; and the Wolf is killed by the Bull.

The Ecbasis Captivi would undoubtedly be reckoned as a member of the Reynard Cycle, if it were not for one important deficiency; no personal names are given to the Beasts We need not therefore conclude that no such names had been occasionally given them by the peasants, but certainly (we should say) that none had yet been fixed by the writers or singers. The earliest known mention of any one of the Beast-names has been pointed out by Grimm (*Reinhart Fuchs*, pp. cxcv–vi), by Jonckbloet (*Étude sur le Roman de Renart*, p. 34), and by other writers. It occurs in the Autobiography of Guibert, born in the diocese of Beauvais, and Abbot (1104–1124) of Notre Dame de Nogent-sous-Coucy, in the Laonnais (Upper Picardy, afterwards part of the Ile-de-France, now the Depart-

ment of Aisne).* In his work "De vita sua" (Book iii. ch. 8) Guibert relates the murder of "Gualdericus" (or "Waldricus"), Bp. of Laon, in the tumult there in 1112. The rioters were at fault, until they were led by "Teudegaldus," an old official of the Bishop's, into the cellar, where they found the Bishop hidden in an empty tun. The passage runs: "Cum itaque per singula eum vasa disquirerent, iste [Teudegaldus] pro fronte tonnulæ illius, in qua latebat homo, substitit, et retuso obice sciscitabantur ingeminando quis esset. Cumque vix eo fustigante gelida jam ora movisset: Captivus, inquit. Solebat autem episcopus eum Isengrinum irridendo vocare, propter lupinam scilicet speciem; sic enim aliqui solent appellare lupos. Ait ergo scelestus ad præsulem: Hiccine est dominus Isengrinus repositus. Renulfus igitur quamvis peccator, Christus tum [*for* tamen] Domini, de vasculo capillis detrahitur," etc. D'Achery remarks, in his prefatory address "Lectori," that he could only procure a late and very bad copy of Guibert's "De vita sua" (see Migne, col. 15); and this may account for some of the obscurities in the passage just quoted. The scribe ought perhaps, as Grimm suggests (p. cxcvi), to have written: "Hiccine est dominus *Renardus* repositus. *Gualdericus* igitur," etc.; unless indeed (Grimm adds) "Renulfus" was regarded by Guibert himself as the personal name of the Fox.† That is a matter of speculation. But the important fact remains that, before 1112, the Wolf was called "Isengrin" (the letter *n* being the French termination) by people living close to the Ile-de-France.

The poems completely supplied with personal names now begin. The first is the Ysengrimus, in 7 Books (as edited by Voigt) containing altogether 6574 lines (Latin elegiacs). The

---

* Luc d'Achery edited *Guiberti Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1651); the passage quoted is at pp. 506–7: see also the reprint of D'Achery's edition in Migne's *Patrologia*, clvi. (1853), col. 927.

† Grimm says that in the first edition of *Gallia Christiana* (1651), vol. ii. col. 620, the passage is the same as in D'Achery. In the second edition, vol. ix. (1751), col. 527, there is no mention made of "Isengrinus," and "Renulfus" is changed into "Galdricus." The translation (edited by François Guizot) of Guibert's Autobiography, in the *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, vol. x. (1825), p. 49, after giving the passage about "Isengrin," goes on thus: "Gaudri qui, quoique pécheur, était cependant l'oint du Seigneur, est alors tiré par les cheveux hors du tonneau," etc.

author (according to Voigt) was a Canon of Ghent, and was employed upon this poem in 1146–8. One MS. (of the 14th century) names him "Magister Nivardus." The subjects are as follows. Book i.: Isengrim meets Reynard, and threatens to eat him. Reynard helps him to rob a peasant of a ham. Isengrim fishes with his tail; is caught by the ice, and narrowly escapes, after a severe beating. Book ii.: Isengrim is half killed by four Rams. Book iii: Isengrim is flayed. Book iv.: Narrative (recited to Lion, "Rufanus") of past events; how the She-Goat, "Bertiliana," went with others on pilgrimage, and how they were saved from Isengrim by Reynard; and how Reynard seized the Cock, "Sprotinus," but let him go. Book v: (Narrative continues) how Isengrim turned Monk, and how Reynard outraged the She-Wolf (Narrative ends). Isengrim (after having been flayed) meets "Coruigarus" the Horse, and is kicked. Book vi.: Lion hunts with Isengrim and Reynard. The Lion's share. Book vii.: Isengrim offers to give a kiss of peace to "Salaura" the Sow; but she summons her brood, who attack Isengrim on all sides, kill him, and devour him.* This tragic end is not found elsewhere. It seems to have been suggested (as Voigt observes, p. 383) by the poem on the life of Mohammed, by Hildebert (Bishop of Le Mans in 1097, and Archbishop of Tours in 1125–1134), which ends with the Prophet's being killed and eaten by pigs.† Indeed, the unfortunate Isengrim himself exclaims, "Mors Mahamet patienda michi est" (Book vii., line 295). The other subjects belong to the common stock of the Singers. They are often treated, however, very differently. For instance, the Pilgrimage of Reynard, as it is told in Ysengrimus (Book iv.), resembles the French account in our MS., art. 10 (Martin's Branch viii.), quite closely enough to show that they are derived from cognate sources; but in the French it is Reynard who proposes the pilgrimage, and his only companions are "Belin" the Ram, and "Bernart" the Ass, and their scheme of defence against Isen-

* The edition of this poem published by Mone, *Reinardus Vulpes* (1832), is divided into 4 Books, as follows: Book i. answers to *Ysengrimus* i. and ii.; Book ii. to *Ys.* iii.; Book iii. to *Ys.* iv. and v.; and Book iv. to *Ys.* vi. and vii.

† See Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. 171, col. 1363.

grim (or "Primault")* and against his assistant Wolves differs in many of its details from that in *Ysengrimus*.†

Some of the short French poems that are now embedded in the Roman de Renart are probably older than the Reinhart Fuchs, but their age is more uncertain; and the latter is the earliest example in any modern language of a Reynard poem of a cyclical character. We will therefore notice it first. Grimm himself fully allowed (p. cviii) that the author of this poem must have taken most of it from the French. He uses German names in un-German forms: such as "Îsengrîn" and "Hersant." Chanticleer and his Wife he calls "Schanteklêr" and "Pinte"; while Chanticleer's father he calls "Sengelîn" (ll. 107, 109), which is the French "Chanteclin," a name given him because he used to chant with "les oilz cligniez" (see Martin's Branch ii. ll. 310, 343, and 347). Again, "Malpertuis," the name of Reynard's stronghold, he translates by "Übelloch" (l. 1522); and at another place (l. 1541) he uses the French word "villân." After noting these points, Grimm proceeds to speak of the author's name. He was at that time only acquainted with the modernised text, preserved in two 14th cent. MSS. (one of which he only knew through a printed edition, Pesth, 1817). He says that the Author names himself at l. 1786, and is named by the Adapter at l. 2250; that his name is "Heinrîch der Glîchesære," or (according to the second text) "Glîchsenære." Five years later (in 1839) Grimm found four mutilated leaves of the original text, containing about 700 lines, which had belonged to a MS. of about the year 1200. He published it (with an introductory Letter to Lachmann) in 1840; the mutilated text being at pp. 13–32, and a restored text at pp. 33–52.‡ He here calls

* In this early Branch Isengrim himself bears both names; whereas in Martin's Branch xiv. it is his brother who is called "Primaut."

† Ernst Martin published his Branch viii (which only contains 468 lines), together with remarks on *Ysengrimus*, etc., some years before his edition of the whole Roman de Renart, in Eduard Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, Band i. (Strassburg, 1875), pp. 409–437.

‡ Jacob Grimm, *Sendschreiben an Karl Lachmann* (Leipzig, 1840). Karl Reissenberger has re-edited *Reinhart Fuchs*, as No. 7 of H. Paul's Altdeutsche Textbibliothek (Halle, 1886); with the modernised text extending from p. 32 to p. 111, and with the original text printed underneath the other at pp. 50-67 and 84–100. The passages about the author and his Book are at pp. 95–6.

himself the "[Gl]ichezare"; and his Book is said by him to be about "isingrines not" (p. 30). The two lines describing the work are thus restored by Grimm: "er hât daz buoch gedihtôt umbe Îsingrînes nôt" (p. 49). It was probably the Adapter who named the work "Reinhart fuhs" (*Reinhart*, line 10). Grimm had previously (*Reinhart*, p. cix) interpreted the poet's name as "simulator"; now (*Sendschreiben*, p. 65) he remarks that it probably had nothing to do with his poetry, and may perhaps have been inherited. Jonckbloet (*Étude*, p. 118, note 1) expresses some surprise at Grimm's change of opinion; and he quotes with approval the explanation given by Rothe (*Romans du Renard*, p. 61),—"Ce qui signifie peut-être Henri qui feint, qui contrefait, qui imite." * This poet is called by the Adapter "her Heinrîch" (l. 2251); but (as the latest editor, Reissenberger, remarks) he must have been a very poor nobleman, for he makes appeals for money in true Jongleur style (see ll. 854 and 1791). It is now generally agreed that he was a native of Alsace; and that he flourished about 1180. Jonckbloet asserts that Heinrich found a French poem, written about 1100, containing 16 short stories strung together; and that he simply translated it.† But it is still an open question whether this was the case; or whether he may not have found the stories separate and arranged them himself. Ernst Martin reckons the stories as 21; and he gives a tabular comparison between them and some of his own Branches, in the supplementary volume of his *Roman de Renart*, entitled *Observations* (1887), pp. 104–5. At p. 110 Martin commends the general arrangement. He remarks that in Nos. 1–4 Reynard has adventures with Chanticleer and other secondary animals; in Nos 5–14 he comes in contact with Isengrim, and their quarrels grow more and more serious; and Nos. 15–21 introduce us to the King, who is to judge between the two, but who is seduced by Reynard, and finally poisoned by him. Rothe, in his *Romans du Renard* (Paris, 1845), p. 62, suggests that Heinrich had here mistaken the French text of "Reynard as King's Physician" (see our Article 13), where

* Müllenhoff believes it to mean a strolling cleric, "ein fahrender Cleriker" (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, vol. xviii. p. 9).

† Jonckbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Deel i. (Groningen, 1868), p. 167. In W. Berg's German translation this is in Bd. i. (Leipzig, 1870), p. 134.

"poison" had been used in the sense of *potion*. Rothe returns to the subject (p. 211), when dealing with the Branch just mentioned; and he there quotes three passages, in which the potion presented by Reynard to the King is called "poison."

The French Roman de Renart is a vast collection of popular tales, written in the 12th and 13th centuries, chiefly by poets of Picardy or the Ile-de-France. They have been arranged and re-arranged by various scribes in various Branches. Of these there are in Méon's edition (according to the reckoning of Rothe) 32 Branches, containing 30,362 lines; and in Martin's edition there are 26 Branches of the purely French poems, with a Branch formed of two versions of an Italianised French poem, the 27 Branches containing altogether 30,550 lines. A few of these Branches represent the 12th century tolerably well; but, as none of the MSS. are older than the 13th century, it is difficult for the critics to date the poems with any precision. Martin says that the eleven Branches which he has placed first in his edition are found in all the classes of the MSS.; and they have a peculiar flavour, which is wanting in the others. Martin's Branch viii. is the Pilgrimage of Reynard (already compared by us with Book iv. of Ysengrimus). This, Martin says, is certainly one of the oldest Branches. Gaston Paris speaks more strongly still, saying:—"Le plus ancien morceau paraît être *le Pèlerinage Renard.*"* This poem forms a short Branch by itself, not wilfully adulterated; but many of the other Branches are of mixed dates. For instance, Martin's Branch i., the famous "Plaid" (the Suit of Isengrim against Reynard), is supposed to have been written in 1179, and retouched in 1204–1228, a Prologue (of 10 lines) and a Conclusion (of 208 lines) having been added. This is followed (in Martin's edition) by Branch i^{a}. (the siege of Reynard's stronghold, Malpertuis), which Martin notes as Picardish, about 1200. His Br. i^{b}. is Reynard the Dyer (with a fragment of which our MS. begins), said to have been written near the Flemish border about 1200. Br. ii. (Chanticleer, our Art. 2) was quoted by Guillaume le Clerc in 1211. Br. iii. (Reynard on the herring-cart, and Ysengrim fishing with his tail in the ice, our Art. 5) is pronounced by Martin to be

* See Gaston Paris in his *Manuel d'Ancien Français*, the volume with the second title of *La littérature Française au Moyen Age*, Section 83 (2nd edition, Paris, 1890, p. 121).

Picardish, and one of the best and oldest. Br. iv. (Isengrim enticed into the well, part of our Art. 7) is said to have been written shortly after 1165. Br. v. (Meeting of Isengrim and Reynard, etc., part of our Art. 7) is supposed by Martin to be the work of a resident in Normandy. Martin notes that the opening passages closely resemble those of Book i. of *Ysengrimus*: and he also notes that Reynard, when addressing Isengrim, besides calling him "comperes" (our Gossip, in the old sense, Fellow-Godfather), calls him four times "Oncles," apparently suggested by the "Patruus" of the Latin. These examples may serve to show what dates are assigned by Martin to the early Branches. So far they are all anonymous. Br. ix. (Reynard's mastery over the Peasant Liétart, our Art. 3) begins with the author's styling himself a Priest of La Croix-en-Brie (near Nangis, Ile-de-France); but he does not identify himself any further. Indeed there are only two authors in the whole collection who announce their personal names. The first is Richard de Lison, a Norman of about 1200, who names himself near the end of his poem (Martin's Br. xii., Reynard and Tybert the cat, our Art. 8); and who speaks of the story at the beginning as "une nouuelle estoire," which "un mestre" (himself, that is to say) has found, and has translated "en romanz." The other author is Pierre de Saint Cloud, who names himself in the first line of Martin's Br. xvi. (Méon's Br. xi., not in the present MS.), viz. "Pierres qui de Saint Clost fu nez." In this Branch there are two disconnected adventures: first, how Reynard gained the mastery over a Peasant, but was duped by the cock given him; and secondly, the Lion's share (with Isengrim and Reynard).

The last Branch of the Roman d'Alexandre, entitled Regrets des xii. Pers (see Michelant's edition, Stuttgart, 1846, pp. 528–550), was written by a separate author, who seems to mean himself in one line where he says:

> "Pieres de St. Cloot trueve en escriture,
> que mauvais est li arbres dont li fruit ne meure"
> (Michelant's ed., p. 542).

Jonckbloet quotes these lines in his *Étude* (p. 128); but he is almost ready to assert that the name is an interpolation. Further on, however, in his volume (pp. 330–337) he discusses the matter

again, and concludes that he may not improbably have been one of the authors of the Alexandre. Paul Meyer has noticed these two opinions, and has pronounced in favour of the second one. Meyer has also noticed that one of the MSS. of the Alexandre reads "Perrot" (the familiar form), instead of "Pieres."* But it is certainly with the Renart that Pierre's name is most closely connected. Martin's Br. xxv. (Reynard's chase after a Heron, etc.) begins with the following words:

"Signor, oï aves asses
Et ans et jors a ja passes,
Les aventures et le conte
Que Pierres de Saint Cloot conte
De Renart et de ses affaires."
(Martin's ed., ii. p. 345).

Again, there can be little doubt (as Paul Meyer observes) that it is to him that a follower refers in the Prologue which (as Martin holds) he prefixed to the 12th century "Plaid":

"Perrot, qui son engin et s'art
Mist en vers fere de Renart
Et d'Isengrin son cher conpere,
Lessa le meus de sa matere:
Car il entroblia le plet
Et le jugement qui fu fet
En la cort Noble le lion
De la grant fornicacion
Que Renart fist, qui toz maus cove
Envers dame Hersent la love."
(Martin's Br. i. ll. 1–10).

This would look as if Pierre was considered, in his own time, as a representative of the authors of the cycle; and he has naturally received much attention from the modern critics. They generally accept the surmise that he was the "Petrus de Sancto Clodowaldo, sacerdos et sexagenarius," who narrowly escaped death as a heretic by taking refuge in a cloister, while his

* Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature Française du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1886), vol. ii. p. 229, and p. 232, note.

companions were burned at Paris in 1209.* To this Jonckbloet added that he was the Priest of La Croix-en-Brie, who wrote Martin's Br. ix. (our Art. 3), and probably many more of the anonymous stories. Jonckbloet devoted two-thirds of his *Étude* to this subject (pp. 122–385), pointing out peculiarities of style, together with a few personal allusions. He came to the conclusion (*Étude*, pp. 338–9) that Pierre was at least the author of four lengthy poems, composed in the following order: (1). Martin's Br. ix. (in 2212 lines);—(2). Martin's Br. xiii. (Reynard the Black, in 2346 lines; our Art. 12);—(3). Poem, composed of selections from seven Branches (including Martin's Br. xvi., avowedly written by Pierre), which Jonckbloet entitles "Les aventures de Renart" (in 9609 lines);—(4). Another composite poem, which Jonckbloet entitles "Le Plaid," but which ends with the sham death and funeral of Reynard (in 4844 lines). These speculative views have not been well received, and Jonckbloet himself soon modified them. In 1868, when he published vol. i. of his History of Netherlandish Literature,† he allowed that the "Plaid" was taken up and completed by some follower of Pierre, and that Pierre was chiefly responsible for the poem No. (3), called "Aventures," and this he now shortened to 7000 lines; though, in the later editions of his History, he again increased the reckoning to 10,000 lines.‡ But these views seem to be quite rejected by modern critics. Paul Meyer, in his *Alexandre* (1886), vol. ii. pp. 230–1, says that, though there can be no doubt that Pierre's Reynard poems were at one time more in vogue than any, yet there is only one that can be attributed to him with any certainty; and in a note (p. 231) he repeats that the long and minute researches of Jonckbloet have led us to no real conclusion. Ernst Martin speaks to the same effect in his *Observations* (1887). When he has been describing his Br. xvi., he says that (after considering its peculiarities) he is driven to reject the idea that Pierre was the author of any of the other Branches. Jonckbloet has looked only on one side, and has set forth the points of

* See Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Distinctio v. cap. 22.

† W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Deel i. (Groningen, 1868), p. 168.

‡ See, for instance, Wilhelm Berg's authorised German edition, *Geschichte der Niederländischen Literatur*, Bd. i. (Leipzig, 1870), p. 135.

resemblance, without any regard to those of difference (p. 87). Further on (at pp. 103 and 111) he speaks strongly of the want of talent shown by Pierre. He concludes his *Observations* with saying that the poet who wrote the Prologue (of 10 lines) to Br. i. (the "Plaid") about the year 1210, was not improbably the same as the one who arranged the First 11 Branches; but the arrangement has been much disturbed by later copyists (pp. 111–112). Léopold Sudre, in an article in *Romania*, vol. xvii. (Paris 1888), pp. 291–300, has objected to two or three of Martin's re-arrangements, though upon the whole he thinks them very judicious. As to Pierre de Saint Cloud, his reputation was so great and Br. xvi. is so poor, that Sudre is inclined to think it falsely ascribed to him, perhaps by the author of the Branch.*

The popularity of Reynard was so great in North France that, in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, his personal name gradually forced the word "goupil" (derived from vulpecula) out of the vocabulary. This word, generally written here "gorpil" or "gourpil," continued, however, to be the appellative for Fox in all these poems, although his personal name was "Renart." There is only the exception of one various reading, we believe. This belongs to Martin's Br. xiii. (Reynard the Black, our Art. 12). Line 50 is printed by Martin "Atant ont leve dan Renart" (vol. ii. p. 44). In our MS. the line is "Atant ont leue un Renart" (f. 78); and Martin (vol. iii. p. 461) quotes the same variant from two other MSS., both of the 14th century.

1. REYNARD THE DYER. Latter half of the third Division of Martin's Branch i. (a Division numbered by him i^{b}.). Reynard has escaped from the animals sent by King Noble, the Lion, to arrest him; he has fallen into a dye-vat, and has been dyed yellow; and he has now assumed the name of "Galopin," and the character of an English Jongleur. Imperfect; the first two Divisions (Martin's i. and i^{a}.) and part of the third (i^{b}.) being lost. In 333 lines. ff. 11–13.

Begins (in the middle of a lamentation of Dame Hersent, relative to the mutilation of her husband, Isengrim the Wolf):

* In the same volume of *Romania*, xvii. (1888), pp. 1–21, Sudre published an article on the origin, etc., of Martin's Branch iii. (the Herring-cart). Gaston Paris, moreover, in his *Littérature Française*, note, Section 82 (2nd ed., p. 269), says: "M. L. Sudre publiera prochainement une étude générale sur le cycle."

"Con na que faire dome en chambres
Puisque il na tous ses membres." f. 11.

Ends: "Ci finit Renart le tainturier
Que tant sout de mauuais mester." f. 13.

See Martin, Branch i., lines 2881–3212, vol. i. pp. 81–90. According to the old arrangement it would be reckoned as the second half of Branch 22. In Méon's edition the lines remaining here are numbered 12,651–12,984: see his vol. ii. pp. 114–126. For the subjects of the whole Branch (reckoned in accordance with the old arrangement as Branches 20, 21, and 22), see Aug. Rothe, *Les Romans du Renard* (Paris, 1845), pp. 164–185.

2. Reynard and Chanticleer, etc. The first 291 lines (line 48 having been omitted) of Martin's Branch ii., telling how Reynard began to address Chanticleer; followed (after a gap of two leaves) by 226 more lines of Branch ii., and then (without any mark of division) by the whole (491 lines) of Branch xv., narrating exploits of Tybert the Cat, etc. ff. 13–19.

This article opens with 22 lines, which seem intended to be introductory to the whole Roman de Renart, and have been so printed by Méon (vol. i. pp. 1–2); but which have been retained by Martin in the same place as here (see his vol. i. p. 91).

These 22 lines begin:

"Seignour oi auez maint conte
Qui maint contraire vous raconte
Comment Paris raui Helaine." f. 13.

The second line above is printed by Martin "Que maint conterre vous raconte."

After alluding to the war between the two "Barons," Reynard and Isengrim, they end:—

"Or oez le commencement
Et de la noise et del content
Par quoy et par quel meseſtance
Fu entreus deus la deffiance." f. 13, col. 2.

The narrative now begins:

"Il auint chose que R[enart]." f. 13, col. 2.

It breaks off with these lines:

"Qvant R[enart] choisy chante cler
Se pris le veult as denz hafer." f. 14 b, col. 2.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 91–99; and Méon, lines 1267–1544, vol. i. pp. 49–59. Branch ii., according to the arrangement of Martin, has 1396 lines altogether. It begins again, after the gap, with Martin's line 615 (p. 108), thus:

. . . "Que bien ne li ostast la pel
A la pointe de son coutel." f. 15.

Ends: "Sen est retornez a grant paine
Si com auenture le maine."
f. 16, col. 2, ll. 25–26.

The two lines above are ll. 841–2 of Martin's Branch ii.: see his page 114. Martin's Branch xv. now begins, in the middle of a column, without any mark of division:

"R[enart] qui moult set de treslue
Et qui auoit grant fam eue."
f. 16, col. 2, ll. 27–28.

Ends: "A paine sommez eschapez." f. 19, col. 2.

The portion above answers to the entire Branch xv. of Martin, in 522 lines: see his vol ii. pp. 140–154. These Branches used to be differently divided and arranged; and Martin's Branch ii. answers to Méon, ll. 1267 to about 2102, 7187–7380, and 337–716; and his Branch xv. answers to Méon, ll. 2103–2660. The subjects are to be seen in Rothe, pp. 126–130; 156; 120–1; and 128–130. The first narrative, how Chanticleer escaped out of the jaws of Reynard, is the original of Chaucer's "Nonne Preestes Tale."

3. Reynard and the Vilein Liétart; he forces Liétart to supply him with poultry, etc. A poem by the Priest of La Croix-en-Brie (near Nangis, in the Ile-de-France), who was conjectured by Jonckbloet (*Études*, p. 280) to be Pierre de Saint Cloud. Branch ix. of Martin. In 2213 lines. ff. 19 b–33.

Begins: "Un prestre de la crois en brie
Cui dame diex doinst bone uie." f. 19 b.

Ends: "Si nest auisez de la chose." f. 33, col. 2.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 279–341. Méon, ll. 15,309–17,870. Rothe has described the subject at pp. 197–202.

4. Crow and cheese; told here of Tiecelin the Raven. Followed by intrigues between Reynard and Hersent, the Wife of Isengrim. Martin's Branch ii., from l. 843 to the end. In 552 lines. ff. 33 b–36 b, col. 2.

Begins: "Entre . ij . mons en une plaigne." f. 33 b.

Ends: "Qui soz la roche iert entesnee." f. 36 b, col. 2.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 114–130. Méon, ll. 7187–7380; and 337–716. The subjects are described by Rothe, at p. 156 and pp. 120–1.

5. Isengrim turned Monk. Reynard eats herrings; Isengrim fishes with his tail, but has it frozen. Martin's Branch iii. In 505 lines; the first 8 lines being at f. 36 b, col. 2, the rest at ff. 3–6, col. 2.

Begins: "Seignurs ce fu en cel termine." f. 36 b, col. 2.

Continues (at the beginning of the volume): "Par besoing cest mis a le uoie." f. 3.

There is a smudge over the words "a le uoie," as if there had been some attempt made to correct it.

Ends: "Que de R[enart] se ueniera
Ne ia se dit ne lamera." f. 6, col. 2.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 131–145. Méon, ll. 749–1264. The subjects are described by Rothe at pp. 123–6.

6. Single combat between Reynard and Isengrim. Reynard is allowed to take refuge in a convent; he breaks his vows; he runs away, and returns home to supper. Martin's Branch vi. In 1576 lines. ff. 6, col. 2–10 b, col. 2; and ff. 37–42.

Begins: "Mesire noble li lions
O soi auoit toz ses barons." f. 6, col. 2.

The last line of the first portion (in the middle of the charges made by Isengrim against Reynard) is—"Que ie men alai au deuant." f. 10 b, col. 2.

This answers to line 762 of Martin's Branch vi. (vol. i. p. 218).

The second portion (answering to the end, namely to ll. 763–1542, of Martin's Branch vi.) begins:

"Si refist semblant destre mort
La refu ie batu si fort
Et de leuiers et de bastons
Quencore men deut li crepons." f. 37.

It goes down to the line—"Si fill ont la table posée" (f. 41 b, col. 2, l. 17); which answers to the last line of Martin's Branch vi. But in the present copy there are added 42 more lines (describing the supper), ending:

"Si ferai dame dist R[enart]
Si en buura chascuns sa part." f. 42.

These 42 lines are printed, from four copies, of which the present MS. is one, by Martin, in his vol. iii. ("Les Variantes"), pp. 233–4.

Another line is here appended:

"Ici faut le romanz de R[enart]." f. 42.

For Martin's Branch vi. see his vol. i. pp. 197–240. Méon, ll. 13,465–13,490, and 13,547–15,296. The subjects are described by Rothe, at pp. 189–197.

7. Reynard and Isengrim in a well. Reynard has gone down in one bucket; but he persuades Isengrim to jump into the other, and so he mounts up again. Isengrim accuses Reynard, at court, of having violated Hersent. Martin's Branches iv., v., and v.[a] In 1744 lines. ff. 42–53.

Begins: "Or me conuient tel chose dire
Dont ie vus puisse faire rire." f. 42.

Ends: "Tant lont mene et debatu
Quen malpertuis lont embatu." f. 53.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 146–196. Méon, ll. 6455–7026, 7737–8210, 717–748, and 8249–9568. The subjects are described by Rothe at pp. 152–4, 158–160, and 160–164.

8. Reynard and Tybert the Cat. Tybert rides off on a Priest's horse, and takes Reynard up behind. They enter a church, and mount a belfry. Reynard leaves Tybert dangling

from the ropes. By Richard de Lison, a Norman poet. Martin's Branch xii. In 1483 lines. ff. 53–62, col. 2.

Begins: "Oez une nouuelle estoire
Qui bien deuroit estre en memoire
Lonc temps a este adiree
Mais or la un mestre trouuee
Qui la translatee en romanz
Oez conment ie la conmanz
Ce fu en may au temps nouuel
Que R[enart] tint son filz rouuel
Seur ces genous a un matin
Li enfens pleure de grant fin
Pour ce quil nauoit que manger
R[enart] le prist a apaier
Si li a dist filz cuer de roy
Je uois ou bois de ueneroy
Pourchacier a ton corps uiande." f. 53, cols. 1–2.

The narrative concludes with telling how Reynard carried a fat goose home to his wife, Hermeline. The poem then ends:

"Ce nous dit Richart de lison
Qui conmenciee a ceste fable
Pur donner a no connestable
Et nous dit sil a mespris
Il nen doit ia estre repris
Sil i a de son langage
Que fox naiz nert ia sage
Nil ne ueut gerpir sa nature
Que dex nostre sire nature [*for* na cure]
Toz iors cet la ponme el ponmer
Ne vous veill auant rimoyer
Ci apres conmance a broier
.ij. oeus cuis dedens .j. morter
Vne sause faite de nique
Pur lamor de quiqueliquique
Explicit." f. 62, col. 2.

This "Explicit" is followed by the letters "G. d. v. l.," to which (rather later, it would appear) have been added "F. r. a."

See Martin, vol. ii. p. 1–42, for all except the last four lines. Martin's text stops with the line "Ne vos veil avant rimoier." But the last four lines of the present copy are added by Martin in his vol. iii. ("Les Variantes"), p. 460. This poem is in Méon, at ll. 20,491–21,976. The subjects are described by Rothe, at his pp. 216–223.

9. Reynard's Confession. Reynard confesses to Hubert the Kite, and then eats him. Martin's Branch vii. In 857 lines. ff. 62 b–67 b, col. 2.

Begins: "Fous est qui croist fole pensse." f. 62 b.

Ends: "Ha las si a mal pecheeur
Qui a mengie son confesseur." f. 67 b, col. 2.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 241–264. Méon, ll. 27,783–28,664. The subjects are described by Rothe, at his pp. 244–250.

10. Reynard's Pilgrimage to Rome. Martin's Branch viii. In 462 lines. ff. 67 b, col. 2–71.

Begins: "Iadiz estoit R[enart] en pes
A malpertuis en son pales." f. 67 b, col. 2.

Ends: "Si ont faite la retornee." f. 71.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 265–278. Méon, ll. 12,987–13,464. The subjects are described by Rothe, at his pp. 185–9. The Branch had been printed by Martin (previously to his edition of the whole *Roman*), with some comments under the heading of "Le pelerinage Renart," in Eduard Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, Band i. (Strassburg, 1875), pp. 409–437.

11. Tybert the Cat loses his tail; Primaut the Wolf turns Priest. Martin's Branch xiv. In 1083 lines. ff. 71–77 b, col. 2.

Begins: "Ce fu en mai au temps nouuel." f. 71.

Ends: "Atant sen ua deliurement
Et Pri[maut] remaint en torment
Et sachez que poinne souffri
Quant le pie ilec li porri
Et R[enart] sen reua arriere
A malpertuis en sa tesniere

Encontre est venue H[ermeline]
Qui lainme damour enterine
Grant ioie li font si enfant
Receu lont lie et ioiant
A lui sa fame et sa mesnie
Moult se repant et sumelie
De ce que a Pri[maut] a fet
A damede se rent mes'et
Du mal qua fait or se repant
Sa uie amende durement." f. 77 b, cols. 1–2.

See Martin, vol. ii. pp. 109–139. Méon, ll. 2661–4850. The adventures of Primaut (brother of Isengrim) are related more fully in Méon's text, and at the end of it nothing is said of the remorse felt by Réynard for leaving his comrade in the trap; but, on the contrary, Reynard and his wife Hermeline are described as laughing over the tricks played by him to Tybert and Primaut. The subjects are described in Rothe, at pp. 131–9.

12. Reynard the Black. He has been hunted two or three times by a Knight, and has taken refuge in the Knight's own castle. At length discovered among some fox-skins, he still manages to escape. He disguises himself by eating a herb that dyes him black. He plays many tricks; but he returns safe home to Malpertuis. Martin's Branch xiii. In 2346 lines. ff. 77 b, col. 2–92 b.

Begins: "Vne estoire voeill conmencer." f. 77 b, col. 2.

Ends: "Ci uous les de R[enart] le noir
En son chastel est enfermez
Atant est li contes finez." f. 92 b.

See Martin, vol. ii. pp. 43–108. Méon, ll. 21,977–24,346. The subjects are described in Rothe, at pp. 223–230.

13. Reynard as King's Physician, and the flaying of the Wolf. He has prepared Malpertuis to stand a siege; but, hearing of King Noble's illness, he appears at court, prescribes the skin of Isengrim, etc., and cures the King. Martin's Branch x. In 1668 lines. ff. 92 b–103.

Begins: "Se or uous uouliez taisir." f. 92 b.

Ends: "Lors seiorna ce mest auis
En son chastel une grant pose
Car aseur issir nen ose." f. 103.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 342–389. Méon, ll. 17,871–19,768. The subjects are described in Rothe, at pp. 203–212.

14. Reynard as Emperor. He usurps the title, and marries the Lioness, in the absence of King Noble. A war follows, in which Reynard is captured; but he makes peace, and regains the King's favour. Martin's Branch xi. In 3451 lines. ff. 103–124 b, col. 2.

Begins: "Ce fu en la douce saison
Que cler chantent li osillon." f. 103.

Ends (after a passage of eleven lines, the first words of which have been torn away and incorrectly written on a new patch):

"Mais entreulz mout grant amor ot
Li contes fenist a ce mot." f. 124 b, col. 2.

See Martin, vol. i. pp. 390–484. Méon, ll. 24,345–27,782. The subjects are described in Rothe, at pp. 231–244.

Colophon: "Explicit le Romans de Renart." f. 124 b, col. 2.

The *Roman du Renart*, edited by Dominique Martin Méon, in 4 vols. (Paris, 1826), contains the Branches (groups of poems belonging to the popular cycle) in the first three volumes. These Branches consist altogether of 30,362 lines. Méon's vol. iv. contains two poems, of a more artificial and intentionally satirical class. These are: (1) "Couronnement de Renard," dedicated to the memory of Count Guillaume, son and heir of Margaret II. of Flanders, who was killed at a tournament in June, 1251; in 3398 lines. (2.) "Renart le Nouvel," by Jacquemars Gielée, of Lille, written in 1288; in 8048 lines. In the Preface to vol. i. (p. vi) Méon says that he has collated 12 MSS. (belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale); but he gives very little notion how he has used them. The information required was to some extent supplied by Jean Pierre Chabaille, in his volume, *Le Roman du Renart, Supplément, Variantes et Corrections* (Paris, 1835). Some further information about the MSS. was given by August Rothe

in the work often quoted above, *Les Romans du Renard examinés, analysés et comparés* (Paris, 1845). Ernst Martin says in his *Examen Critique des Manuscrits du Roman de Renart* (Bâle, 1872) that he had then made complete collations of the 20 MSS. known to him (the present MS. figuring as E). Martin's own edition of *Le Roman de Renart* was published at Strasbourg and Paris, in two vols. (1882 and 1885); with a third vol. of *Les Variantes* (1887); and with a supplementary vol. of *Observations*, followed by an Index of Names (1887).

There is a long compilation of the same tales, and of other tales belonging to the same cycle, which is still unpublished. Its author, a Clerk of Troyes in Champagne, entitled his poem Renart le Contrefait (the Counterfeit), in order to distinguish it from the original Renart. There are two versions of it; the first (it appears) written from 1319 to 1322, and having about 32,000 lines; whilst the second, written from 1328 to 1341, has only about 18,000 lines. The second version was described by Legrand d'Aussy in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. v. (Paris, an vii. [1798–9]), pp. 330–357. Both versions were described by A. C. M. Robert, in his *Fables inédites*, vol. i. (Paris, 1825), pp. cxxxiii–clii; and he printed seven passages from the poem amongst his *Fables*, vol. i. pp. 48, 86, 249, 348, vol. ii. pp. 101, 300, 365. Rothe made an abstract of the descriptions given by Legrand and Robert, and inserted it in his *Romans du Renard* (Paris, 1845), pp. 459–514. A MS. at Vienna has since been discovered, and an account was given of it by Ferdinand Wolf, in *Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph. Histor. Classe*, Bd. xii (Wien, 1862), pp. 71–86.

The Flemish poem, chiefly founded (about 1250) upon the subject of the "Plaid" (Martin's Br. i.; Méon's Br. 20), is only preserved in its original form in the Stuttgart (formerly the Comburg) MS. of about 1400. It is now generally known as "Reinaert i." It is in about 3475 lines, beginning "Willem die vele bouke maecte." But the words "vele bouke" are written over an erasure. The erased word is no doubt supplied by the reading in the later Recension and Continuation, now known as "Reinaert ii.," which begins "Willam die Madoc maecte." Grimm conjectured "Madoc" to be a by-name of the author (see *Reinhart Fuchs*, p. cxlix); but it is now regarded as the title of a previous work of his. Reinaert i., in 3465 lines, was pub-

lished by F. D. Grāter in his Miscellany entitled *Odina und Teutona*, Bd. i., otherwise known as *Braga und Hermode*, Bd. v., and as *Bragur*, Bd. viii. (Breslau, 1812), pp. 265–375; by Grimm, together with a fragment (1038 lines) of Reinaert ii. (*Reinhart Fuchs*, Berlin, 1834), pp. 115–234, 235–267; by Jan Frans Willems, together with the latter part (4328 lines) of Reinaert ii. (Ghent, 1836 and 1850); by W. J. A. Jonckbloet (Groningen, 1856); by Ernst Martin, together with the whole of Reinaert ii. in 7794 lines (Paderborn, 1874); and, in a text of 3174 lines (many lines being transferred to the notes), by Dr. W. L. Van Helten, forming Afievering 41 and 42 of the *Bibliothek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, conducted by Dr. H. E. Moltzer and Dr. Jan Te Winkel (Groningen, 1886). Reinaert ii. was turned into prose as *Die Historie van Reynaert de vos*, and printed at Gouda (in South Holland) in 1479. Caxton followed very quickly with his *Historye of reynard the foxe* (1481). He says that his "copye" "was in dutche"; and that it was translated by him, and "fynysshed the vi daye of Juyn the yere of our lord M.CCCC.LXXXI." Caxton's *Historye* was reprinted by the Percy Society, vol. xii. (London, 1844), with an Introduction by William J. Thoms, derived from Grimm and Willems. Caxton's text has also appeared twice among Edward Arber's Reprints, in 1878 and 1880.

The close connection between the Netherlandish poem and the Low German Reinke de vos received a new light in 1854, when Karl Gōdeke announced that "Hr. senator Culemann in Hanover" had found seven leaves of a Netherlandish book which he believed to have been printed about 1470–80 and to have been the distinct original of the Lūbeck *Reinke* of 1498 (see Gōdeke, both in the first and second edition of his *Mittelalter*, 1854 and 1871, at p. 678). These fragments contain 222 verses (24 of them imperfect) from the first quarter of Reinaert ii., divided into chapters; with four headings, and the mutilated remains of two Glosses, in prose; and with three woodcuts.

The type is now decided to be that of Gheraert Leeu in Antwerp, but to have been a little later than Culemann supposed. The fragments went in 1870 to the Cambridge University Library; and they were dated by the late Librarian, Henry Bradshaw, as probably printed in 1487. This date is accepted by Friedrich Prien, at the end of his treatise on "Reinke Vos"

in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Bd. viii. (Halle, 1882), pp. 1–53. Prien has printed these Culemann fragments in his treatise (pp. 10–16); and again in the Appendix to his edition of the Low-German *Reinke de vos*, No. 8 of Paul's *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, (Halle, 1887), pp. 267–273. This edition is reprinted from that of Lübeck, 1498. The metrical portion is closely translated from Reinaert ii., frequently indeed retaining the same rhymes; and even the prose glosses appear to be only enlarged from a text similar to that of the Culemann fragments. And yet the first Preface contains an assertion, professedly made by the author of the work in its present form, that his name was "Hinrek van Alckmer," that he was a scholar in the service of the Duke of Lorraine, and that he had translated the book (at the Duke's request) from French into German. The words are: "ick Hinrek van Alckmer, scholemester vnde tuchtlerer des eddelen, dogentliken vorsten vnde heren hertogen van Lotryngen, vmme bede wyllen mynes gnedyghen heren, hebbe dyt yeghenwerdyge boek vth walscher vnde franszösescher sprake ghesocht vnde vmmeghesath in dudesche sprake" (see Prien's reprint, pp. 3–4). Grimm was the first, we believe, to point out (in *Reinhart Fuchs*, p. clxxv) that it would be absurd to accept this passage literally, and to believe that a Dutchman (a native of Alkmaar) was likely to translate a French poem into Low-Saxon, in order to please a Duke of Lorraine. Moreover, we know that the German writer translated from the Flemish, and not from the French. We think it more probable that Henry of Alkmaar arranged the work to which the Culemann fragments belong; that the German translator added something to the preface; and that the printers of Lübeck misunderstood and misprinted the statement. Other names have been proposed and rejected: see Prien, p. xv.

In the latter part of the 17th century 57 pictures from the story of Reinaert (probably suggested by one of the prose versions) were designed and engraved on copper by Aldert van Everdingen (d. 1675). The original drawings, besides the engravings in several stages, are now in the Print Room at the British Museum. They have been fully described by W. Drugulin, in his *Catalogue* of the engravings of Everdingen (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 78–112. Sir Henry Cole, under the pseudonym of "Felix Summerly," published *The pleasant history*

of Reynard the Fox, told by the pictures of Aldert van Everdingen (London, 1843), and there he says—"Everdingen's original copper-plates have recently come into my possession." Meanwhile, the plates had acquired another interest, apart from that of their artistic merits. They had been used to illustrate the prose version, by Johann Christoph Gottsched, entitled *Heinrichs von Alkmar Reineke der Fuchs, mit schönen Kupfern; nach der Ausgabe von* 1498 *ins Hochdeutsche übersetzet*, etc. (Leipzig and Amsterdam, 1752). Goethe took a great pleasure in the volume; he obtained a fine copy of it in 1783, and he expressed his delight in a letter of that period, "dasz ich den Reinicke Fuchs kriege freut mich kindisch." In 1794 he produced his well-known poem: see the edition by Alexander Bieling, *Goethes Reineke Fuchs* (Berlin, 1882), Introduction, p. 17.

VISIONS OF HEAVEN AND HELL.

Royal 8 E. xvii. ff. 122 b–123.

Vellum; early xiiith cent. Quarto; on 4 columns, having 37 or 38 lines to a full column. With the first initial in red.

The whole MS. contains the following legends, all in *Latin* prose: (1) The Tree of the Cross. f. 121. (2) The present article. f. 122 b. (3) Titus and Vespasian. f. 123. (4) Pilate. f. 125. (5) Judas. f. 126. (6) St. Christopher. f. 127. (7) St. Brendan. ff. 128 b–138 b. Bound up with another MS. (ff. 1–120 b), containing theological treatises, and Maxims and Proverbs in *Latin* hexameters and in *French* verse, with two in *English* verse, and also two rather longer *French* poems (ff. 107 b–109), entitled "la pleinte nostre dame" and "la geste des dames."

VISION OF ST. PAUL. The legend telling how St. Paul was shown the torments of Hell; and how he obtained rest for the Damned on Sundays. *Latin.*

Two versions of this Vision existed in Greek in the fourth century. One of them is lost. It is mentioned, under the title of Ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου, by St. Epiphanius in his work against eighty Heresies: see the section against the "Caiani", Heresy 18 or 38, Migne's *Patrologia Græca*, vol. xli. (1863), col. 656. The other version is described by St. Augustine (in his 98th Tract upon the Gospel of St. John) in this sentence: "Qua occasione vani quidam apocalypsim Pauli, quam sana non recipit Ecclesia, nescio quibus fabulis plenam, stultissima præsumptione finxerunt": see Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xxxv. (being St. Augustine's Works, vol. iii.) col. 1885. The latter of these two versions seems to be represented by the text published by Tischendorf (from a 15th century MS. at Milan, collated with a 13th century MS. at Munich) in *Apocalypses Apocryphæ* (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 34–69; where it is accompanied with an English

translation (by the Rev. Justin Perkins) of "an ancient Syriac Manuscript." Tischendorf's introductory remarks are at pp. xiv–xviii.

The legend was suggested by the words of St. Paul himself in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xii., vv. 2–4. St. Paul only says that he had been "caught up to the third heaven," and had "heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." But, in spite of these words, St. Paul is represented by the Greek author as having written the history of his vision. He buried it (we are told) under the foundations of his house at Tarsus; and an Angel revealed it to an occupier of that house in the days of Theodosius the Great. Tischendorf conjectures that the work was written soon after the death of Theodosius (A.D. 395).

The account of St. Paul's book is omitted in all the Latin versions; and so is the Preface, describing the sinfulness of Men and the records of their acts written by the Angels every evening. The narrative then follows in three parts not formally divided. (1) Paul's flight (in company with an Angel) above the Earth is, in Tischendorf's volume, at p. 40. He sees the deathbeds of the Just and the Unjust, pp. 43–45. He is shown the place of the Just, p. 49. When leaving the gate of Heaven, he sees a fruitless tree, with men weeping under it, pp. 52–3. (2) Paul is carried to Hell, and is shown the pits and the rivers of fire, and other torments, pp. 57–62. Paul weeps and Gabriel descends to him, p. 62. The tortured Souls cry out to them for help in prayer. They all pray together. Christ descends and grants them rest on every Sunday, for the whole day and night. p. 63. (3) Paul is taken to the Earthly Paradise. He sees the World-tree, with the four great rivers of Paradise gushing from its roots, p. 64. He sees the Tree of Knowledge, and the Tree of Life. He there meets, and is saluted by, the Virgin Mary, and Abraham and others, pp. 64–9. In the Syriac version the Archangel who joins Paul in Hell is not Gabriel, but Michael. In the Latin versions the Angel who leads Paul about is Michael himself.

Herman Brandes, when engaged in editing the Latin Vision, made acquaintance with 22 MSS. He divides them into six Redactions. Only one of these (the first) contains the visit to Heaven. Redaction i. begins: "Oportet vos, fratres karissimi, amare delicias paradisi et timere penas inferni, que ostense sunt

Paulo apostolo, quando fuit in carcere in hoc mundo. Tulit eum Michael archangelus in spiritum domini et ostendit ei celum et terram atque infernum" (Brandes, p. 65). In this Redaction the visits are paid first to Hell and then to Heaven (pp. 65–8, and 68–71), the reverse order of that in the Greek text. Redaction ii. opens with the same words, down to "que ostense sunt Paulo sancto, quando fuit in carcere in hoc mundo"; but it has no description of Heaven. Redaction iii. opens in the same manner, and has likewise no description of Heaven. The scene of the prayer for the Sunday Rest is fuller and more animated than in the other Latin texts. Redaction iv. (to which all our MSS. belong) opens without any allusion to Paul's visit to Heaven. The Bridge of Dread (which forms such a striking feature in St. Patrick's Purgatory) is here introduced. It is remarked towards the end of this Redaction that the Porter of Hell and his dog Cerberus were grieved at the Sunday Rest. Redaction v. opens with 18 lines (of the printed text, pp. 37–8) explaining that there are two Hells, the Upper Hell being in fact Purgatory. The rest of it agrees pretty closely with Redaction iv.; except that Cerberus is pleased instead of grieved. Redaction vi. is much more meagre than the rest. It seems to be little more than a list of torments, with inquiries and answers why they are inflicted.

The Bridge of Dread, to which we have just alluded, is the name usually given to the bridge which all Souls have to pass on their way from Earth to Heaven. It is long, narrow, and slippery; and a Hell-torrent roars underneath it. It figures in the Koran; but it had found its way into Christian legends before the time of Mohammed. Gregory the Great (d. 604) wrote his Dialogues about 594; and he there tells of a soldier, restored from death to life, who had crossed the Bridge himself, and had seen others crossing or attempting to cross it.

The Introductory Sentences of the present copy have "dies letus," where the other copies have "dies electus"; but there is an erasure at the beginning of "letus." The Sentences are as follows: "Dies dominicus dies letus in quo gaudent angeli plusquam aliis diebus interrogandum quis primus interrogauit ut anime [h]aberent requiem in dominico die. Hic est paulus et Michael arcangelus quando descenderunt ad infernum. Deus uoluit ut paulus uideret penas inferni et misit deus Michaelem

cum paulo ut ostenderet ei penas inferni." The narrative then begins: "Vidit paulus ante portas inferni arbores ignitas in ramis quarum peccatores pendebant . vni per capillos alii per manus," etc. f. 122 b. The Bridge is mentioned thus: "Ibi est fluuius horribilis in quo multe bestie diabolice quasi in medio maris natant. Que animas peccator[um] quasi lupi oues sine misericordia deuorant et super illum pons est et super illum transeunt anime iuste sine dubitacione . et anime peccatrices vnaqueque secundum suum meritum" [merguntur *omitted*]. f. 122 b. The passage about Cerberus is as follows: "Et hostiarius cui nomen eternalis et nomen canis cebereos exaltauit caput suum super penas et contristatus est ualde." f. 123, col. 2. The copy ends: "Interrogauit paulus angelum. Quot pene sunt in inferno? Et ait cxliiii. milia. Et si essent c. uiri ad hoc constituti . et unusquisque haberet . iiii^{or}. linguas ferreas non possent dinumerare eas. Nos fratres karissimi audientes ista mala conuertamur ad dominum deum nostrum . vt maneamus cum ipso in secula et in gloria seculorum amen." f. 123, col. 2.

Edited, from a Vienna MS. and from two of the British Museum MSS. (Add. 26,770 and Harley 2851), by Herman Brandes, in his *Visio S. Pauli* (Halle, 1885), pp. 75–80. It is there reckoned as Version ii., though it had been described as "Redaktion iv." at pp. 34–37.

Harley 2851. ff. 58–60.

Vellum; about A.D. 1300. Small Quarto; ff. 3, having 26 lines to a page. With the Heading and the first initial in red.

The MS. contains a large collection of prose Tales and of poems, in *Latin*. The first articles are the following poems:—(1) Susannah, in elegiacs, by Alan of Beverley, a Monk of Melsa. f. 2. (2) Three religious poems, in elegiacs. f. 10. (3) Solomon and Marcolf, in hexameters. f. 12. (4) Four Goliardic poems, the last of them in 8 chapters. f. 12 b. These poems are succeeded by a series of church legends, in prose, the 15th of which is the present article. They are as follows:—

1. St. Alexius. f. 19.
2. Seven Sleepers. f. 21.
3. St. Christina. f. 25.
4. St. Christopher. f. 27.
5. St. Theodora. f. 29 b.
6. Longinus. f. 34.
7. St. Peter (partly in rhyme). f. 34 b.
8. Veronica (cure of Tiberius). f. 35 b.
9. St. Luke. f. 41.
10. Personal description of Christ. f. 41 b.
11. Pilate. f. 42.
12. Judas. f. 43.
13. Oil of Mercy, and Tree of the Cross. f. 45.
14. Purgatory of St. Patrick: see further on under that Heading. f. 49 b.
15. The present article. f. 58.
16. Life and Death of Antichrist. f. 60.
17. Fifteen Signs of the Day of Judgment. f. 62.
18. Joseph and "Hasseneth" (daughter of Potiphar). f. 62 b.

The rest of the MS. contains Miscellanea, in verse and prose, the most important articles being as follows:—

1. Miracles of the Virgin (12 in number). ff. 71–89.
2. Legends and Tales. ff. 89 b–122, 131–142, 172 b–186, 187–187 b.
3. Goliardic and other poems. ff. 124–130 b, 148.
4. "Passio iusticiariorum Anglie." A narrative, in a burlesque biblical style, of the degradation of the Judges for corruption, referring (probably) to the measures taken by Edward I. in 1289 (see Foss's *Judges*, vol. iii., 1851, p. 38), ending with 14 elegiacs. ff. 148 b–150 b.
5. "Missa gulonis." f. 151.
6. Discourse of William, a physician of Gloucester, to one of his pupils, about the study of figures in the nude. ff. 186–186 b.

At f. 31 there is a drawing of the Crucifixion, followed (f. 31 b) by a Hymn in *English*, in a hand of the 15th cent.

VISION OF ST. PAUL. *Latin.*

Headed: "Priuilegia diei dominice . et visio pauli apostoli in inferno. xv." This number alludes to the series of articles, of

which this is the 15th. The Introduction begins: "Dies domi[ni]cus est electus." The Narrative begins: "Cum ergo uenirent ad infernum ꝫ vidit paulus ante portas inferni arbores quasi igneas." The Bridge is not mentioned, apparently owing to mere carelessness (ed. Brandes, p. 76, note 1). The Angels greet the Soul "cuiusdam sancti sacerdotis," saying "O anima iusta ꝫ et libera ꝫ" etc. f. 59 b, lines 1 and 3. The passage about Cerberus is omitted. After the enquiries about the number of the torments, the Vision ends: "Nos fratres audientes mala ꝫ conuertamur ad dominum . vt purgatorio transcurso viuamus cum eo in secula seculorum." f. 60.

Collated by H. Brandes for the text in his *Visio S. Pauli* (Halle, 1885), pp. 75–80. He calls it Codex C.

Arundel 52. ff. 63, 64.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Folio; on 3 columns, having 46 lines to a column, with 4 lines on a fourth column. The whole MS., mostly in *Latin*, contains:—

1. Life of Becket, known as "Quadrilogus." f. 1.
2. "Gesta Salvatoris," said to have been found by Theodosius the Great in the Prætorium at Jerusalem. f. 41 b.
3. Various Extracts, theological, grammatical, etc. f. 48.
4. The present article. f. 63.
5. Treatise on the Creation, etc. f. 64.
6. Grammatical and other Treatises, in prose and verse. f. 65.
7. Legend (said to have been written in Greek in the time of Theodosius II.), how Christ was elected a Priest by the Jews. f. 72.
8. Description of Jerusalem, in *French*. f. 73 b.
9. Image du Monde, in *French* verse. f. 74 b.
10. Astronomical Tables, theological and other Treatises, Extracts from the Gospel of the Infancy, the History of the Assumption, etc. ff. 100–119.

VISION OF ST. PAUL. *Latin.*

The Introduction begins: "Dies dominicus dies electus in quo gaudent angeli." f. 63, col. 2. The narrative begins: "cum igitur uenerunt ad infernum uidit paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas." f. 63, col. 2. The Bridge is omitted owing to a stupid mistake; for, after describing the "flumen oribile," the

passage goes on "Et super illud uidit aliud flumen et per illud transeunt anime iuste," etc. St. Paul sees the Soul of the Just Man borne by Angels, and hears them singing "O anima iusta et felicissima," etc. f. 63 b, col. 2. No mention is here made of Cerberus. Ends: "Interrogauit paulus angelum quot sunt pene infernales cui ait angelus sunt pene c.xl.iiij. nos audientes talia conuertamur ad deum . amen." f. 64.

Additional 26,770. ff. 88 b–89 b.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Quarto; ff. 2, in double columns of 43 lines. With initials in red and blue. At the beginning is a scheme of virtues and vices in red and blue (f. 2); and on the reverse of the same leaf is the inscription "Liber Fratris Roberti Normanni" (f. 2 b). The MS. contains the following philosophical and theological Treatises, in *Latin*:—

1. Johannes de Sacro Bosco, De algorismo, De Sphæra, etc. ff. 3, 7, 21 b.
2. Gulielmi de Conchis Summa de naturis rerum. f. 46 b.
3. Extracts from Saints Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine (imperfect at beginning). f. 65.
4. Jacques de Vitry, 31 of his Exempla, with a few didactic passages from the Sermons themselves. f. 75.
5. Gospel of the Infancy of Christ. f. 80 b.
6. The present article. f. 88 b.
7. Fifteen signs before the Day of Judgment. f. 89 b.
8. Prester John's Letter about India Major to the Emperor Emmanuel. f. 89 b.
9–11. Homilies, and other theological Essays and Extracts. ff. 92, 93 b, 97, 99.
12. "Secreta secretorum," wrongly ascribed to Aristotle. f. 116.
13. Hexameter verses on theological and other subjects. f. 118.
14. Hugo de Folieto, a portion of his Mystical Treatise De Claustro Animæ, Bk. ii. middle of ch. 5–Bk. iii. middle of ch. 7 (see Migne, vol. clxxvi. cols. 1054–1096). ff. 122–133 b.

The first part of the volume is in two hands; and the last article seems to have belonged to another volume.

VISION OF ST. PAUL. *Latin.*

Headed: "Visio sancti pauli apostoli super penas inferni." The Introduction begins: "Dies dominicus dies electus." The Narrative begins: "Vidit igitur paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas." f. 88 b. After describing the "flumen terribile," the passage about the Bridge begins: "et desuper illud

habetur pons . et per illum transeunt anime iuste sine ulla dubitacione." f. 88 b, col. 2. St. Paul hears the Angels saying to the Soul of a Just Man: "O anima beata et felicissima," etc. f. 89, col. 2. The passage about Cerberus is as follows: "Tunc hostiarius inferni qui canis dicitur exaltauit capita super omnes qui erant in inferno. Et contristatus est ualde." f. 89 b. It ends with the enquiries about the number of the torments; and the last words are: "non possent dinumerare ceterras (*sic*) penas inferni." Colophon: "explicit." f. 89 b.

This MS. was collated by Brandes in his edition, pp. 75–80. He quotes it as Codex B.

Royal 13 C. vi. ff. 150–150 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; one leaf, having 25 lines to a page. This article is inserted in a charter hand, whereas the rest of the MS. is in a book hand; but the two hands are of much the same period. The whole MS. contains:—

1. Martini Poloni Chronica. f. 1.
2. Passages of British and English history, taken from Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, and others, down to the year 1289. f. 36.
3. C. Julii Solini Polyhistor. f. 64 b, col. 2.
4. Quadrilogus (Life of Thomas Becket). f. 92.
5. Secretum Secretorum, etc., falsely attributed to Aristotle. f. 130.
6. The present article. f. 150.
7. Gulielmus Tripolitanus De statu Saracenorum. f. 151.
8. Notices of Pope Pelagius I. and others. ff. 157 b, col. 2–173.

Vision of St. Paul. Left half unfinished. *Latin.*

Headed: "Visio beati pauli de penis inferni." The Introduction begins: "Dies dominicus est electus." The Narrative begins: "Vidit uero beatus Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas." The passage about the Bridge begins: "et desuper illud flumen . est pons . per quem transeunt anime iuste sine dubio." f. 150, last two lines. It breaks off with the line "Hii erant qui orphanis et viduis nocuerunt." f. 150 b (Brandes, p. 77, lines 14–15).

Royal 11 B. iii. f. 334 b, cols. 1–2.

Vellum; xivth cent. Quarto; one page, in double columns of 48 lines. The whole MS. contains:—

1. Treatise on the Sacraments, with an introductory Epistle, headed "Vrbanus episcopus seruus seruorum dei." f. 1 b.
2. Summa de Virtutibus and Summa de Vitiis. f. 9.
3. Various theological notes. f. 276 b.
4. Treatises, by Cardinal Bonaventura, Robert Grosseteste, and others. f. 281.
5. Directions for reckoning the Calendar, beg. "Compotus est scientia." f. 329.
6. The present article. f. 334 b.
7. Rules for Confession, partly composed by Robert Grosseteste. f. 334 b.
8. Extracts, from Seneca, from the Vitæ Patrum, from the Historia Tripartita of Cassiodorus, from the Romance of Barlaam and Josaphat, and from a Homily on Isaiah, ch. 55, verse 6. ff. 337, 344, 344 b, 345, 349.
9. Description of the feathers of the wings of a symbolical figure of a cherub. f. 349 b.
10. Comments upon various texts. f. 350.
11. Three Hymns in *French*, the first beginning "[A]ve duz ihesu," the second being on the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin, and the third beg. "[H]ey amour." ff. 359 b–361.

The volume belonged, in the 14th century, to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.

At f. 1 b. is the signature of John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

VISION OF ST. PAUL. *Latin.*

Headed: "Visio sancti pauli." On the margin (the edge of which has been clipped) there are the remains of an entry:—"vitas patrum continetur ..... d." The Introduction begins (without the usual opening sentence about Sunday): "Interogandum est quis primus petiuisset vt anime haberent requiem in inferno." The Narrative begins: "Et vidit paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas." The passage about the Bridge is muddled; it begins: "Et desuper illo flumine est pons et per pontem transeunt anime peccatrices." St. Paul hears the Angels saying to the Just Soul, "O leta et felicissima anima," etc. f. 334 b, col. 2, line 17. The passage about Cerberus is as follows: "hostiarius uero inferni qui vocatur erner (*sic*) et canis eius cerberus hoc audientes cum mugitu exaltauerunt vocem suam et capita sua super omnes penas inferni et contristati sunt valde." col. 2, ll. 33–35. It ends with the enquiries about the

number of the torments; and the last words are: "vt regnemus et viuamus cum ipso. In secula seculorum. Amen." col. 2, ll. 44–45.

Royal 11 B. x. ff. 2–2 b, and f. 184.

Vellum; xvth cent. On two leaves, having 85 lines, which make altogether nearly one whole leaf. This article is inserted on blank pages at the beginning and end of a series of five theological Treatises. The volume contains:—

1. Table of Contents of the Pupilla Oculi of John Borough (flor. 1386). f. 1.
2. Beginning of the present article. f. 2.
3. "Pupilla Oculi." f. 3.
4. "Modus pronunciandi sentencias excommunicacionum." f. 173 b.
5. "Constituciones synodales." f. 176, col. 2.
6. "Conclusiones de ymaginibus," by Walter Hilton (d. 1395). f. 178.
7. Sentences on the Commandments, by Nicolas de Lyra. f. 183 b.
8. Conclusion of the present Article, followed by a Discourse in honour of Sunday; both in the same hand as that of No. 2. f. 184.

At f. 1 is the signature of John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

VISION OF ST. PAUL. *Latin.*

The Introduction begins: "[D]jes dominicus est dies electus in quo gaudent angeli." The Narrative begins: "Cum igitur uenerunt ad infernum . vidit paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas." The passage about the Bridge begins: "et super illud flumen habetur pons." f. 2. St. Paul hears the Angels saying to the Just Soul: "O leta anima letare hodie," etc. f. 2 b, line 27. The passage about Cerberus is as follows: "Tunc hostiarius inferni exaltauit capita sua super infernorum penas et contristatus est ualde." f. 2 b, lines 43 and 44. This part of the Article breaks off with the words: "Et dixit angelus . qui custodierit diem dominicum habebit partem," with the catch-words "in celis cum angelis dei," added at the foot of the page, together with the reference, "require in fine libri." f. 2 b. Accordingly, Part 2 of the present Article begins: "in celis cum angelis dei. Et interrogauit paulus angelum quot sunt penæ in inferno," etc. The Article ends: "A quibus liberet nos deus noster ihesus christus. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum Amen." f. 184.

The Discourse in honour of Sunday now begins: "[Q]vare nescitis deum nec sanctum diem dominicum custodire propter ea uenit ira dei super uos." f. 184. It ends: "Ad illam gloriam perducat ihesus qui nos redemit in cruce christus . qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum Amen." f. 184, col. 2.

Royal 8 F. vi. ff. 23, 24.

Paper; xvth cent. Folio; on 5 columns of 44 to 47 lines. The MS. contains:—

1. Extracts from Homilies, for Advent to Whitsuntide, with numerous Exempla. f. 1.
2. The present article. f. 23.
3. Homily in honour of Sunday, with Exempla. f. 24.
4. Interpretation of the symbolical meanings of Nebuchadnezzar's Vision, in *Latin*, with *English* headings; followed by Extracts from the Fathers, and by a Legend (in *English*) how a Woman concealed a sin in confession, and how the "curet . . saw þe fende dansyng in her necke." ff. 25 b–28 b.
5. Forms of Charters (*Latin*), and Prescriptions (*English*). f. 29.
6. Gesta Romanorum, according to the Anglo-Latin compilation. ff. 31–44.

The last article (the Gesta) is perhaps written in another hand. The scribe has several times written his name as "Bruus" on the margin; but, when he introduces it as a colophon, he writes it "Brewse." Thus, in one instance the colophon is "Brewse de Kenforde cum sinistra manu" (f. 34); and again (f. 32) "Quod Thomas Brewse litteratum" (*sic*). The family of Brewse was long established in Suffolk; and Kentford in that county seems to have been sometimes written "Kenford."

At f. 1 is the signature of John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

Vision of St. Paul. *Latin.*

Headed: "Quicunque vvlt scire de penis inferni legat scripta sequentia." The Introduction begins: "Dies dominicus dies letus in quo anngeli gaudent plus quam in alijs diebus." The Narrative begins: "Vidit paulus ante portam inferni arbores igneas in quarum ramis peccatores pendebant." f. 23. The passage about the Bridge, after describing the "fluuius orribilis," begins: "et super illum pons est." f. 23, col. 2, lines 17–18. St. Paul hears the Angels saying to the Soul of the Just Man: "O anima leta O anima felici[ssi]ma." f. 23 b, col. 2, lines 4–5.

The passage about Cerberus is as follows: "Et hostiarius cui nomen eternalis et nomen canis scilicet cerberius exaltauit caput suum super penas et contristatus est valde." f. 23 b, col. 2, lines 40–42. It ends with the enquiries about the number of the torments; and the last words are: "vt viuamus cum ipso in sua gloria in secula seculorum. Amen." f. 24, line 10.

Royal 8 C. vii. ff. 119 b–121 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 8, having 35 lines to a page. With two initials in blue. The whole MS., in *Latin*, contains:—(1) Commentaries on the Ave Maria, and other theological treatises. ff. 21–119 b. (2) The present article. f. 119 b. (3) Other theological treatises, the last of which is an imperfect copy of Book I. of De Imitatione Christi of Thomas à Kempis, breaking off in the middle of ch. 25. ff. 121 b–160 b. Bound up with other works of various periods, the first two of which are two mutilated leaves of Lives of St. Agatha and St. Agnes, in *Anglo-Saxon*.

At f. 9 is the signature of John Theyer (d. 1673).

VISION OF ST. PAUL. *Latin.*

Headed: "Paulus de dominica. Et de penis inferni." The Introduction begins: "Dies dominicus ꝟ dies est electus." The Narrative, headed "Uisio pauli," begins: "Uidit paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas." The passage about the Bridge begins: "Et super illud flumen habetur pons. Et per illum transeunt anime iuste sine ulla dubitacione." f. 119 b, last two lines. St. Paul hears the Angels singing to the Just Soul, "O anima leta," etc. f. 120 b, line 32. The passage about Cerberus is as follows: "Tunc hostiarius inferni ꝟ cui nomen hestronel (*sic*). Et canis eius cui nomen cherberius. Eleuauerunt uoces suas. Et exclamauerunt supra omnes qui erant in inferno. Clamore magno . et irrugierunt uehementer . et contristati sunt ualde." f. 121, ll. 28–31. After enumerating the torments, it ends: "Ergo qui custodierint diem dominicum ꝟ habebunt partem cum deo et angelis eius . et omnibus sanctis in secula seculorum Amen." f. 121 b, ll. 3–4.

Cotton, Vespasian A. vii. ff. 34–38.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Octavo; ff. 5, in double columns of 22 to 30 lines. With 24 miniatures, coloured with red and blue, and occasionally with green; and with initials in red and blue. The MS. contains:—(1) Bestiaire, in *French* verse, by Guillaume le Clerc of Normandy. f. 4. (2) The present Article. f. 34. (3) Ipomedon, a Romance in *French* verse, by Hue de Rotelande (see this *Catalogue*, vol. i. pp. 728–746). ff. 39–106. At the end of the volume, added in a later hand (ff. 106 b–107 b), are the names of the Nobles present at the "accorde" at Calais, when the Treaty of Bretigni was ratified and King John of France was liberated, on 24 Oct. 1360; followed by a list of the towns and lands in France assigned to King Edward III.

VISION OF ST. PAUL, by Adam de Ros. In 427 octosyllabics (a line being omitted at f. 37). *French.*

The Abbé de la Rue, in his *Essais historiques sur les Bardes* (Caen, 1834), vol. iii. pp. 139–145, has given an account of this poem, partly from the present MS. and partly from a MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, numbered by him 2560, but now reckoned as 19,525. He asserts that the name of the author's family was derived from the lands of Ros near Caen; and that some of its members had passed into England, and so on. These assertions have been repeated by Édouard Frère, *Bibliographe Normand* (1858), and by other writers. But they offer no proofs; and they were evidently quite unaware that Ros (now generally written Ross, but more correctly Rhôs, the vowel being originally long) used to be one of the commonest place-names in Wales and the adjoining English counties. Rhôs is merely the Welsh for moor; and it naturally became less used as a place-name as the moors became cultivated. The Ross best known in modern days is that in Herefordshire, which has given to John Kyrle the designation of the "Man of Ross." And it is not at all improbable that this may have been the native place of our present author; for the principal poem in the MS., namely the Ipomedon, is copied here with all its allusions to Hereford; whereas in our other copy (Egerton 2515) they are mostly omitted. Again, this is the only copy of the St. Paul which names the author, Adam de Ros; so that the volume seems to have been compiled by some one who took interest in the local allusions.

The Prologue of the French versifier is as follows:—

"Seignurs pur deu ore escutez
Vus ki estes a deu uoueet
Aydet mei a translater
La uision sein pol li ber
Dampne deu par sa ducur
E par la sue seinte amur
Il eit merci e memorie
Des almes ke sunt en purgatorie." f. 34.

The Introduction of the Latin work is rendered thus:—

"Deu prist vn angle del ciel
Ke len apele seint michiel
A sen homme lenueia
E en apres le comanda
Ke deskes en enfern lamenast
E les grant peines li mostrat
Li angles i vet uolentirs
Kar ce est li sons mestirs
E vint al serf deu si lesueille
E puis li dist en soreille
Sui mei bons hom sanz esmaiance
E sanz pour e sanz dotance
Kar deus uoet ke ieo te meine
A enfern ueer la peine
E le trauail e la tristur
Kiloques suffrent li peccheur
Seint michiel en ueit auant
Sein pol ses hores disant
E prie deu le creatur
Kil par la soue seinte amur
Tele chose la li mostrast
Par quei seinte eglise amendast." f. 34, cols. 1–2.

The Narrative then begins thus:—

"Car deuant la porte denfernel
Vist cil prodomme un mal ostel
Vn granz arbres i uist plauntez
Ke tut est de fu alumetz
Iloques pendirent almes fors
Kil sicle firent tresors." f. 34, col. 2.

The Hell-torrent and the Bridge are thus described:—

"Puis uit un flum orible e grant
V li diable uont noant
En la guise de pessun
Mes lur feture est de lion
Desur sel flum ad un grant pund
Ke bien est haut encuntremunt
Cist pund est lung e bien estreit
Ni ad dalure que plein deit
Ki bien passer le pund porra
Ignel pas oue deu serra
E ke bien nel purra passer
En lewe li estoit aler
E suffera iloke la peine
Ke le diable i demeine." ff. 34 b, col. 2–35.

The passage about the Soul of the Just man begins:—

"Pvis esgarda seint pol li ber
Veit deus angles en leir voler
Lalme dun iustise homme ueunt portant
A damnedeu plein louaunt." f. 37.

The passage about Cerberus is omitted. The Narrative ends:—

"Tut li couient celestien
Deu en louent sur tute rien
E tut li cheitifs ensement
Ke ainces furent si dolent
E li diables maleurus
Mul esteient anguissus
Kar il urent oi nouuele
Ke de rien lur fu bele .
Seint pol li ber ad demande
A Seint Michiel le aungle de
Di me sire pur deu amur
E pur la sue seinte amur
Kauntes enfernales peines sunt
Ke ia nul iur ne fauderunt
E seint michiel li respondi
Amis oiez ke uus di

Milliers karaunte e quatre e cent
Ad peines en cel liu pulent
Mes certes suz ciel nad cel homme
Ke bien dire sace la summe
E des peines e des dolurs
E des trauaus e des tristurs
Veus deu omnipotent
En defende tute gent." f. 37 b, col. 2.

The Epilogue then follows, in 16 lines, thus:—

"Seignurs pur deu e pur samur
Ke nus gardums de tel labur
Ensement de trestuz maus
E de tut pecchez criminaus
A dampne deu nus conuertuns
Ke nus ensemble od li ralloms
Amen deu par sa merci
Ottriez nus kil seit issi amen
Jeo sui serf deu adam de ros
Isci fai io le miu repos
Kar plus ne dit ici li liure
Ne io ne uoil nient plus escriure
Vnkore ne su io mie las
A deu di . deo gracias
Priez pur mei ke cest escris
Par grant freit me sui entremis." f. 38.

This poem was published, in 334 lines (from MS. 19,525, in the Bibliothèque Nationale), by A. F. Ozanam, in his *Dante et la Philosophie catholique* (Paris, 1845), pp. 425–37: see Ozanam, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. vi. (Paris, 1859), pp. 413–423. This Paris copy omits several passages; amongst those omitted is the passage in 8 lines at the end, giving the name of Adam de Ros. Brandes describes another French version, also in octosyllabic couplets, existing in MS. 2094 of the Bibliothèque Nationale; and he quotes 130 lines of it (*Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 51–55). He remarks that Cerberus figures in it (p. 55). Of the present version Thomas Wright says: "there are several copies preserved in manuscript (two I believe at Cambridge)"; and again, "there are other MSS. at Oxford." See Wright's book, *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (London, 1844), p. 8, note.

Additional 15,606. ff. 81–87 b, col. 2.

Vellum; early xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 7, in double columns of 31 lines. With initials in red. This is Article 6 of a collection of 25 Articles, in *French* verse and prose, together with one in *Latin*. The poems are chiefly Church Legends or Hymns. A List of them is given in the first volume of the present *Catalogue* (1883), pp. 757–8; and they have been more fully described by Paul Meyer, under the heading, "Notice sur un MS. Bourguignon," in *Romania*, vol. vi. (1877), pp. 1–39, with corrections at pp. 600–604.

Vision of St. Paul. In 579 lines; consisting of 530 alexandrines, arranged in mono-rhymed quatrains; together with 49 octosyllabics in the middle, occurring after the 84th alexandrine. *French.*

Most of the stanzas begin with an initial in red. Some of them are irregular, containing 3 or 5 alexandrines instead of 4, and in a few cases having 6 or 8. The octosyllabics are in couplets; but one couplet is imperfect, a line being omitted after the fourth line of f. 82, col. 2.

The poem is headed "Des poignes danfer."

It begins:—

"Beau soignor et vos dames faites que lon vos ohie .
Que dex doint a uos armes . de paradiz la ioie
Se ie sa aucun bien que ie dire ne doie
A uos ne touche mie quex poicherres que soie." f. 81.

After 40 lines of Introduction the Narrative begins thus:—

"Sains pou fut an anfer aincoiz que il transist
Quar sains michie larcange li mena et condist .
Dex uot que il cogneust les poignes et veist
Denfer et de mal fere par ce se chateist." f. 81 b.

The descriptions of the torments begin (as usual) with the fiery trees, and with the furnace of seven torments. It is in the middle of the description of the furnace that the first change of metre occurs. The quatrains have been describing how the Devils toss the Souls to each other, and give them new torments.

The last two alexandrines (in this part) and the first two octosyllabics are as follows:—

"Lor vient a la chaitiue . i . delorouz essaut:
Qui por ses grans pechiez sofrera si grant mal
En anfer hai vne roe male.
Que ou tormant plunge et auole:" f. 82.

The description of the wheel occupies nearly the whole set of octosyllabics; but the last ten describe how the worst torment of the Damned is the view of Paradise. The alexandrines then begin again, with an address of the poet, exhorting his hearers to avoid the danger of being damned. The first of these alexandrines is: "Ne vos anuit il mie mes paroles oir:" f. 82 b. After six quatrains another wheel of fire, a special torment for the Proud, is described in 18 stanzas (ff. 82 b, col. 2–83 b). A horrible pool is then described, in six stanzas; and then comes the Bridge, which stretches across the pool. The description of the Bridge begins with an imperfect quatrain:

"Sus lestan hai . i . pont qui parmi laigue part:
Roige deuers senestre comme flame qui art:
. . . . . .
Iai lou cuer lie naura poicherres qui les gart:" f. 84.

The flight of the Just Soul to Heaven, and even the Sunday Rest, are entirely omitted in this version. The poem ends with the visit of St. Paul to Heaven, in these lines:

"Quant sain Michie li anges hot sain pou tot mostre:
An . i . petit momant la ou soi tranporte:
Paradis li mostra lou regne damede.
Ou li bon seront mis an grant bienaurte:

Soignour: de paradis ne uos sai reconter:
Tant ert grans la ioie com dex voudra doner.
A ces cou seruiront et lou voudront amer:

Or prions damedeu qui tot pet gouerner:
Tel chose nos lai dire por quoi puissains monter.
Laissus an cele ioie qui tot tans doit durer." f. 87 b, cols. 1–2.

In the article mentioned above (in the notice of the contents of the MS.) Paul Meyer has printed 168 lines from the beginning

of the poem, and 10 lines from the end: see *Romania*, vol. vi. (1877), pp. 12–16. He has given various readings from two MSS. in the Bibliothèque National, which contain the same version, only with the octosyllabics omitted.

Additional 22,283. f. 32 b, cols. 2–3.

Vellum; A.D. 1380–1400. Large Folio; in triple columns of 89 lines. The present is Article 3 of the volume of English Poems and Prose Treatises which is often called the Simeon MS. It seems to have been derived from the Vernon MS. at the Bodleian. See the description of the volume in the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 763, above the account of Article 19, King Robert of Sicily.

VISION OF ST. PAUL. The first 124 lines of a poem, in octosyllabic couplets. *English.*

The Introduction begins:—

"Lusteneþ lordynges leof and dere
ȝe þat wolen of þe sonday here.
þe sonday a day hit is .
þat angels and Archangels joyen j wis.
Mor in þat ilke day .
þen any oþur as . j . þe say."

The Narrative begins:—

"Poul seiþ biforen helle ȝates .
Brennyng tres þat neuer slakes." f. 32 b, col. 2.

After having spoken of the "wondur orible grisli flod," lines 65–8 of the poem go on thus:—

"Ouer þat watur he sauh ligge .
And wondur long and an heiȝ brugge .
And ouer þat brugge saaf gon þen .
þe soules of goode rihtful men." f. 32 b, col. 3.

Lines 75–6 have a Latin line inserted after them, thus:—

"Be war of þis . j . say bifore .
As god seide in þe gospel þore .
Ligate per fasciculos ad comburendum."

Lines 119–124 (the last lines remaining here) are as follows:—

"Seynt Poul þo biturned his face.
And sauh anoþur derke place.
Mony men and wymmen þer amonges.
Þat forfreten heore owne tonges.
And poul asked of hym þere.
What maner men þat þei were." f. 32 b, col. 3.

The complete poem would have contained 346 lines.

Published, from the Vernon MS. by Carl Horstmann in Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, Bd. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), pp. 295–9. From the printed edition it would appear that line 75 (see above) is omitted in the Vernon MS.; so that this can hardly be called a mere copy of the Vernon MS., as Horstmann asserts in his *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), p. lxxvii.

Harley 3776. ff. 82–89 b.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Quarto; ff. 8, having 51 lines to a page. With initials in red and blue, and (on the first initial) a couple of leaf-ornaments in green. The whole MS. contains:—(1) Life of St. Brendan. f. 67. (2) St. Patrick's Purgatory. f. 75 b. (3) The present article. f. 82. (4) Extracts from the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, together with Bede's narrative of the Vision of Furseus. ff. 89 b, 92–92 b. Bound up with other MSS. of the 14th and 15th centuries. See an article (on the romantic Life of Harold) in the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 941, for a notice of the first MS. in the volume.

VISION OF TUNDAL. The Vision of Heaven and Hell seen, in the year 1149, by "Tungalus" (as he is here called), a man of noble birth in Cashel (the chief seat of the Munster kings). *Latin.*

This work was almost certainly written by an Irish Monk for an Abbess in South Germany. Albrecht Wagner, the latest editor (in 1882), has given a list of 54 MSS. (irrespective of those at the British Museum); and 40 of them are in Germany and Austria (10 being at Vienna, and 8 at Munich). Six of these MSS. (belonging to the 12th cent.) contain a Prologue by the

author, "frater Marcus,* to the Abbess "G." He says that, although "inops et pene latine eloquentie ignarus," he has turned the narrative of this Vision from Irish ("de barbarico") into Latin, just as Tundal himself had related it to him ("Scripsimus autem vobis fideliter, prout nobis ipse, qui viderat, eandem visionem retulit"). He begs the Abbess that, if she finds any sentence especially bad, she will alter it ("ut ... emendare et competenter cudere vestra erudita non erubescat sollertia"). He ends with saying that the Vision was seen in the year 1149; and that this was the 2nd year of the Crusade under the Emperor Conrad (ending 27 May, 1149); the 4th year of Eugenius III. (incorrectly styled II.), a year ending 26 Feb. 1149; the year of the death of St. Malachy (ending 1 Nov. 1149); and also of the death of Nehemiah O'Moriarty, Bp. of Cloyne (ending early in 1150). The time of the Vision therefore was in 1149, before the 27th of February.

Alber, a Bavarian poet of the end of the 12th century, has translated this work (see Wagner's edition of Tundal, pp. 121–186); and he has made two important additions to the history of its composition. He states that a Monk (he does not name Marcus) wrote it in the Nunnery of St. Paul at Ratisbon; and that he wrote it at the request of three Nuns, named "Ôtegebe, Heilke und Gisel" (l. 70; ed. Wagner, p. 123). Wagner informs us (p. xxiv) that a Deathbook of Obermünster contains, in a hand of the 12th cent., the names of "Gisila abbatissa" and "Otegeba monacha" of the Nunnery of St. Paul of Ratisbon. He naturally concludes that the Abbess "G" of Marcus is Gisila, Abbess of St. Paul. The Prologue, when telling of St. Malachy, adds—"cujus vitam miraculis plenam Bernhardus Clarevallensis abbas satis luculento sermone transscribit." From the use of the Present Tense here Mussafia (in an article which will be mentioned at the end) conjectures that the work was written while St. Bernard of Clairvaux was still alive; he died in 1153.

---

* A MS. at Trèves (12th cent.) heads the work with "prefacio Gererori abbatis"; and a Vatican MS. (14th cent.) calls the author "abbas Geronus Richenbergensis." These names stand, doubtless, for Gerhoh, Provost of Reichersberg in 1132–1169. It may be added that his 4th Epistle is "ad G. sororem" (Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. cxciii. col. 492). But the present work was plainly written by an Irishman.

In the Latin MSS. the visionary has been called by many names, Tundalus, Tondalus, Tyndalus, Tugdalus, Tungdalus, Tnugdalus, Tugaldus, etc. Tnugdalus is found in three of the earliest MSS., and it is repeated in Alber's German poem. It is probably due to nothing more than the common confusion between *u* and *n*. We must allow, however, that the *Annals of the Four Masters* (as edited, with an English translation, by John O'Donovan, Dublin, 1851) give "Tnuthghal" as the name of an Abbot of Saigher, who died in 771 (see vol. i. p. 375). But we have been informed that all the above-mentioned names are evidently corruptions. The Swedish translators seem always to have called our hero Tungulus, a form not so good as our own Tungalus. The latter is frequently found. Thus, in Egerton MS. 1783 (an interleaved copy of Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's works) there is a list of Bishops of Clogher, transcribed from a copy taken from the Clogher Register by Archbishop Ussher (about 1620). One entry in the list refers to a passage "In visione Tungalli" (Eg. 1783, f. 191). Lastly, the Icelandic version, made for King Hacon Haconsson (who died 1263), gives the name as Duggall.* That must have been meant for Dougal; but, if that were correct, we could not account for the *n*, which appears in nearly all the other forms. Two of the early kings of Cashel are called sons of Dungal (or Donnghal)†; and we are inclined to believe this to have been the real name.

In the full MSS. the Introduction of Marcus is followed by a fervid description of Ireland; by a notice of Armagh and Cashel as the metropolitan cities of the North and South; and by a personal description of Tundal, and a short mention of his lying like a dead man for three days and nights, as many citizens of Cork (it says) can testify. In the present MS. this portion of the work is abridged, and nothing is said about Armagh. The Witnesses moreover are not citizens of Cork, but of Cashel. The text of the whole opening passage is as follows: "Hibernia insula est vltima in occidentali occeano posita ab austro in boream

* See "Duggals Leizla" (Leading away of Duggall), in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, edited by C. R. Unger, vol. i. (Christiania, 1877), pp. 329–358.

† See Dr. James H. Todd's edition, for the Rolls Series (1867), of the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (p. 3), and see the deaths of the two sons of Donnghal in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (1851), under the years 851 and 857 (vol. i. pp. 485, 493).

porrecta / stagnis et fluminibus irrigua / nemoribus insita / frugibus fertilissima / in lacte et melle / et in omnibus piscacionibus et venacionibus opulenta / expers animalibus omnibus venenosis. terra etiam illa ita venenosis est contraria ⁊ vt terra inde delata et aspersa serpentes perimit et buffones. Lanam etiam hibernicam / et ligna / ac animalium coria et cornu vt dicitur fugiunt venenosa. In hac insula de Metropolitana ciuitate casselensi ⁊ ortus est vir quidam nomine Tungalus / cuius crudelitas vel pocius in eo quam (*sic*) egit dei pietas nostro huic opusculo materiam deduxit. Erat autem vir prefatus etate iuuenis / genere nobilis / vultu hillaris / aspectu decorus / Tantumque in formositate et fortitudine corporis sui confidebat ⁊ quod de anime sue eterna salute nichil curabat. Nam et ipse sepius solet confiteri ⁊ quod ipsum maxime aggrauabat. si quis ei aliquid licet breuiter de salute dicere anime sue vellet. quia ecclesiam dei neglexerat / pauperes christi videre noluerat / sed quicquid habebat ⁊ pro gloria distribuerat sua vana. Et cum tot malis diuine misericordie finem dare placuit. per morbum et non per mortem deus eum mirabiliter castigauit. Nam vt plurimi Casselensis ciuitatis testantur incole qui ibidem fuerant tunc presentes ⁊ ille predictus Tungalus per trium dierum et noctuum spacium ⁊ vita iacuit euacuatus. Infra quod spacium amare didicit / quicquid anima sua grauiter hic deliquid. Nam vita eius presens postea testabatur ⁊ quecunque paciebatur." f. 82. It will be observed that Tundal is spoken of as if still alive. In the fuller text the words are not "vita eius presens testabatur," but "testatur" (see Wagner's edition, p. 7).

The writer then turns back to the events that immediately preceded this trance. Tundal was visiting a friend, who owed him three horses as the result of some barter. He was enraged at finding his debtor unable to pay him; but he was persuaded to sit down again, to lay aside his battle-axe, and to take some food. He stretched out his hand, but could not raise it to his lips. He uttered a loud shriek; and he cried to the debtor's wife, "Keep my axe, for I am dying." His body fell stiff and cold; and it so remained from about the tenth hour on Wednesday till the same hour on Saturday. His friends met on the latter day; but they were unwilling to bury him, because they could feel a little warmth in the left side. He now began to breathe a little; but so feebly that the people said it was only the

spirit passing away. They asked if he wished to communicate, and he signed his assent. But, when he had taken the bread and wine, he revived and spoke aloud in praise of the mercy of God. He bestowed his whole property upon the poor. And, in course of time, he told us (in the following manner) all that he had seen and suffered ("et cuncta que viderat aut passus fuerat ⁊ nobis modo subseque[n]ti ⁊ postmodum enarrauit." f. 82 b).

The Vision itself (which is scarcely, if at all, abridged) begins: "Cvm inquit anima mea corpus exiret ⁊ [*exueret* in Wagner's text] et illud mortuum esse cognosceret ⁊ reatus sui conscia ⁊ cepit formidare et quid faceret nesciebat." Unable to return to the body, the Soul wishes to go forwards, but does not know where. Unclean Spirits come up, and surround the Soul, and insult it. But an Angel appears, and says: "Aue Tungale ⁊ Quid agis." This was Tundal's Guardian Angel, who had come to show him the horrors of the lower world. After the first greeting, the Angel always addresses the Soul as a female, saying "Filia," or "Amica mea karissima" (f. 85, l. 24, and f. 85 b, last line but 6). The Soul has not only to behold the torments, but to undergo many of them. There are two bridges in this Vision, both passing only from one part of Hell to another. The Soul is led easily over the first bridge (f. 83 b). But it has to begin crossing the second bridge without help, and at the same time to drive a cow across, Tundal having formerly stolen this cow (f. 84 b). The Soul is devoured by the dreadful beast "Acherons" (f. 83 b), and also by another beast (f. 85 b); and it is caught up by the attendant Fiends of "Vulcanus," and is thrust into their furnace (f. 86, l. 8). The Angel always comes back to set the Soul free; and at last he says that it has suffered pain enough, and he takes it to the lowest pit, merely to look at Lucifer. This Monster is called Prince of Hell, because his sufferings are greater than all. He lies prone upon a gridiron, drawing many Souls into his mouth at every breath; and, at every new agony, stretching out his thousand hands and clutching Souls, he squeezes them as a man may squeeze a bunch of grapes ("omnes cito in manibus suis collectas grauiter constringit et comprimit vt Rusticus racemos." f. 86 b, last line—f. 87, first line).

The Soul now leaves the depths; but it passes near a wall, where crowds of men and women are crouching, hungry and thirsty, and beaten by wind and rain; and these (says the Angel),

are the people who have done neither good nor evil (f. 87 b). A little further on they come to a gate, which opens of itself; and they enter a field of flowers, with a fountain of living water. And among those enjoying the field are Kings Conchobhar (here written "Conchaber") and Donnchadh (commonly latinised Donatus, but here "Donachus").* And the Soul exclaims, "My Lord, these were cruel men and deadly enemies. How did they come hither? and how were they made friends?" And the Angel answers: "Conchobhar languished long, and vowed, if he ever recovered, to be a Monk; and the other was bound in chains for many years, and surrendered whatever he possessed to the Poor." The author here shows his knowledge of Irish events. In 1142 Donnchadh (called by the Four Masters the grandson of Carthach, and heir apparent of Munster) invaded the county of Waterford; but he was taken prisoner and "died in fetters" in 1144. His gaoler was Turlough O'Brien, who had obtained the sovereignty of all Munster in 1142, and who had then given the kingdom of Meath to his son Conchobhar; and this was probably the Conchobhar known to Tundal as the enemy of Donnchadh (see the *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. ii. pp. 1069–1075).

The Soul now enters a palace built of gold and silver; and it beholds Tundal's own king, Cormac of Cashel, seated on a golden throne. The Soul lingers there long; and very many people come before King Cormac, bending their knees, and pouring forth many treasures. And the Soul says, "I wonder whence my lord king hath so many servants, not one of whom have I known in the flesh." And the Angel answers: "These were not men of his household, but the Poor and the Pilgrims, whom he relieved with generous gifts." And the Soul says: "Did the king undergo torments, before he reached this place?" And the Angel answers: "He hath undergone them; and some he hath still to undergo." And presently the palace darkens, and the faces of all grow sad. And Cormac rises from the throne, and leaves the palace. And the Soul follows him; and it finds all the others crowding outside, and lifting their hands, and praying for the king. And the Soul sees Cormac standing in fire up to his middle; whilst the upper part of his body is wrapt in a hair-shirt. And the Angel says: "Cormac

* In modern Anglo-Irish these two names are Conor and Donough.

suffers these torments daily, for three hours out of the twenty-four, one torment because he broke the vows of wedlock, and the other because he killed a man at the shrine of St. Patrick" (f. 88). Cormac of Cashel has been frequently noticed by the Annalists; and George Petrie has collected most of the notices.* He is sometimes called Bishop as well as King of Munster. He seems to be so styled, in a contemporaneous hand, in an Irish Book of Gospels in the British Museum, Harley 1802, f. 156 b; but the passage has not been left undisputed (see Petrie, pp. 308–9). The more modern writers use "Bishop," it would appear, in a figurative sense. Thus, when speaking of the murder of Cormac in 1138, the *Annals of the Four Masters* call him "Bishop of the Kings [or 'bishop-king'] of Ireland for bestowal of jewels and wealth upon the clergy and the churches" (p. 1059). He had been driven out of Cashel in 1127; and it seems doubtful whether he ever returned there as chief king of Munster. The Annals for 1138 call him King of Desmond. But Petrie, when he gives an engraving of Cormac's supposed tomb at Cashel (p. 305), remarks that "It is said that the covering stone of this tomb was ornamented with a cross and exhibited an inscription in Irish, containing the name of Cormac, king and bishop of Munster, and that this sculpture and inscription were ground off its surface by a tradesman of the town, who appropriated the stone as a monument for himself and family."

The Soul passes through four more dwellings of the Blest (ff. 88, 88 b, 89); and it finally reaches the dwelling of the nine orders of Angels, from which place it can survey the world which it has left, and all the regions through which it has passed. It is here greeted by St. Ruadhan, Abbot of Lothra (Lorrha, in Tipperary), who died 15 April, 584. "Ego inquit sum Rudanus patronus tuus cui vice (*printed edition* "jure") debitor es sepulture" (f. 89, last line). Lastly, the Soul sees St. Patrick and a numerous band of bishops; amongst whom it beholds four that were known to it before their death. These are: (1) [Ceallach] Archbishop of Armagh (d. 1129). He is here identified as the immediate predecessor of St. Malachy, his

* *The Round Towers of Ireland*, 2nd edition (Dublin, 1845), pp. 307–311. Petrie gives many engravings of Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, at pp. 289–306.

own name being omitted. In the printed edition he is called "Celestinus." It may be observed that, if Tundal knew this prelate in the flesh, he himself must then have been quite a child, or he would hardly have been called "etate iuuenis" (f. 82) in the year 1149. (2) St. Malachy (d. 1 Nov. 1148). (3) Christian O'Morgair, Bp. of Clogher (d. 1138). He is here called "Lughdunensis" (that is, Louth, a see that had been annexed to Clogher). In the Clogher Register, which we have already quoted (p. 418), he is described as "unicus germanus B. Malachiæ," and a note to this adds: "non uterinus frater, ut infra dicit auctor visionis Tungali" (see Egerton 1783, f. 189 b). (4) Nehemiah O'Moriarty, Bp. of Cloyne (d. early in 1149). The Soul sees another seat prepared for a Bishop who is still alive.

The Angel tells the Soul to return to the body. The Soul laments; but the Angel repeats the order. The work ends:— "Et cum hec dixisset angelus . anima conuersa est. Et cum se mouere conaretur ⁊ mole se carnalis esse grauatam corporis cito sensit. Nullum enim interuallum nec vnum interfuit temporis momentum / sed in vno eodemque temporis puncto in celis ad angelum loquebatur et in terris se suum induere corpus sensit. Tunc debiles corporales aperuit oculos et suspirans nichilque dicens respexit clericos circumstantes. Corpus igitur dominicum cum graciarum accione sumens ⁊ omnia que habuit pauperibus dispersit . et signum sancte crucis vestimentis quibus vestiebatur iussit celeriter superponi. Cuncta vero que viderat nobis postmodum recitauit et nos monuit ducere bonam vitam verbumque dei quod ante nescierat ⁊ cum magna deuocione humilitate et sciencia predicauit. Sed nos qui vitam eius sanctam perfecte imitari non possumus ⁊ Hec saltim ad vtilitatem legencium scribere studuimus vt omnes sacri baptismatis fonte renati ⁊ citius a peccatis se valeant abstinere . vnde humilima et deuotissima prece vestram preclaram precamur clemenciam ⁊ vt scriptoris animam presenciumque presenciam ac referencium memoriam in vestris oracionibus habeatis / quatinus illi qui superest cunctis placeamus domino nostro Jhesu Christo cui est honor et gloria per seculorum secula infinita. Amen." f. 89 b. In the printed edition the words "vnde . . . vestram" are followed by "o preclara G."

The prologue of Marcus was published by Edmond Martène,

in the *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum* (5 vols. folio, Paris, 1717), vol. i. cols. 490–1. Hélinand, Monk at the Cistercian Abbey of Froidmont in the Beauvaisis, abridged the work rather more than the present copyist, and inserted it in his Chronicon, under the year 1149: see Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. ccxii. cols. 1038–1055. Hélinand probably died soon after 1229. His abridgment was given a wide circulation by Vincent de Beauvais, who inserted it (about 1250) in his *Speculum Historiale*, Book xxvii. chapp. 88–104. A French translation of Vincent was made (in the 14th century) by Jean du Vignay, and printed as *Miroir Historial*, 5 vols, Folio (Paris, 1495–6); and a copy of it on vellum (now in the British Museum) belonged to Henry VII. Many illuminations are inserted in it; and three of them, representing the Soul of Tundal, are in vol. v. ff. 41 b, 42 b, 45. The Soul appears as a full-grown woman, although Hélinand had cut out much of the dialogue, including the phrases "Filia" and "Amica." The complete text of the present work was first published by Oscar Schade, as *Visio Tnugdali* (Halle, 1869). Another edition has since been published by Albrecht Wagner, also entitled *Visio Tnugdali* (Erlangen, 1882); having the original Latin text (from seven MSS.) at pp. 3–56; a version of it, in Latin hexameters, at pp. 59–110; two Fragments in German verse in a dialect of the Lower Rhine, supposed by him to have been written about 1160, at pp. 113–118; the German poem (already noticed here) by the Bavarian Churchman, Alber, at pp. 121–186; and the Preface by Wagner occupies pp. v–lxxii.

Adolfo Mussafia published an article "Sulla visione di Tundalo" in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band 67 (Vienna, 1871), pp. 157–206.

Cotton, Tiberius E. i. Part i. ff. 68 b–74.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 6, in double columns of 44 lines. All the columns are more or less injured by fire; and three of them are almost completely destroyed.

The whole volume consists of half the Sanctilogium Britannicum of John of Tinmouth. The present Article is immediately preceded by St. Patrick's Purgatory (ff. 65 b–68 b), and followed by the Martyrdom of St. Edward (ff. 74–5).

VISION OF TUNDAL. An abridged prose version. Imperfect in several places, especially at the end. *Latin.*

Headed:—"De Penitencia tundali." f. 68 b, col. 2. It begins (with some confusion in the dates) thus: "Circa annum domini millesimum centesimum quadragesimum octauum . et regis stephani duodecimum . accidit illa tundali visio siue penitencia mirabilis simul et peccatoribus ualde terribilis. Fuit enim in hibernia in diocesi cassiliensi uir quidam nomine tundalus . nobilis genere . crudelis accione . forma corporis egregius . fortitudine robustus . de sua salute nichil sollicitus . Grauiter ferebat si quis ei uel breuiter de salute anime loqueretur." f. 68 b, col. 2.

The 12th year of King Stephen did not answer to any part of the year 1148, but was 26 Dec. 1146–25 Dec. 1147.

This copy is very imperfect towards the end. The last complete lines are:—"Tundalus autem respiciens uidit sanctum patricium hiberniensem apostolum cum magna turba episcoporum . inter quos quatuor uidit . scilicet celestinum ardmacha ..." f. 74.

The last column is almost entirely burned, only the first words, or fragments of words, of the last 22 lines being left. The fragments of the last three lines are:—"terat posam (*or query* postmo) . . . ducere mo . . . bat cum mag" . . . f. 74, col. 2. These fragments were portions of a passage answering to the following one in the printed editions:—"Cuncta que viderat et que retinere poterat nobis postmodum recitauit . Bonam vitam nos ducere monuit . verbum dei quod ante nescierat cum magna deuotione et humilitate ac scientia predicabat." (*Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, ed. of Augsburg,

1474, Lib. xxvii. cap. civ.). The present text is substantially the same as that in the Chronicon of Hélinand of Froidmont, but correctly placed by him under the year 1149 (see Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. ccxii. cols. 1038–55); but the opening sentence, taken by Hélinand from the introductory Epistle of the Monk Marcus (see above, Harley 3776) is here omitted. Hélinand's text was adopted by Vincent de Beauvais, from whom the present text was probably derived.

The whole of John of Tinmouth's compilation, contained in the present volume, is now (1891) in course of being edited by Carl Horstmann, for the Clarendon Press.

Additional 27,424.

Paper; xixth cent. Folio; ff. 28, having 28 lines to a page; but with the lines written only half across, so as to leave a blank column to each page.

Vision of Tundal. Copied by an Italian from an old edition. In 17 Chapters. *Latin.*

At the beginning is the following:—"Copia tratta dall' edizione rarissima che ha per titolo *Libellus de raptu anime Tundali et ejus visione, tractans de penis Inferni et gaudiis Paradisi.* La stampa è del secolo xv, senza data, luogo e nome di tipografo; è di carte o foglietti 18, ossia 36 facce in 8° gr., o 4° pic. in carattere nitido semigotico, senza registro, senza richiami e senza numerazione di pagine." f. 1.

The transcript itself, after the heading above-mentioned, "Incipit libellus de raptu," etc., begins:—"Anno domini millesimo centesimo quadragesimo nono qui fuit annus secundus expedicionis Iherosolimorum Conradi regis romanorum." f. 2. It ends:—"Auctor. Haec autem visis (*for* visio) et huic similes apud doctores nostros calumpniam patiuntur . nullum penitus locum . vel statum animarum esse ponentes medium inter purgatorium et paradisum . quamvis beatus Bernhardus in quodam sermone de omnibus sanctis contrarium innuere videatur." f. 29.

Colophon:—"Explicit libellus de raptu anime Tundali et

ejus visione . tractans de pœnis inferni et gaudiis paradisi." f. 29.

The present text is that inserted by Hélinand of Froidmont in his Chronicon (under the year 1149), and afterwards by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*, Lib. xxvii. capp. lxxxviii.–ciiii. The concluding passage quoted above seems to have been due to Vincent, who is himself the "auctor" there alluded to.

A copy of the printed edition from which the present volume is transcribed is bound up with a Legend of St. Alban and several other old printed tracts in the middle (Art. 5, ff. 154–171 b) of a volume of MSS. of the 15th cent., belonging to the Royal Collection, *viz.* 12 B. xxiv.

Thos. F. Dibdin has described another printed copy in his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, Vol. iv. (1815), No. 790, pp. 31–35. He attributes the printing of it to Ther Hoernen, who had a press at Cologne, and printed there in 1470–7. There is also another early printed edition attributed by Brunet to Reyser, of Eistadt, about 1475. The text is the same as the present one.

Additional 9771.

Vellum; xivth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 18, having 28 to 29 lines to a page. With spaces left for initial letters.

Vision of Tundal. Translated from the Latin text used by Vincent de Beauvais. *French.*

Headed:—"Ci est contenu quelles sont les paines et les tourmens denfer et la gloire de paradis si comme tondalus . j.. homme le vit . et le raconta et la fist mettre en escrit pour le pourfit de ciaus qui la liront et oront lire . cest verites." f. 1.

Begins:—"[E]n lan del incarnation nostre signur dieu jhesu crist Mil. cc. xlix. (*sic*) en la quelle annee sains michies (*sc.* Malachias) transsi de cest siecle . fu . j . hons en la terre dyberne qui astoit apeles tondalus bel grant et fort et de noble lignaige / mes de pechie et de malisse estoit plains et nauoit cure dou salut de same." f. 1.

Ends:—"lors regarda entour soi et vit la gent qui illucques estoient et demanda que on li donnaist le cors nostre signur et le prist o grant grasce et o grant deuotion . et tout cou que il auoit il donna et departi pour dieu as poures nostre seignur et tout ce que il auoit veut et sentu que il pot aueir e en memoire il raconta et dist et amonesta de mener bonne vie et sainte et la sainte parole nostre signur dont il ne sauoit riens deuant precha puis deuotement et ot grant humilite de cuer et pur ce que nous ne poons mies retenir la sainte vie quil mena puis ne ce que il raconta quil auoit veu. Nous lauons mis en escript au profit et a la saunete de ciaus qui lirent et liront et a lonnour de ihesu crist et de toute la court de paradis." f. 16 b.

At the end are added two leaves of Moral Reflections. They begin: "[B]ien doient chascuns et chascune regarder lestat ou il est et la vie quil a mene auant quil muire." f. 16 b.

They end: "Et sens doute qui viura en bien faire a son pooir / et le mal faire laissera / en la gloire de paradis sens fin sera Que nostres sires diex ihesu crist par sa tres douce misericorde nous veulle donner et quant nous parterons de cest siecle amen." f. 18.

Colophon: "Explicit de tondalus comment il fut rauis en yenfer." f. 18.

Cotton, Caligula A. ii. ff. 95 b–107 b.

Paper; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 13, in double columns of 42 to 50 lines. The volume is in two Parts. The First Part (ff. 1–139) contains 38 articles, written in the first half of the 15th century, of which 34 (this being one of them) are in English verse. For some further description of the volume, see the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. pp. 180, 400, 416, 418, 710, 760, 762, 766.

VISION OF TUNDAL. A poetical version of the Latin Legend. In 2244 octosyllabic lines. *English.*

The Prologue is as follows:—

"Jhesu lorde of myȝtes moste
Fadyr and sone and holy gooste
Grauncte hem alle hys bessynge
That lestenes awhyle to my redynge . . . .

Ȝyf that ȝe wylle a stownde dwelle
Of suche a sampulle y wylle ȝou telle
That he þat wylle hyt welle vnþerstande
In herte he may be fulle dredande
For his synnes ȝyf he paynes drede
And cleuse hym here of his mysdede."

The narrative then begins:—

"In yrlonde byfelle some tyme þis case
Syn god dyede and fro deth arose
Aftur þe tyme as ȝe may here
A þowsande and an hundrede ȝere
And nyne wyntur and fowrty
As hit ys wrytyn in þis story
I wille ȝou telle how hit befelle þanne
In yrlonde of a ryche monne
Tundale was his ryȝth name
He was a mon of wykked fame." f. 95 b.

The poem goes on to specify one of his sins; namely, that he was hard against those who owed him money, and he required interest. Lines 61–64 of the poem are as follows:—

"Tundale wente vpon a day
To a mon to aske hys pay
For þre hors þat he hadde hym solde
For whyche penyes were vntolde." f. 95 b, col. 2.

In our other copy (Roy. 17 B. xliii. f. 150) the first remaining line answers to the last of the four lines above.

When Tundal falls down in a fit, it is said:—

"Tho þat his frendes were kydde
Herde of þat chawnse þat him betydde
They come to hym with herte sore
And sawe Tundale lye deed þore
Then for hym were belles rongen
And placebo and dirige songen
Alle his cloþus were of hym taine
And he laye dede þer as a stane
But of the lyfte syde of Tundale
Was somewhat warm þe vayne corale

Wherefore some helde hym not dede
For why þey flytte hym not fro þat stede
But stylle as þer as for dede he laye*
Fro myddaye of þe wednesdaye
Tylle hit was saturdaye at none
By þat wyste tundale what he hadde done." f. 96.

In the present copy the next couplet is:—

"At the . x . oure of the day namely
The goste come aȝeyn to þe body."

And this is followed by 60 lines, which correspond pretty closely with lines at the end of the poem in the other copies: see the printed edition, ll. 2299–2358. These 60 lines begin here:—

"He openede his yen þen and sawe
And his lymes to hym gan he drawe." f. 96.

They end:—

"He warnede hem alle þat payne wolde drede
To mende hem of here mysdede." f. 96, col. 2.

The present text then agrees again with the other copies, the next couplet being:—

"Tundale laye dede as ȝe haue herde
Butte here now how his goste ferde."

The Soul is bewildered, and is insulted by a troop of Fiends. "There þe gost stode was myrke as nyȝth But sone he sawe a sterre bryȝth" (f. 96 b, col. 2, last lines). The light proceeds from his Guardian Angel: "That was an angelle to bete his bale. The whyche was ȝemere to tundale" (f. 97). The Angel now leads Tundal to Hell. The first Bridge is reached: "Ouer þat pytte he sawe a brygge" (f. 97 b, col. 2). They see the great beast "called acheron" (f. 98, col. 2). When they come to the second Bridge, the Angel says: "Ouer þis brygge þou shalte wende nowe. And lede with þe a wylde kowe" (f. 99, ll. 1, 2). The second beast, which is to devour Tundal, is thus introduced: "A wonþur hydwys beste þey sawe" (f. 100 col. 2, l. 3). The scribe of the present copy has written "Vleane," instead of Vulcan (f. 101,

* Royal 17 B. xliii. has, "But stille as stone þere he lay" (f. 150 b). The printed text has (line 111), "But styll as a dedde mon ther he lay" (p. 4).

last l. but four). "Lucyfere" (in the other copies "Satanas") appears at f. 102, col. 2; and, when he catches Souls in his hands, it is said: "He þrystede hem in sondur as men doose Grapys to þryste oute þe wose" (f. 102 b, towards the foot of the column). They pass the wall, where the Souls are huddling that have been of little use in the world (f. 103, col. 2). They enter the field of flowers, where Kings "Concebere" and "Donate" are seen; and also the palace of "Kyng Cormake" (ff. 103 b, col. 2, 104).* They pass four other Mansions of the Blest (ff. 104 b, 105, 105, col. 2, 106). At last they reach the Mansion of the Nine Orders of Angels (f. 106, col. 2). The Soul is greeted by Tundal's patron Saint, "Rowdanne" (f. 106 b, col. 2). The Soul sees St. "Patryke"; "Selestyn", "Archebysshoppe of Armake"; St. "Malachye"; "Crystyne," "bysshoppe of lyones"; and "Neemye," "bysshoppe of ylye" (f. 107, cols. 1–2). The Angel now tells the Soul to rejoin the body. After their discourse, it is said:—

"And when þe Angelle hadde sayþe þus
Tundale turned from alle þe blysse
As tyte þe sowle wax alle heuy
And felte hit charged with þe body
Tundale turned to þe lyf aȝeyne
As I tolde fyrste þis was certayne."

f. 107 b, col. 1, ll. 21–26.

The first four of the above lines are ll. 2295–8 of the printed edition. The other two lines are there omitted; but 60 lines follow, which in the present copy have already appeared near the beginning (f. 96). Our other copy (Royal 17 B. xliii.) agrees with the printed edition. And the present copy contains some evidence that the other arrangement was the original one; for the scribe has found it necessary to repeat 4 of the lines. The passage lately quoted (from f. 107 b, col. 1, ll. 21–26) goes on thus:—

"As tyte his yen opened wyde
And lokede abowte hym on ylke asyde
Whenne he was rysen þus with þe body
He spakke þen fulle pytuowsly

* In Royal 17 B. xliii. the first king's name is changed from Conchobhar into "Botoler" (f. 172); and in the printed edition the name of Cormac is corrupted into "Cornale" (p. 53).

And tolde alle þat he hadde sene
In alle the places þat he hadde bene
For he helde alle in mynde and þowȝte
That he hadde seen he forgate nowȝte."
f. 107 b, col. 1, ll. 27–34.

The last 4 lines of this passage had already appeared, in these words:—

"He tolde hem þanne where he hadde bene
And what þat he þer hadde herde and sene
And þat he felde he hadde in þowȝth
And helde hit yn mynde and forgate hit nowȝt."
f. 96, col. 2, ll. 29–32.

The poem ends:—

"Wyles he lyuede synne he fledde
And his lyf in holynesse ledde
He made þe worlde no countynaunce
But ladde his lyf ay in penaunce
He ȝaf alle his gode away
To pore men for hym to pray
No worþely goode wolde he haue
But lyuede forþe as god vowchede safe
And at þe laste whenn he shulde passe
Out of þe worlde as goddus wylle was
The sowle partede fro þe body
And wente vn to god almyȝty
In heuen euur more to dwelle
Where more joye ys þen tonge may telle
To þe whyche joye he vs brynge
That made heuen and erþe and all þynge
Ilkone of ȝou þat hau herde me
Sayth amen for charyte." f. 107 b, col. 2, ll. 3–20.

Colophon: "Explicit Tundale."

The poem was edited by W. B. D. D. Turnbull, as *The Visions of Tundale* (Edinburgh, 1843), from "a small 4to. volume of the 15th century, preserved in the Advocates' Library (Jac. V. 7, 27), consisting of 216 folios." Turnbull goes on to say that "Tundale occupies ff. 98–157 inclusive." The printed edition contains 2386 lines, including 8 Latin lines (from the Vulgate) inserted at various places. If our other MS. copy (Roy. 17 B. xliii.) were still complete, it would contain about 2360 lines.

Royal 17 B. xliii. ff. 150–184.

Vellum; A.D. 1451. Quarto; ff. 34, having 31 to 37 lines to a page. Preceded (f. 149 b) by a rude coloured illustration, apparently representing Tundal's Guardian Angel drawing a bow against the fiends. On the last leaf is added, in a later hand, a Song supposed to be spoken by Christ, beg.: "Com home agayne com home agayne mi nowine (*sic*) swet hart" (f. 184). Bound up with two other MSS., the first being a copy of Sir John Maundeville's Travels (f. 4); and the other containing the metrical Romance of Sir Gowghter (see the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 419), and William Staunton's Vision of St. Patrick's Purgatory, in 1409 (ff. 116 and 133–148 b).

VISION OF TUNDAL. A poetical version of the Latin Legend. In 2292 lines. Imperfect at the beginning, a leaf being lost, which probably contained 63 lines. *English.*

The present copy begins with line 64 of the poem; at least, the line is the 64th both in our other copy (Caligula A. ii. f. 95 b, col. 2) and also in the printed edition (p. 3). The passage is as follows:—

. . . . . .

"For þe whiche þe penes were vn tolde
þat man hym prayed of respite
Vn to a day þe dette to quite
And profurde hym sicurnes be ane othe
Tundale gruched and wex wrothe
For he hade not þanne his pay
He thret hym fast and made gret deray
But tundale was both coynte and wyse
And set his horse to fulle hegh pryse
And for he hadde not þe pay in honde
To hym the man in scripture he bonde
The man to hym speke curtesly
And brought hym out of malycoly
He meked his hert þat was so grete
And garte Tundale dwelle to þe mete
When Tundale was serued wele
A gret euel beganne to fele," etc. f. 150.

This copy agrees with the printed edition in being a little fuller than that in Caligula A. ii.; in placing 60 lines, describing

Tundal's revival, at the end of the Vision; and also in sub-tituting "Satanas" for "Lucyfere," etc. (see the description of Caligula A. ii.). But the texts are substantially the same. The present copy ends:—

"He gaf alle his goodes away
To pore men for hym to pray
No worldly goode more wold he haue
He lyved as longe as god vowche saue
And at the last when he shuld pas
Out of this worlde as goddes wille was
The soule parted from the body
And wente to heuen to god almyghty
In heuen blis euermore to dwelle
Thare more joy is than tonge may telle
To the whilke joy he vs bryng
That made heuen and alle thyng
Ilkone of ȝow þat has herd me
Sayis amen for charite." ff. 183 b–184.

Colophon:—"Explicit Tondale . scriptum (*this word is added in a later hand*) anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo primo anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum anglie vicesimo nono." f. 184.

Harley 4987. ff. 5–16 b.*

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 12, in double columns of 48 or 49 lines. With initials in blue.

The volume contains a large number of theological tracts, and (ff. 1–5) three narrations of visions (described further on); all in *Latin*.

VISION OF TUNDAL. *Latin.*

Headed: "Incipit uisio cuiusdam militis hyberniensis ad edificacionem multorum conscripta de situ hybernie Primum capitulum." It begins: "Hybernia igitur insula est in vltima (*sic*) occidentali occeano posita ab austro in boream porrecta." f. 5,

* Accidentally omitted in its proper place, after the description of Harley 3776 (above, p. 424).

col. 2. As in Harl. 3776, the visionary's name is written "Tungalus," and the two copies are in close agreement throughout. The present one ends: "Verbumque dei quod nescierat cum magna deuocione et humilitate et sciencia predicauit. Sed nos qui vitam eius imitari non possumus. hec saltem ad vtilitatem legencium scribere studuim[us]. Vnde nostram o preclara [here follows a letter which was probably intended for "G"] humillima et deuotissima prece precamur clemenciam vt liceat indigni memoriam in uestris habeatis oracionibus quatinus illi placeamus. qui superest cunctis que ante diximus ihesu christo domino nostro cui est honor et gloria per infinita seculorum secula Amen." f. 16 b, cols. 1–2.

Royal 13 B. viii. ff. 100 b–112 b.

Vellum; late XIIth cent. Folio; ff 13, in double columns of 37 lines. With initials in red and blue.

The whole MS. contains: — (1) Topographia Hibernica, by Giraldus Cambrensis; with many coloured figures on the margin. f. 1. (2) Expugnatio Hibernica, by the same. f. 34 b. (3) Itinerarium Kambriæ, by the same. f. 74 b. (4) The present article. f. 100 b. (5) Notes, headed "Exce[r]ptiones de cronicis eusebii," but relating, not merely to Rome and Constantinople, etc., but also to early French and Anglo-Saxon affairs. ff. 113–116 b. Bound up with a MS., in another hand, containing the poem "Anti-Claudianus," by Alanus de Insulis, with two prose introductions. ff. 117–146 b. On the last fly-leaf is written: "liber Sancti Augustini extra muros cantuar[iæ]."

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY: entitled "Owain Miles" in one of the English metrical versions. Narrative of the adventures, in bodily person, of an Irish Knight named "Owein," * who had at one time been attached to the Court of King Stephen; telling how he spent a night in St. Patrick's Purgatory, a pit on an island in Lough Derg, County Donegal. Preceded by an account of the revelation of this pit to St. Patrick. With a Prologue and

* The Welsh name Owen has always been chosen by English (or Anglo-Irish) writers to represent the Irish Eogan, though the two names were originally quite disconnected.

an Epilogue, addressed to Henry, Abbot of Wardon in Bedfordshire, by "H," a Monk of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire (commonly known as Henry of Saltrey), who was the literary author of the narrative. In 26 Chapters (without reckoning the Prologue and Epilogue, but reckoning two Homilies, which are perhaps interpolations); the chapters not being numbered, but indicated by the coloured initials. *Latin.*

The author calls himself (in the Prologue) "frater . H. monachorum de saltereia minimus." John Bale, in his *Scriptorum Brytanniæ Catalogus* (1557), p. 189, called him "Henricus." Bale has been followed by all modern writers; though Tanner adds, in his *Bibliotheca* (1748), p. 397, that two or three copies used to exist in the Library of Sion Monastery which were ascribed in the Catalogue to one Hugh of Saltrey. But the latter name was at one time very well known, as belonging to one of the early Abbots (about 1150–1164; see Harley Charter 83 B. 2, and Cotton Charter Augustus ii. 116); and that may be the only reason for the name given to the author in the Sion Catalogue. He never (we believe) became Abbot of Saltrey; for in 1207 he is merely styled "quidam monachus" by the author (almost certainly Ralph of Coggeshall) of the Vision of Thurkill (see below, p. 512, in the description of a copy of that Vision, in Royal 13 D. v., where the reference occurs at f. 45, col. 2). As to Henry's date, Bale says that he flourished at the same time as Tundal, and this Bale supposes to be about 1140. One of our MSS., Arundel 292, begins (at f. 74) the adventures of Owen with the date of 1153; and this date fits in very well with that of Gilbert, Abbot of Basingwerk (in Flintshire), the first English reporter of the story. At the end of the work (f. 111) the author tells how it came to be written. Gervase, first Abbot of Louth in Lincolnshire (founded about 1147), who is here styled "pie memorie," sent Gilbert of Louth and some other Monks into Ireland, in order to obtain lands there for a monastery. The author adds: "qui scilicet Gilebertus postea fuit abbas de basingewerch." Gilbert lamented, on his reception by the local king, that he did not understand Irish. The king called up Sir Owen, and ordered him to attach himself as interpreter to Gilbert. The monastery was built; and Owen acted as a Lay Brother, and stayed there for two years and a half (f. 111, col. 2). Gilbert of Louth then returned to England. Now he

certainly became Abbot of Basingwerk before Midsummer, 1159. There was a dispute between the two abbeys of Savigny (in Normandy) and Furness (in Lancashire) as to their respective claims to jurisdiction over Byland Abbey (in Yorkshire). The case was decided, in favour of Savigny, by Abbot Ailred of Rievaux. His Decision is addressed to the senior Abbot of the Cistercian Order, "L"[ambert] of Cîteaux (1155–63). He mentions twelve other Abbots, who sat in the Chapter under him. No. 4 is Robert of Newminster (Northumberland), who died 7 June, 1159 (and was canonised: see Butler's *Lives of Saints*). The Decision therefore was drawn up in the course of the years 1155–9. No. 5 is Ralph, the second Abbot of Louth. No. 6 is Gilbert of "Besingwert." * There is some reason to believe that he was then newly created. A cloister had been founded at Basingwerk in 1131. But during the reign of Stephen the neighbouring country had been ravaged by Owen, King of North Wales (1137–69), and Rhuddlan Castle had been hardly able to defend itself. In 1157, however, Henry II. strengthened the Castle of Rhuddlan, and built one at Basingwerk; and it is likely that he then granted a certain Charter, which is regarded by some as a sort of second foundation of Basingwerk Abbey: see the Rev. R. W. Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.* (1878), p. 29. Accepting, then, the date given in Arundel 292, the other dates fit in very well down to this point. Owen visited the Purgatory in 1153. He assumed the cross, and journeyed to Jerusalem; and we may conjecture that two years had elapsed before Gilbert of Louth met him at the Court of the Irish king; this would bring us to 1155. They remained together for two years and a half; and then Gilbert returned to England and became Abbot of Basingwerk about 1157–9.

The composition of Henry of Saltrey may, not improbably, have been written many years later. When he relates how he himself had heard Gilbert tell the story, and how one of the

* This Decision was copied from the Chartulary of Savigny by Léopold Delisle, and was printed in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. vi. (1851), pp. 423–4. Fuller particulars of the case had previously been printed, from a Register of Byland, by Dugdale, *Monasticon* (2nd ed., 1682), vol. i. pp. 1027–34; and the names of "Basyngwerk" and the other abbeys are there correctly given, but the personal names of eleven out of the twelve assisting Abbots are omitted.

hearers doubted the truth of it, he adds that Gilbert told an anecdote of a similar event, which had happened in the monastery that was under his rule ("in monasterio cui prefui"). Gilbert, then, was no longer Abbot of Basingwerk. Moreover, the enquiries addressed by Henry, first to two Irish Abbots, and later on ("nuper") to a Bishop Florentianus, imply some delay before composing the narrative; unless, indeed, they were inserted after the first edition, as Dr. Mall seems to believe.* Again, we cannot be certain of the Abbot "H. de Sartis" (*i.e.* of Wardon), to whom the work is dedicated; but if he was the Abbot Henry, who passed from Wardon to Rievaux in April, 1215, and died in August, 1216,† he can scarcely have reached that dignity till after the year 1170.

The negative evidence points in the same direction. Jocelin of Furness (soon after 1180) and Giraldus Cambrensis (before 1189) both mention St. Patrick's Purgatory, without any allusion to Sir Owen. Jocelin was led to the subject in this manner. John de Courcy landed in Ulster in the winter of 1176, and took the capital, Down, in four days. He enlisted the Saints and the Bards into his service, and proclaimed himself the hero of their prophecies. He destroyed a cloister affiliated to Furness; but, to atone for this, he founded a larger abbey on an island in front of Down, then called (according to the *Four Masters*) "Iniscumscraidh," but afterwards known as Iniscourcey. He supplied the new abbey with monks from Furness, in 1180. Jocelin was probably one of them; and he was commissioned to write the Life of St. Patrick, "which he completed about the year 1183."‡ It doubtless formed part of the machinery which was used for devoting the cathedral (and indeed the whole town) to Patrick, and which ended with the invention of his relics, and those of Bridget and Columba, in an obscure part of the cathedral, and

---

* See his article in Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. vi. Heft 2 (Erlangen, 1889), p. 142, in an Introduction to a Bamberg text (printed at pp. 143–195).

† See the Chronica de Mailros, in Gale's *Scriptores*, vol. i. (1684), pp. 188–191. This Chronicle was re-edited by Joseph Stevenson, for the Bannatyne Club, 1835.

‡ See the note in Cardinal Patrick Moran's edition of Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* (intended to be in 3 vols.), vol. i. (Dublin, 1873), pp. 273–5.

their translation to a more conspicuous position, in 1185–6.* In chapters 171 and 172 Jocelin describes Patrick as fasting for forty days and nights on the top of Cruachan-Aighle, a mountain-ridge in County Mayo (Connaught); and as contending there with great flocks of devils, like flocks of black birds. This account agrees with that given in the Vita Tripartita,† and also in the third and fourth Lives printed by Colgan. But Jocelin goes on to say that many men fast upon this mountain, hoping to escape any future torments; and his last sentence says: "Referunt etiam nonnulli, qui pernoctaverant ibi, se tormenta gravissima fuisse perpessos, quibus se purgatos a peccatis putant, unde et quidam illorum locum illum purgatorium S. Patricii vocant." There seems to have been some confusion about the two places in the mind of Jocelin. We are not aware that anybody else has given Cruachan-Aighle the title of Purgatory. It became for many centuries the scene of pilgrimages (see the mention of one in the *Four Masters*, under the year 1351); and it is still known as Croagh-Patrick. Giraldus, on the other hand, in his Topographia Hibernica (Distinctio ii. cap. v.), undoubtedly alludes to the locality of the present narrative (Lough Derg), when he describes the Purgatory. He begins his chapter: "Est lacus in partibus Ultoniæ continens insulam bipartitam." One of these two parts is hallowed by a cloistral church. The other part is given up to evil spirits: "Pars ista novem in se foveas habet. In quarum aliqua si quis forte pernoctare præsumpserit, quod a temerariis hominibus nonnunquam constat esse probatum, a malignis spiritibus statim arripitur, et nocte tota tam gravibus pœnis cruciatur, tot tantisque et tam ineffabilibus ignis et aquæ variique generis tormentis incessanter affligitur, ut mane facto vix vel minimæ spiritus superstitis reliquiæ misero in corpore reperiantur." This penance insures men against all future punishment, at least for their past sins. In his second edition (about 1189) Giraldus added: "Hic autem locus Purgatorium Patricii ab incolis vocatur"

---

* These three Saints constitute the *Trias Thaumaturga*, that gives its name to the 2nd vol. of John Colgan's *Antiquitates Sacræ* (Louvain, 1647). Jocelin's Life of Patrick is reckoned by Colgan as "Sexta Vita"; it contains 196 short chapters.

† Edited by Whitley Stokes for the Rolls series (1887); see pp. 113–115.

(Rolls edition of Giraldus, vol. v., 1867, pp. 82–3).* The distinct division of the island, and the nine pits in the purgatorial part of it, do not accord either with the reality, or with the description of it by Henry of Saltrey. We are inclined, however, to surmise, that Giraldus had heard an inaccurate report of the present work; but that its popularity was not yet strong enough to impel him to name Sir Owen.

The work opens with the preaching of St. Patrick; how he tried to terrify the natives with descriptions of hell-torments; how they refused to believe without seeing them; how the Lord showed him a desert place, which contained a round pit ("unam fossam rotundam"), telling him that whoever endured penance there for a day and a night should be shown the pains and pleasures of the other worlds; how St. Patrick enclosed the pit with a wall; how he built a Priory of Canons Regular, with the pit in the cemetery; how he committed the key of the pit to the Prior; and how the church was called "Reglis,"† and the pit St. Patrick's Purgatory. The next paragraph gives a short account of the priory after the death of St. Patrick. It ends with saying that some of those who entered the pit disappeared, and were supposed to have perished utterly.

The story of Sir Owen now begins (f. 102 b): He is warned of the dangers of the Purgatory, both by the Bishop of the district and by the Prior, but he steps into the pit, and the Prior locks the door upon him (f. 103). He soon perceives a glimmer of light, and finds his way to a hall surrounded with pillars and arches. He is met in the hall by fifteen men in white garments. After saluting him and praising his courage, they warn him that, as soon as they leave him alone, Fiends will flock about him and try to frighten him back; and, if they fail in that, the Fiends will seize him and carry him away to their places of torment,

---

* In the copy of the Topographia in the present volume the passage (including the name of "purgatorium patricii") occurs at ff. 14 b–15.

† Archdall, speaking of "Diubh-regles" (Black Church) in the town of Derry, says that O'Flaherty (in his "Ogygia") remarks "that no church was named Regles but where canons regular were placed" (*Monasticon Hibernicum*, 1786, p. 89; in Moran's edition, vol. i., 1873, p. 170). In the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Manuscript Series*, Vol. i. Part i. (1880), the "Calendar of Oengus," Whitley Stokes notices an older form, in his Glossarial Index, p. cccvi, saying "reiclés, s. a little cell (reclusum)."

but he will escape, if he never forgets God, and if he calls in his utmost need upon the name of Jesus Christ. Sir Owen is left alone. The Fiends rush up, and taunt him, and threaten him, but promise to let him go back in safety. He does not answer a word (f. 103 b, cols. 1–2). They light a great fire, and throw him on to it; but he invokes the name of Christ, and every spark goes out. They drag him over a dismal tract, and reach a field of torment; a second, a third, and a fourth field; a fiery wheel; a bathing-house of liquid metals; and icy pools of foul water (ff. 104–105 b); but every time he is saved by the name of Christ. They bear him down the stifling mouth of a hell-pit. He half forgets the holy name, but he is saved at the last moment (f. 105 b, cols. 1–2). He rises alone. But a new flock of Fiends springs out of the hell-pit; and they tell him they will show him the real Hell. They bear him to a torrent of flaming sulphur; and Hell (they say) lies underneath it. He must cross it over a bridge, that rises to a dizzy height; slender (it will hardly support one foot), and slippery (they make him feel how his hand slips upon it). He calls upon Christ, and plants a foot upon the Bridge. It broadens, and at every step it grows broader and firmer. The Fiends howl after him, but cannot follow him (ff. 105 b–106). At this point, in the present copy (and in some others), there is a Homily, to be addressed by a reading monk to his brethren (ff. 106–107 b, col. 2). At the other end of the Bridge, Sir Owen sees a noble wall, having a gate of precious metals and jewels. A procession issues, of Bishops, Monks and Priests, bearing banners and branches of golden palm-trees. Two of the Bishops take charge of Sir Owen and lead him into the city. He sees gardens and meadows, and groups of men and women in garments of all colours (ff. 108–108 b). The Bishops say that this is the Earthly Paradise, lost by "Adam protho-plastus" (f. 108 b, col. 2). They end their discourse with saying that their fellowship is daily increased by Souls which have passed through the fires below, and at the same time diminished by the departure of Souls which are admitted into the Heavenly Paradise (f. 109, col. 2). They show Owen the gate of Heaven, and heavenly food descends from it in the form of a flame. Owen himself partakes of it (f. 109, col. 2); but he is forced to return. Another Homily occurs here (ff. 109 b–110 b, col. 2). Owen reaches the hall, where the fifteen men had prepared him to en-

counter the Fiends; and they greet him there again; and they tell him that the Prior is just coming to the gate. Finally, he leaves the place, and goes to the Holy Land (f. 111). The narrative is followed by the account of Gilbert of Louth's visit to Ireland, in order to obtain land from Owen's sovereign for the foundation of a Cistercian monastery ("ut et locum susciperet, et monasterium fundaret," f. 111). The monks are assisted by Owen for two years and a half. He often relates his story; and Gilbert repeats it on his return to England (f. 111, col. 2).

John Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga* (p. 281, note 9), supposes the Irish king to have been "Murchertus seu Murchertachus, Hua Lachluinn," one of the chief kings of the North in 1147, and king of all Ireland in 1156; killed in battle in 1166.* But the king in question may have been one of the petty kings of Ireland. According to the Annals of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin,† the only Cistercian foundations about this period were as follows. In 1139 St. Mary's itself became Cistercian. Of the new Abbeys one was founded in 1142, five in 1151, one in 1153 and one in 1154. Another list in the same volume (p. 217) adds one founded in 1159; but by that time Gilbert had become Abbot of Basingwerk. Other names have been given by Sir James Ware (see the same volume, pp 218–237); by Archdall, in his *Monasticon Hibernicum;* and by other modern writers. But these are all uncertain as to the exact dates of foundation.

Henry of Saltrey is provokingly vague in his Irish statistics, though he took pains to learn what others had to say about the Purgatory. He questioned two Irish Abbots; one of whom answered that these wonders were quite new to him, whilst the other asserted that he had often heard of them. Finally, Henry says that he had lately consulted a Bishop Florentianus, who declared that the place lay in his own diocèse, and that the stories about it were true (f. 111 b, col. 2). Lough Derg is now in the diocese of Clogher; but it used to stand on the confines of three dioceses, Clogher, Raphoe, and Derry; and it is doubtful to which of the three it belonged in the 12th century. Colgan is in

* His personal name is more often latinised Mauritius. In the Index to the Annals of the Four Masters his names are given as Muircheartach O'Loughlin.

† *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, etc., edited by John T. Gilbert in the Rolls series; see vol. ii. (1884), pp. 258, 262-265.

favour of Derry. The passage referring to the bishop runs here: "Nuper etiam affatus sum episcopum quendam nepotem sancti patri[ci]i tertii . socii uidelicet sancti Malachie florentianum nomine" (f. 111 b, col. 2). Colgan supposes this St. Patrick the Third to have been Maelpadraig O'Drugain, chief lector of Armagh (died in Jan. 1138, see the Annals of the Four Masters). Neither he nor any one named Patrick is known to have been canonised in the 12th century. This weakens the effect that might otherwise be produced by the mention of St. Malachy, who was not himself canonised till July, 1190.* But Malachy had died at Clairvaux so far back as November, 1148; and there can be no doubt that popular opinion (fortified by the Life of him written by his friend St. Bernard) had pronounced him a Saint long before 1190. At the same time we do not know any good reason why Henry of Saltrey should not have produced this work after 1190, though Bale and Pits say of him "claruit 1140"; and Colgan (misled by this assertion) supposes that the work could hardly be later than 1160. Hence he concludes that "Florentianus" must be the name of a bishop of Derry about that year. This led him to Flaithbhertach O'Brolcan, Abbot of Derry, and Bishop of Derry in 1158–1164 (died, as Abbot again, in 1175). Colgan speaks with some hesitation. He calls him "Flatbertus Episcopus Dorensis (qui et Florentianus latine dici potest)"; but he does not assert that he has ever known the name to be so latinised. It would seem as if Colgan would have preferred another Bishop of Derry, if it were not that he only knew of him as Bishop in 1203. He calls him "Florentinus Hua-Keruallan, Episcopus de Tir-Eoguin" (Tyrone at that time embracing Derry, and also portions of Donegal). An English translation (17th century) of the Annals of Ulster calls him "Fogertach O'Carvallan," and says that he became a bishop in 1185.† The Annals of the Four Masters call him "Florent ua Cearbhallain" (or in English form "O'Carolan"), when they speak of him (in 1203) as Bishop of Tyrone, to which the editor (John O'Donovan) adds, "i.e. of

* See the Acts of Pope Clement III. in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. cciv. cols. 1466–7; where the Bull is reprinted from the *Opera S. Bernardi* (Paris, 1719), vol. i. p. 697.

† These English Annals of Ulster are in our Additional MS. 4795; see the above passage at f. 78 b.

Derry." And, further on, the same Annals say that he died, in the 86th year of his age, in 1230. He was thus contemporary with Henry, Abbot of Wardon (and eventually of Rievaux), who died in 1216, and who was probably the "H. de Sartis" to whom the present work is dedicated.

A curious interpolation, near the beginning of chapter i., occurs in six of our MSS. Henry of Saltrey says that St. Patrick tried to stir the "bestiales animos" of his hearers by describing Heaven and Hell. At this point some monastic scribe has taken up the words thus: "Eos uero inquit relator horum bestiales esse ueraciter et ipse comperi" (f. 101 b). He then says that, when he himself was in Ireland, he met a man, white-haired and decrepit with age, who said he had never yet received the sacraments, and who begged him, as a Monk and Priest, to administer them to him. The Confession had to be made through an Interpreter. When the man had confessed all the sins he could think of, the priest asked him if he had never killed a man. Not more, he thought, than five men on the spot; but he did not know how many might not have died of the wounds he had given them. He was surprised to hear that manslaughter was a sin requiring absolution; but he was quite ready to endure any penance imposed on account of it. And this (concludes the interpolator) is the nature of Irishmen. "Hec ideo proposui ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem" (f. 101 b, col. 2). He then continues to copy the account of the preaching of St. Patrick.

This interpolation is in the following six MSS.: (1) Roy. 13 B. viii., f. 101 b; (2) Arundel 292, f. 72; (3) Harley 3776, f. 76; (4) Cotton, Nero A. vii., f. 113 b; (5) Harley 261, f. 168; (6) Harley 3846, f. 135. It is not in the following four MSS.: (1) Roy. 8 C. xiv., f. 4 b; (2) Roy. 9 A. xiv., f. 248; (3) Cotton, Vespasian A. vi., f. 146 b; (4) Harley 103, f. 129. It is published (from Harley 3776) by Eugen Kölbing, in his *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), pp. 62–3, side by side with a French metrical version of the same (from Cotton, Domitian A. iv., f. 258, col. 2). Marie de France has also translated it, as lines 215–264 of her metrical Purgatoire.* But she has made one

* See Roquefort's edition of Marie's *Poésies*, tome ii. (1820), pp. 420–422. It is printed from a MS. at Paris, the only one known.

material change; for in her poem it is St. Patrick himself who hears the confession, and thus she avoids the break caused by the story.

The two short Homilies also (chapters 18 and 20 of the present MS.) to be addressed by the reading Monk to his "fratres karissimi" may perhaps be interpolations. At all events, they only occur in four out of our ten MSS. These four are Roy. 13 B. viii.; Cotton, Nero A. vii.; Harley 261; and Harley 3846 (the last only containing the first Homily). In Marie's Purgatoire the first Homily is translated (see pp. 465–8). Her version is much abridged; but not so much so as the Latin version in the Bamberg MS. published by Dr. Mall—a MS. which, according to Mall, contains a text approaching to that translated by Marie.

The main text is substantially the same in eight of our MSS. But in two others (Arundel 292 and Harley 3846) there are some marked peculiarities. It was from a text of the latter kind that the Abridgment was made (about the year 1200) which is embodied in the early part of the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris.* Further on, in the description of Arundel 292 (ff. 72–86), we shall quote a couple of passages, side by side with the Abridgment, and also with the text of the present MS.

Seven metrical French versions of the work of Henry of Saltrey, all of the 13th or of the early 14th century, have been lately noticed by Paul Meyer.† Three of them name their authors. Meyer has designated the others by the numbers of the MSS. They are: (1) Marie de France (Roquefort, ii. 411). (2) Cotton MS., Domitian A. iv.: see the description below, p. 468. (3) Harley 273: see below, p. 471. (4) Univ. Cambr. Ee. 6. 11: see *Romania*, tome vi. pp. 154–5. (5) Lansdowne 383: see below, p. 474. (6) Geofroi de Paris: see *Romania*, xvi. p. 47, note 3. These six versions are all in octosyllabic couplets. (7) Berol (not the same as the author of one of the Tristram poems): a version in alexandrines, arranged in quatrains.

In the last quarter of the 13th century the story was translated into English verse, in the great collection of Church-legends

---

* See Luard's edition, Rolls series, vol. ii. (1874), pp. 192–203.

† In an article on some of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps's French MSS. at Cheltenham, in *Notices et Extraits*, tome xxxiv. 1re Partie (Paris, 1891), p. 238.

in long lines of ballad-metre (see Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, 1875). Three copies of this version will be described further on. Other English versions soon followed; one in 6-line stanzas, only known in the Auchinleck MS,*; and another (considerably later) in octosyllabics (described below, p. 482, from the copy in Cotton MS., Caligula A. ii). Eleven stanzas of the Auchinleck version, describing Owen's passage over the "brigge of paradis" (as it is there called), were first published by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), vol i. pp. 228–30. They occur in the Introduction to "A Lyke-wake Dirge," in which poem the bridge is called the "Brigg o' Dread."

The prologue of the present copy has the following rubric: "Incipit prefatio de purgatorio sancti patricij." f. 100 b. The Prologue begins: "Patri suo in Christo preoptato domino H. abbati de sartis ⁊ frater H. monachorum de saltereia minimus. cum continua salute patri filius obedientie munus. Iussistis pater uenerande ut scriptum uobis mitterem. quod de purgatorio in uestra me retuli audisse presentia." f. 100 b, col. 2. The author then refers to the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, in which he tells how Souls have returned to the bodies of the Dead, and have related what they have seen in the other worlds. ff. 100 b, col. 2–101. The author then discourses upon the positions of Hell and of the Earthly Paradise. f. 101, cols. 1–2. He concludes: "Quod et beatus augustinus . et beatus gregorius incorporeos spiritus dicunt pena corporalis ignis posse cruciari ⁊ ista uidentur etiam affirmari narratione. In pena uero purgatoria qua post exitum purgantur electi ⁊ certum est alios aliis plus minusue pro meritis cruciari. Quod (*a mistake for* Que) quidem ab hominibus non possunt diffiniri . quia ab eis minime possunt sciri. Ab eis tamen quorum anime a corporibus exeunt . et iterum iubente deo ad corpora redeunt ⁊ signa quedam corporalibus similia ad demonstrationem spiritualium nunciantur. Quia nisi in talibus et per talia ab animabus corporibus exutis uiderentur ⁊ nullo modo ab eisdem ad corpora reuersis . in corpore uiuentibus . et corporalia tantum scientibus intimarentur. Unde et in hac narratione a corporali et mortali homine spiritualia dicuntur uideri ⁊ quasi in specie et forma corporali. Quis uero eam mihi retulerit . et quomodo eam agnouerit ⁊ in fine narra-

* Published by D. Laing and W. Turnbull, *Owain Miles* (Edinburgh, 1837), and by E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, Bd. i. (1877), pp. 98–112.

tionis indicabo. Quam quidem narrationem si bene memini ⁊ ita exorsus est." ff. 101 col. 2–101 b.

Ch. 1 is headed: "Incipit de purgatorio sancti patricij." It opens with an allusion to the great Patrick's having been the second Saint of that name, and presently contains the interpolated Story of the Irishman who did not know that there was any sin in manslaughter. It begins as follows: "Dicitur magnus sanctus patricius ⁊ qui a primo est secundus. Qui dum in hybernia uerbum dei predicaret . atque miraculis gloriosis choruscaret ⁊ studuit bestiales hominum illius patrie animos terrore tormentorum infernalium a malo reuocare . et paradisi gaudiorum promissione in bonum confirmare." The interpolator (himself, as he says, a Monk and Priest) here inserts the story, beginning: "Eos uero inquit relator horum bestiales esse ueraciter et ipse comperi. Cum enim essem in patria illa accessit ad me uir quidam ante pascha . cano quidem capite . et etate decrepita." f. 101 b. The interpolation ends: "Hec ideo proposui ⁊ ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem." f. 101 b, col. 2. The narrative is then resumed, thus: "[I]gitur cum beatus patricius ut predixi gentem prefatam et terrore tormentorum . et amore gaudiorum ab errore conuertere uoluisset ⁊ dicebant se ad christum nunquam conuersuros . nec pro miraculis que per eum uidebant fieri . nec per eius predicationem . nisi aliquis eorum et tormenta illa malorum et gaudia bonorum posset intueri." God leads Patrick "in locum desertum," and shows him "unam fossam rotundam," where the Penitent may behold the secrets of the other worlds. "Et quoniam ibidem homo a peccatis purgatur . locus ille purgatorium sancti patricii nominatur." f. 102.

Ch. 2 deals with the history of the Priory Church ("reglis") after the death of Patrick. One of its Priors, who lived entirely upon bread and salt and water, grew so old that he had only one tooth left, and his monks used to hear Angels singing at night: "Beatus es tu ⁊ et beatus est dens qui est in ore tuo . quem nunquam tetigit cibus delectabilis." f. 102, col. 2.

Ch. 3 begins the story of Sir Owen. "Contigit autem his temporibus nostris . diebus scilicet Regis Stephani militem quendam nomine Owein de quo presens est narratio . ad episcopum in cuius episcopatu prefatum est purgatorium . confessionis gratia uenire." f. 102 b, cols. 1–2. When Sir Owen has crossed the Bridge (in chapp. 16–17) the first Homily begins: "Com-

parentur ergo karissimi passiones huius uite predictorum locorum tormentis et miserie." f. 106. It ends: "illius etiam solatii participes efficiamur . et quorum corda ad compassionem pietatis forte non flexerunt tristia tormentorum . deuocione saltem et affectu flectant succedentia gaudiorum." f. 107 b, col. 2. Not so much as the sixth part of this Homily appears in the Bamberg MS., as printed by Dr. Mall (*Romanische Forschungen*, pp. 178–9); and none of it seems to have been printed elsewhere. A larger portion of it was used by Marie de France, in her Purgatoire, lines 1401–1530 (see Roquefort's edition, pp. 465–470). Ch. 19 tells how Sir Owen visits and leaves the Earthly Paradise; and with Ch. 20 the second Homily begins: "Eya nunc dilectissimi redeunte milite nostro recordetur unusquisque ⁊ qualia et quanta sunt omnia . sive beatorum gaudia . siue peccatorum tormenta . que adhuc in carne positus ⁊ intuitus et expertus est." f. 109 b. It ends (speaking of heavenly bliss): "Esuriat illud anima nostra . desideret tota substantia nostra . donec intremus in gaudium domini dei nostri. Amen." f. 110 b, col. 2. None of this Homily is in the Bamberg MS.; and none of it seems to have been printed. It was not used by Marie. Only two more of our MSS. (Cotton, Nero A. vii. and Harley 261) contain both Homilies. One other MS. (Harley 3846) contains a few lines of the first Homily. The three MSS. that contain the second Homily preface the next chapter with the following sentence: "Occurramus modo fratres karissimi militi nostro redeunti . et uideamus si forte sine impedimento redierit." They then resume the narrative with these words: "Egressus itaque sicut supra diximus miles de paradiso lugens" (f. 110 b, col. 2). This chapter (Ch. 21) contains the whole of the subsequent life of Sir Owen: "Deinde signo dominice crucis in humero suscepto ⁊ dominici corporis sepulchrum ierosolimis uisitare perrexit. Et inde rediens ⁊ regem dominum suum cui prius familiaris extiterat * ⁊ utpote uirum industrium et prudentem adiit . quatinus euismodi quem sibi consuleret ipse religionis habitum susciperet. Eodem

* The copy in Royal 8 C. xiv. specifies the king as provincial; but we can hardly assume that this phrase comes from the original text, as the whole passage is abridged. It says: "Et cum inde redisset ⁊ uenit ad dominum suum regem illius prouincie qui erat uir prudens ut per eius consilium susciperet habitum religionis" (f. 13 b).

autem tempore pie memorie Geruasius abbas cenobii Iudensis . qui a prephato rege locum ad construendum monasterium impetrauerat ⁊ monachum suum nomine Gilebertum de Iuda cum quibusdam aliis . qui scilicet Gilebertus postea fuit abbas de basingewerch ad eundem regem in hibernia misit ⁊ ut et locum susciperet . et monasterium fundaret. Qui cum ueniens ad regem susceptus esset ⁊ conquestus est . quod illius patrie linguam ignoraret. Quod audiens rex ⁊ ait . Optimum interpretem tibi commendabo . et accito prefato milite ⁊ iussit ut cum monacho maneret. Quam iussionem libentissime miles suscipiens ⁊ ait ad dominum suum . Gratanter ei seruire debeo . sed et uos cum magna graciarum accione monachos cister[cia]ni ordinis in regno uestro suscipere debetis . quoniam ut uerum fatear ⁊ in sanctorum requie (alluding to the Earthly Paradise) non uidi homines tanta gloria preditos . ut huius religionis uiros." f. 111, cols. 1–2. If the above words of Sir Owen were taken literally, they would imply that this was the first Cistercian foundation in his native province. The chapter goes on: "Mansitque cum eodem Gileberto miles ille . sed nondum monachus . nec conuersus fieri uoluit. Ceperunt igitur monasterium construere . et manserunt simul ibidem duobus annis et dimidio." A little further on, it says: "Et quando soli simul erant familiariter alicubi ⁊ ipsius Gileberti rogatu ob edificationem hec omnia diligentissime narrare consueuerat." Again: "Hec autem omnia cum sepe dictus Gilebertus coram multis me quoque audiente sicut sepius ab ipso milite audierat retulisset ⁊ affuit inter alios unus qui hec ita contigisse dubitare dixit . Cui Gilebertus . Sunt quidam inquid qui dicunt quod aulam intrantes primo fiunt in extasi . et hec omnia in spiritu uidere. Quod omnino sibi miles ita contigisse contradicit . sed corporeis oculis se uidisse . et corporaliter hec pertulisse constantissime testatur." f. 111, col. 2. It will be observed that Gilbert here speaks of Sir Owen as still alive. But Gilbert was not improbably speaking some years before the composition of the present work. He then relates how a monk "in monasterio cui prefui" (that is, Basingwerk) had suffered many nights from the attacks of fiends. Gilbert does not state (though he rather seems to imply) that the attacks took place when he was at the head of the monastery; but he often saw and handled the wounds, which remained open still, till the monk died and Gilbert buried him fifteen years

later. "Huc usque Gilebertus." f. 111 b. This concludes Chapter 22.

Henry of Saltrey now tells (Chapp. 23–24) how he consulted two Irish Abbots and the Bishop Florentianus with regard to the Purgatory; how the Bishop asserted that the place was within his own diocese; and how he spoke of a Hermit, living in that neighbourhood, who used every night to see a Parliament of Devils, and to hear the reports which were made to the Master-Fiend. The Bishop's Chaplain here gives a similar account of another Hermit, living near the Mountain of St. Brendan*; and he tells (Chapp. 25–26) how the Hermit overheard a plot against a Priest, and saved the Priest by warning him. The Chaplain's tale begins: "Sacerdos quidam sancte uite"; and it ends: "Sacerdos uero uirginem quam deo nutrierat ꝯ deo seruituram in monasterio uirginibus commendauit." ff. 112, col. 2–112 b, col. 2.

The Epilogue of the whole work is as follows: "Hec itaque pater uenerande que a predictis uiris ueracibus et ualde religiosis audiui . sensum uerborum sequens . et relationis eorum seriem prout intelligere potui ꝯ sanctitati uestre cunctisque in amorem et timorem dei proficere cupientibus . sicut iussistis ecce litteris significo. Si quis igitur quod scribere talia presumpserim me reprehenderit ꝯ iussioni uestre me obedientiam exhibuisse nouerit. Precor et ego peccator humiliter qui sanctorum exortationes patrum interserens . opusculum istud per capitula distincxi caritatem uestram . illud uidelicet legentium simul et audientium exorare ꝯ quatinus a peccatis omnibus in presenti purgatum a supra dictis et si que sunt alie penis extorrem . me una uobiscum post huius mortis horrorem transferat in prefatam beatorum requiem . ihesus christus dux et dominus noster . cuius nomen gloriosum permanet et benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen." f. 112 b, col. 2.

A text similar to that of the present MS., and the abridged text found in Matthew Paris, were both used by Thomas Messingham to form the kernel (Capp. iii.–x.) of a Tractatus de Purgatorio

* Now called "Mount Brandon," in County Kerry, at the mouth of the Shannon. Perhaps this may be the Purgatory of St. Brendan, mentioned by Alexander Neckham, in his Latin poem De laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ Dist. V. ll. 893–6 (ed. T. Wright, Rolls series, 1863, p. 461).

Sancti Patricii, published in his *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum* (Paris, 1624); and this Treatise has been reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clxxx. (1855), cols. 975–1004. Messingham, however, altered words and phrases here and there. A much more accurate text was published by John Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga* (Louvain, 1647), a volume containing Lives of Saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columba. This volume is usually described and lettered wrongly, but Mr. Henry Bradley has given an accurate account of it in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xi. (London, 1887), p. 330. Colgan had projected a work on the Sacred Antiquities of Ireland, in six Folio volumes. Vol. i. (a general Introduction) never appeared. Vol. ii. was the *Trias Thaumaturga*. Vols. iii.–vi. were to contain the Lives of other Irish Saints, each volume covering a quarter of a year. The first of these, the Acta SS. for January–March (intended to be vol. iii. of the Antiquities), was published at Louvain in 1645. Colgan did not publish any more of the ordinary *Acta Sanctorum*; but he now went backwards to vol. ii. of the Antiquities, the *Trias Thaumaturga* (1647). Colgan's text is very similar to the present one; but he (like Messingham) has omitted the following portions: (a) the Story of the Irishman in chap. i.; (b) the two Homilies; (c) the Tales about the two Hermits; and (d) the Epilogue. There are two MSS. in the British Museum belonging to another class (see further on, Arundel 292 and Harley 3846); and this second text is also represented by the Bamberg MS., which Dr. Eduard Mall has printed side by side with Colgan's text, and with the readings of the Arundel text in the foot-notes, in Karl Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. vi. (Erlangen, 1889), pp. 143–197. The Bamberg text has a small portion of Homily i., and an abridgment of the Epilogue (the same abridgment as in Harley 3846); and the Arundel MS. supplies the Story of the Irishman, and also the Tales of the Hermits. But these latter Tales have been run into one, for the sake of abridgment, and no mention is made of the Bishop's Chaplain, or of the Mount of St. Brendan (see below, p. 454). The full Epilogue seems to be only found in the present MS. The Story of the Irishman has been printed in Latin (from Harley 3776) and in French (from Cotton, Domitian A. iv.) by Eugen Kölbing, in his *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), pp. 62–3. Kölbing has also printed a few passages from the Tales of the Hermits at

pp. 87–8, and has compared several others (see the Introduction to his edition of two English Versions, in *Englische Studien*, i. pp. 57–98).

For treatments of the whole subject, see Thomas Wright, in his volume on *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (London, 1844); and see Dr. Selmar Eckleben, in a pamphlet on *Die älteste Schilderung vom Fegefeuer des heil. Patricius*, (Halle, 1885).

Arundel 292. ff. 72–86.

Vellum; late XIIIth cent. Quarto; ff. 15, having 24 or 25 lines to a page. The whole MS. contains:—

1–2. The Creed, Lord's Prayer, etc. and a Bestiary (symbolized), in *English* verse. ff. 3, 4.
3. Rhyming *Latin* verses, beginning "O caro carnea" (in a later hand). f. 11.
4. Exempla of Odo of Cheriton. *Latin*. f. 12.
5–6. Two religious poems, in *French*. ff. 25, 31.
7. Portion of a *Latin* Sermon, by Archbishop Stephen Langton; introducing a stanza of the song, "Bele aliz matin leua." f. 38.
8. Apollonius of Tyre (see the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 163). *Latin*. f. 40.
9. Prophecies of Merlin, from the Historia of Geoffrey of Monmouth. f. 60 b.
10. Directions what to do in case of accidents at the Lord's Supper. *Latin*. f. 68.
11–12. Two *English* poems; one on the difficulties of Church music, and the other a diatribe against blacksmiths. ff. 70 b, 71 b. Articles 10–12 are in other hands.
13. The present article. f. 72.
14. Distiches of Cato. In *French* verse, with some *Latin*. f. 87.
15–17. Three Treatises, on the Chilindre, on the Quadrant, and on Sortilege. *Latin*. ff. 105, 108 b, 111 b.
18. Riddles, in *Latin* verse. ff. 113 b–114.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. By Henry of Saltrey. Without either the Prologue or the Epilogue; and without the Homilies. Apparently intended to be divided into 19 chapters. *Latin*.

This copy does not belong to the class of MSS. represented by Royal 13 B. viii. It is slightly abridged; and its diction is evidently derived from the same source as the abridgment in Matthew Paris.

The work is headed with the rubric: "De purgatorio sancti patricij." Ch. i. begins: "Dicitur magnus sanctus patricius qui a primo est secundus." f. 72. The following passages may serve for a comparison of the texts. When the Devils carry Sir Owen down into the pit, it is said :—

Royal 13 B. viii. (f. 105 b).	Arundel 292 (f. 79 b).	Matthew Paris (p. 198)*
"Adeo namque fuit intolerabilis ⁊ ut pene sui saluatoris sit oblitus nominis."	"In eo uero tantam sensit miles angustiam. ut pene pre nimietate angustie et doloris. omnino oblitus sit sui adiutoris."	"In puteo quoque illo miles tantam angustiam sensit et miseriam, ut diu oblitus sit sui Adjutoris."

Again, when Sir Owen comes to the Bridge:

Royal 13 B. viii. (f. 105 b, col. 2).	Arundel 292 (f. 80).	Matthew Paris (p. 199).
"Dixeruntque demones ad militem. Oportet te per hunc pontem transire. nos autem uentos et turbines commouentes. de ponte proiciemus te in flumen. Socii uero nostri qui in eo sunt ⁊ te captum in infernum demergent."	"Dixeruntque demones ad militem. Oportet te nunc ambulare super hunc pontem. et per nos uentus ille qui te deiecit in flumine alio ⁊ deiciet te in isto. et statim a sociis nostris qui in flumine sunt capieris. et in profundum inferni demergeris."	"'Oportet te,' inquiunt dæmones, 'super pontem hunc ambulare, et ventus ille qui te projecit in aliud flumen proiciet in istud. Et confestim a sociis nostris, qui in flumine sunt, capieris, et in profundum inferni demergeris.'"

Again, when Sir Owen leaves the Earthly Paradise :

Royal 13 B. viii. (f. 109 b).	Arundel 292 (f. 83 b).	Matthew Paris (p. 202).
"Merens igitur miserabiliter. uolens nolens egreditur. acceptaque benedictione ⁊ tristis admodum sed tamen intrepidus eadem qua uenerat reuertitur uia. et clausa est ianua."	"Merens igitur ac lugens ad portam reducitur. et contra uoluntatem inde egressus. porta statim post eum clauditur."	"Mœrens igitur et lugens miles ab eis reducitur ad portam, et eo contra voluntatem suam egresso, clauditur porta post ipsum."

* Rolls edition, vol. ii. (1874). H. R. Luard, the editor, attributes the compilation of the Chronicles to John, Abbot of St. Alban's (1195–1214), as far as the year 1188; to Roger of Wendover as far as 1213; the rest to Matthew Paris.

There is a passage at the end of the work (omitted altogether in Matthew Paris) which seems to show clearly that the present text is abridged from the fuller one. Bishop Florentianus has been stating that in the neighbourhood of the Purgatory there is a Hermit, "cui uisibiliter una quaque nocte demonum apparet multitudo" (Royal 13 B. viii. f. 111 b); or, as it is worded here: "et omni nocte uisibiliter congregantur demones infra ambitum cellule sue" (Arundel 292, f. 85). The next sentences are much fuller in the Royal MS. than in the Arundel; but the most remarkable fact is that the Royal MS. now introduces the Bishop's Chaplain, who obtains leave to tell about another Hermit, beginning: "Centum miliaribus distat cella uiri illius" (alluding to the first Hermit) "a pede montis sancti Brandani. iuxta quem montem manet alius quidam heremita" (Royal 13 B viii. f. 112). It is of the second Hermit that the Chaplain relates how he warned a Priest against the plots of a Devil. Marie de France has the same story, lines 2117–2296. Now, the present MS. omits all mention of the Chaplain and of the Hermit at Mount Brandon, and tells the Tale of the Priest in connection with the Bishop's Hermit (Arundel 292, ff. 85–86). The last sentence here (agreeing pretty closely with the corresponding sentence in Royal 13 B. viii.) is as follows: "Sacerdos autem uirginem quam quasi filiam nutriuit deo seruituram in monasterio commendauit." Colophon of the whole MS.: "Explicit" (Arundel 292, f. 86).

Dr. Eduard Mall has published the readings of this MS., so far as they differ from Colgan's edition, in the notes of his article on St. Patrick's Purgatory in Karl Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. vi. (Erlangen, 1889), pp. 147–197. The MS. is numbered (Lat.[5]) in Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), p. 58.

Cotton, Nero A. vii. ff. 113–120.

Vellum; about A.D. 1200. Small Quarto; ff. 8, having 33 lines to a page. With initials in blue and red.

In a MS. which contains, all in *Latin*:—(1) The present article. f. 113. (2) Miracles of St. James. f. 120. (3) List of bishoprics in Anglo-Saxon times. f. 123. (4) Extracts from the Gesta Regum of William of Malmesbury, namely, the dream of King Edgar in 974, and the magic of Gerbertus (Pope Sylvester II., 999–1003), followed by other tales of witchcraft, and concluding with descriptions of the 14 gates of Rome, of Constantinople, and of Jerusalem. f. 123. (5) A version of the description given by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. vii. 18) of the miraculous bronze statue at Cæsarea Philippi, representing the Woman who was cured of the bloody flux; followed by an enumeration of the forces of Alexander. f. 131 b. Bound up with two other MSS.; the first (early 12th cent.) containing Epistles of Archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm (ff. 1–112 b); and the other (14th cent.) containing Law-treatises in *Irish* (ff. 132–157 b).

St. Patrick's Purgatory. By Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue, but without the Epilogue. In 27 chapters (including the two Homilies), indicated by the coloured initials. *Latin.*

This copy is of the same class as Royal 13 B. viii., though the divisions are more numerous. It has no Heading. The Prologue begins: "Patri suo in christo preoptato domino H. abbati de sartis . frater H. monachorum de saltereia minimus." f. 113. Ch. i. begins: "Dicitur magnus sanctus patricius qui a primo est secundus." f. 113. It contains the story of the Irishman. Ch. iv. begins the story of Sir "Owein." f. 114. Chapp. xvi. and xvii. relate Sir Owen's adventures in the pit and on the bridge. f. 116. The words are precisely the same as those in Royal 13 B. viii., quoted in the description of Arundel 292 (above, p. 453). Ch. xix. is the first Homily. f. 116. Ch. xx. describes the Earthly Paradise. f. 117 b. Ch. xxi. is the second Homily. f. 118 b. Ch. xxii. begins with the sentence "Occurramus," etc. f. 119. Ch. xxv. contains the account of the Hermit near the Purgatory, told by Bp. Florentianus; and the leave given by the Bishop to his Chaplain to tell of the second Hermit, living near Mount Brandon. f. 119 b. Ch. xxvii. (the conclusion of the Chaplain's narrative) begins: "Sacerdos quidam"; and it

ends: "seruituram in monasterio uirginibus commendauit." f. 120.

After the conclusion of St. Patrick's Purgatory, the Miracles of St. James and the other articles follow, without any heading, and looking as if they belonged to the same work.

Royal 8 C. xiv. ff. 3 b–15 b.

Vellum; about A.D. 1200. Quarto; ff. 13, having 28 lines to a page. With initials in red. At the beginning and end of the MS. are leaves from a Penitential, of which the conclusion is on the first leaf (ff. 3–3 b and 16–16 b). On a fly-leaf (f. 1) is the signature, 16th cent., of Edwarde Banyster. Bound up with another MS. (Royal 8 C. xvii.) containing the Prophecies of John of Bridlington.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. By Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue and with the Epilogue (slightly abridged). In 43 chapters, indicated by the initials. *Latin.*

The text belongs to the same class as that of Royal 13 B. viii.; though it is somewhat abridged, and the verbal alterations are more numerous than usual. The Story of the Irishman and the two Homilies are omitted. The latter portion is divided into very short chapters. The Prologue begins: "Patri suo in christo preoptato domino H. abbati de sartis frater H. monachorum de salteria minimus." f. 3 b. Ch. i. begins: "Dicitur magnus sanctus patricius qui a primo est secundus." f. 4 b. Ch. iii. begins the story of Sir Owen. f. 6. Chapp. xv. and xvi. describe the pit and the Bridge. f. 10. The first passage which is quoted above (p. 453), as a specimen of the text of Royal 13 B. viii., is here rendered: "In tantum enim fuit intollerabilis . ut pene obliuisceretur nomen ihesu christi saluatoris." f. 10. The second passage is closer to the text of the Royal MS.; it ends: "Socii uero nostri qui in flumine sunt te capient et demergent in infernum." f. 10 b. Virtually the same readings are in Cotton, Vesp. A. vi. (f. 152). Chapp. xviii.–xxxi. contain the account of the Earthly Paradise. ff. 10 b–13. Ch. xxxvi. begins: "[H]ęc autem omnia isdem uenerabilis uir Gilebertus sepe narrauit coram multis me audiente:" f. 13 b. Chapp. xxxix.–xliii. introduce Bishop Florentianus and his

Chaplain, with their Tales of the two Hermits. ff. 14–15 b. The Epilogue is: "Hec itaque uenerande pater que a predictis ueracibus et ualde religiosis uiris audiui . sanctitati uestre sicut iussistis litteris significaui . Precor igitur ego peccator humilis caritatem uestram et omnium simul qui hoc opus legerint uel audierint pium dominum ihesum christum exorare pro me: ut a peccatis omnibus in presenti uita purgare me dignetur . et a predictis penis et ab aliis omnibus me transferat uobiscum in beatorum requiem . idem benignus deus et dominus noster ihesus christus . cuius nomen benedictum et gloriosum permanet in secula seculorum amen." f. 15 b.

This copy is (Lat.[2]) of Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), p. 58.

Harley 261. ff. 167 b–175.

Vellum; early XIIIth cent. Folio; ff. 9, in double columns of 44 lines. With initials in red, blue, and green.

The MS. contains:—(1–2) The Gesta Regum and the Gesta Pontificum of William of Malmesbury, with Indexes, etc. ff. 4, 108. (3) The present article. ff. 167 b–175. On ff. 1 b–2 have also been entered a few dates of monastic Foundations; and on f. 3 there are 62 elegiacs, the conclusion of a poem on the harshness of the voices of most birds and beasts in the night, beg., "Garrus enim quamquam per noctem tinnipet omnem," and ending, "Cuncta tamen domino depromunt munera laudum Seu semper sileant siue sonare queant." At the foot of f. 4 is the name of a former owner: "liber de claustro Roffensi . Alexandri precentoris." This was Alexander de Glanvillâ, who was afterwards Prior of Rochester, and who then presented six other MSS. to his monastery, which are now in the British Museum, numbered Royal 3 B. i., 3 C. vii., 6 C. x., 7 C. xiii.–xiv., and 7 E. viii. He was elected Prior (H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, p. 393) in 1242, and died in 1252.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. By Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue, but without the Epilogue. In 27 chapters (including the two Homilies), indicated by the coloured initials. *Latin.*

This copy is of the same class as that in Royal 13 B. viii. The chapters correspond to those in Cotton, Nero A. vii. The Prologue begins: "Patri suo in christo preoptato domino . H . abbati de sartis . frater . H . monachorum de saltereia minimus." f. 167 b. Ch. i. begins: "Dicitur magnus sanctus patricius . qui a primo est secundus." f. 167 b, col. 2. It contains the Story of

the Irishman. f. 168. Ch. iv. begins the Story of Sir "Owein." f. 168 b. Chapp. xvi. and xvii. relate Sir Owen's adventures in the pit and on the Bridge. f. 170 b, cols. 1 and 2. Ch. xix. is Homily i. f. 171. Ch. xx. describes the Earthly Paradise. f. 172, col. 2. Ch. xxi. is Homily ii. f. 173 b. Ch. xxii. begins with "Occurramus," etc. f. 174, col. 2. Chapp. xxv.-xxvii. contain the stories of the two Hermits, told by Bp. Florentianus and his Chaplain. ff. 174 b, col. 2–175. The Chaplain's narrative ends this copy, with the words: "Sacerdos uero uirginem quam deo nutrierat . deo seruituram in monasterio uirginibus commendauit." f. 175, col. 2.

Harley 3776. ff. 75 b–82.

Vellum; early xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 8, having 50 lines to a page. With an illuminated initial at the beginning, and other initials in blue, flourished with red. For the full contents of the MS. see above, p. 416.

St. Patrick's Purgatory. By Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue, but no Epilogue. In 29 chapters, indicated by the coloured initials. *Latin.*

This copy is of the same class as Royal 13 B. viii., though the chapters are shorter and more numerous. The two Homilies are omitted. The Prologue begins: "Patri suo in Christo preoptato domino . H . Abbati de Sartis Frater . H . monachorum de Salteria minimus." f. 75 b. Ch. i. begins (with some mistakes, as may be seen): "Dicitur quod magnus sanctus Patricius qui primo et secundo dum verbum dei in hibernia predicar[et]." f. 76. Ch. ii. ends with the Irish word for a Cloister (properly "Regles"), here corrupted into "Regus." f. 76 b, l. 25. Ch. iv. begins the story of Sir "Owens." f. 77. Chapp. xvi. and xvii. describe the pit and the bridge in the same words as Royal 13 B. viii., with only very slight changes. f. 79. Chapp. xix.–xxii. describe the Earthly Paradise. ff. 79 b–80 b. Ch. xxiii. begins: "Egressus itaque miles." f. 80 b. Chapp. xxiv. and xxv. tell about Abbot Gervase and Gilbert of Louth, and end: "Hucusque Gilbertus." f. 81. Chapp. xxvi.–xxix. contain the testimony of Bishop Florentianus, and the Tales of the two Hermits, told by the Bishop and his Chaplain. ff. 81–82. The

work ends: "Sacerdos vero virginem quam deo nutrierat deo seruituram in monasterio commendauit." f. 82.

This MS. is numbered (Lat.[3]) in Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), p. 58. Kölbing prints from it the Story of the Irishman, in parallel columns with the French metrical version in Cotton, Domitian A. iv., which is numbered by him (frz.[2]): see his pp. 62–3.

Harley 103. ff. 129–134 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 6, having 44 lines to a page. With initials in blue, flourished with red.

The whole MS. contains:—(1–13) Religious and philosophical Treatises, in *Latin*. ff. 1–129. (14) The present article. ff. 129–134 b.

On the first fly-leaf is the inscription: "Ex dono illustris domini Johannis comitis Wigornie domini Tiptot et de Powis 1470" (John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, beheaded 18 Oct. 1470).

St. Patrick's Purgatory. By Henry of Saltrey. Without either the Prologue or the Epilogue. In 17 chapters, indicated by the coloured initials. *Latin.*

This copy belongs to the same class as Royal 13 B. viii.; but there are several omissions, namely, the Story of the Irishman, the Two Homilies, and the Tales of the Two Hermits. It is headed: "Hic incipit de purgatorio sancti Patricii." Ch. i. begins: "Dicitur Magnus sanctus Patricius qui a primo est secundus." f. 129. Ch. xiii. and xiv. (headed "vndecima pena," and "Duodecima pena") contain Sir Owen's adventures in the pit and on the bridge (in the same words as those in Royal 13 B. viii.). ff. 132–132 b. Ch. xvi. is "De paradiso terrestri." f. 132 b. As the Homilies are here omitted, Ch. xvii. ("De reditu militis") omits also the introductory sentence, "Occurramus," etc. It begins: "Militem siquidem redeuntem demones vndique discurrentes terrere conati sunt." f. 134. At the end of this chapter Henry of Saltrey adds the testimony given by Bp. Florentianus, but does not mention his Chaplain, nor the Tales of the two Hermits. The last words (supposed to be spoken by the Bishop) are: "Sed postea sobrie et iuste uixerunt. Certi sunt alias pro peccatis suis penas se non perpessuros." f. 134 b. Colophon: "Explicit libellus qui dicitur purgatorium beati patricii."

Royal 9 A. xiv. ff. 247 b–252 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 6, having 42 to 49 lines to a page. With initials in red and blue.

The whole MS. contains:—(1–12) Theological and philosophical Treatises, in *Latin*, and a few medical recipes in *French*. ff. 1–247. (13) The present article. f. 247 b. (14–21) Lives of Saints, etc., in *Latin*, and some of them in verse. ff. 252–298.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. By Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue, and with the Epilogue (slightly abridged). In 43 chapters, indicated by the coloured initials. *Latin.*

The text belongs to the same class as that of Royal 13 B. viii., though somewhat abridged, and with more verbal changes than usual. The Story of the Irishman and the two Homilies are omitted. In fact, the whole copy seems to agree, word for word, with that in Royal 8 C. xiv.

Cotton, Vespasian A. vi. ff. 146 b–155 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 10, having 29 to 31 lines to a page. With initials in red.

The whole MS. contains:—(1) Legend "de spiritu guydonis." f. 134. (2) The present article. f. 146 b. (3–5) Three articles, viz., "De penis inferni" (as seen by Lazarus)*; Legend of Saint Juliana; and Life of St. Alexius. ff. 155 b, 156 b, 157 b. (6) Miracles of Simon de Montfort. ff. 162–183. Bound up with two earlier MSS., containing historical articles (at ff. 2, 63–116). On f. 2 is the signature of William Hervy, Clarenceux (d. 1567).

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. By Henry of Saltrey. Without either the Prologue or the Epilogue. In 18 chapters, indicated by the initials. *Latin.*

---

* The pains that Lazarus saw are here said to have been 12 in number. In the *Kalendrier et Compost des Bergiers* (see Brunet's *Manuel*, under "Compost") the pains are said to have been only seven. And see an old English edition of the same work, entitled *The Shephardes Kalender* (probably printed by William Copland about 1560), sign. E. iiii. b–F. iii.

This copy belongs to the same class as Royal 13 B. viii.; but there are several omissions, namely, the Story of the Irishman, the two Homilies, and the testimony of Bishop Florentianus (including, of course, the Tales of the two Hermits). Ch. i. begins: "Dicitur Magnus sanctus Patricius qui a primo est secundus." f. 146 b. Chapp. xi. and xii. give Sir Owen's adventures in the pit and on the bridge; the passages (at f. 152) answering to those quoted from Royal 13 B. viii. (above, p. 453), are not, word for word, the same; but they agree very closely with those in Royal 8 C. xiv. Chapp. xiii.–xvi. describe the Earthly Paradise. ff. 152 b.–155. Ch. xvii. begins: "Egressus itaque miles"; and, after two lines, goes on: "Quem redeuncium (*sic, for* redeuntem) demones," etc. f. 155. Ch. xviii. contains the conclusion, much abridged, beg.: "Eodem tempore Geruasius," and ending with some of the words of Gilbert of Louth: "Sed et ego uidi et multi mecum in monasterio et prefici (*the more correct reading being* cui præfui) aliquot non ualde huic rei dissimile." ff. 155–155 b.

Cotton, Tiberius E. i. Part i. ff. 65 b–68 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 4, in double columns of 44 lines. Six of the columns are cracked and shrunk up with fire; and the remaining 6½ are also injured at the top.

The MS. (above, p. 425) consists of half the Sanctilogium Britannicum of John of Tinmouth. The present article is preceded by a Life of St. Patrick (ff. 61–65 b), and followed by the Vision of Tundal (ff. 68 b–74).

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. Abridged from the work of Henry of Saltrey. Without any Prologue or Epilogue; and without the testimonies of Gilbert of Louth and of Bp. Florentianus. *Latin.*

This Abridgment has been made from a MS. of the same class as that represented here by Arundel 292 (above, p. 452). The Abridgment in Matthew Paris was likewise made from a MS. of that class; but in the passages quoted above (p. 453) as test passages the words of the present Abridgment keep closer to those in Arundel 292.

It begins with a short introductory account of the preaching of St. Patrick. The first lines, which are partly burned, run thus: "[Cum ta]men beatus patricius per hiberniam predicaret et fructum ibi permodicum faceret . terroreque infernalium tormentorum et amore gaudiorum paradisi eos [ab errore] conuertere uellet: dicebant ad christum [se] nunquam conuersuros . nec pro miraculis ab [eo] factis . nisi tormenta malorum et gaudia [bo]norum intueri possent." f. 65 b, col. 2. It then relates how God revealed to St. Patrick the round pit where such sights could be seen. The account ends: "Multi autem ingrediebantur qui non reuertebantur . et qui redierunt: eos a mane usque in sequens mane . ibidem moram facere oporteret." f. 65 b, col. 2. Sir Owen's adventures then begin: "Contigit enim tempore regis anglie stephani circa annum domini millesimum centesimum sexagesimum . militem quendam Owinum nomine ad episcopum illius loci confessionis gratia uenire." f. 65 b, col. 2.

The three passages quoted in the description of Arundel 292, as characteristic of that class of MSS., are nearly the same here. They are: (1) "In eo uero tantam miles sensit angustiam ut pene oblitus sit nomen domini inuocare." f. 67, col. 2; (2.) "Dixeruntque demones . Oportet te nunc ambulare super hunc pontem . et per nos uentus ille qui te deiecit in flumine alio: deiciet in isto. Et statim a nostris sociis capieris qui sunt in flumine . et in profundum inferni demergeris." f. 67 b; (3) "Merens igitur et lugens ad portam reducitur . et ipso egresso statim post eum clauditur." f. 68 b.

After telling how "Owinus" again met the fifteen venerable men, and how he emerged from the cave, the narrative ends: "et post hec diu uiuens: in bonis operibus [ann]os feliciter consumpsit. [L]ocus autem [p]urgatorii sancti patricii reglis nominatur . et sunt [i]bi canonici regulares." f. 68 b.

A short Appendix is here added. It mentions three miracles ascribed to St. Patrick. It goes on to say that Vincent of Beauvais doubts the account here given of the Earthly Paradise: "Cum e contra nullus credatur esse locus medius animarum inter purgatorium et celestem paradisum." This is taken from the Speculum Historiale, lib. xxvii., cap. 104, at the end of the Vision of Tundal, where Vincent says: "Hec visio et huic similes apud doctores nostros calumniam patiuntur . nullum penitus locum vel statum animarum esse ponentes medium inter

purgatorium et paradysum." The present Appendix then goes on; ending with an allusion to the Vision of Drihthelm (afterwards a monk at Melrose), as related by Bede, in his Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. v., cap. 12, and placed (in an abridged form) in the present collection (f. 15), at the end of the Life of St. Adrian the Abbot. These concluding words are: "Huic tamen opinioni uincencii contraria uidetur uisio illa quam scribit uenerabilis presbyter de gestis anglorum libro quinto capitulo duodecimo . ut habetur supra in fine uite sancti adriani abbatis." f. 68 b, col. 2.

The present abridged copy of the work of Henry of Saltrey will soon be published by the Clarendon Press, in Horstmann's edition of John of Tinmouth's Sanctilogium Britannicum.

Harley 3846. ff. 134–147.

Paper; xvith cent. Quarto; ff. 14, having 24 to 29 lines to a page. The whole volume contains Lives of English and Scotch Kings and Saints; together with a few miscellaneous pieces, amongst which there is a Ballad on Bothwell and others, after the murder of Darnley (ff. 153–154 b). This Ballad, however, belongs to the last part of the volume (ff. 149–196), which is written in a somewhat later hand.

St. Patrick's Purgatory. By Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue and an Abridgment of the Epilogue. Without any division into chapters. *Latin.*

This copy belongs to the same class as Arundel 292 (above, p. 452). Indeed, it is usually the same, word for word; only it contains the Prologue and Epilogue, and also an abstract of Homily i. It is headed: "Incipit Relatio cuiusdam sapientis de purgatorio sancti patritii in Hibernia." The Prologue then begins: "Cum continua salute patri filius obedientie munus." These opening words are very similar to lines 4–5 of the Bamberg text: see Mall's article in K. Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. vi. (Erlangen, 1889), p. 143. It goes on with the usual words: "Jussisti pater venerande," etc. f. 134. It ends: "Quam quidem narracionem si bene memini ita exorsus est." f. 135. The Story of the Irishman is on the same page. f. 135. The passages about the pit and the

bridge are the same here (ff. 141 b–142) as in Arundel 292. The first sentence of Homily i., beg. "Comparentur nunc temptaciones huius vite" (f. 142 b), agrees in some of the words with the first sentence in Royal 13 B. viii. (f. 106), in others with the Bamberg text (p. 178); but the rest is much abridged here, and much more abridged in the Bamberg text. The last words of the Homily are: "deuocionem (*sic*, the *m* being added carelessly) saltem et affectu flectantur succedencium gaudiorum." f. 143, l. 14. The body of the work ends (like the Bamberg text) with an anecdote by Gilbert, the last words being "certe non faceres ita." f. 147. Bp. Florentianus is not named. The abridged Epilogue is as follows: "Hec pater venerande predictus G[ilbertus] et mihi et aliis pro edificacione narrauit sic[ut] ipse ab ipso milite sepe audiuit. Ego vero sequens sensum verborum et narracionis eius prout intelligere potui dixi vobis si quis [something is here erased] autem me reprehendere voluerit sciat me quod vestra hoc scribere iussio coegit Valete." f. 147. The word here erased was probably "hinc." That is the word in the Bamberg text; and, with exception of "ipso" (for "eodem"), and of the careless omission of the end of "sicut," this Epilogue is precisely the same abridgment as that of the Bamberg text. See *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. vi. (1889), p. 195.

Egerton 1117. ff. 195–196 b.

Vellum; end of the XIIIth cent. Octavo; ff. 2, in double columns, having 33 to 50 lines to a column.

The volume contains:—(1) An abridged form of the Legenda Aurea. f. 1. (2) Twenty-eight Miracles of the Virgin; followed by 69 Tales from the Vitæ Patrum, St. Gregory's Dialogues, etc., and by the answers given to Hadrian by the Philosopher Secundus, together with two other notes. ff. 171, 177 b, 192–195. (3) The present article, in a very similar hand, but written (unlike the other articles) in ink that has lost its colour. ff. 195–196 b. With the signature of James Orchard Halliwell [-Phillipps] on f. 1.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. Fragment of an abridged version of the work of Henry of Saltrey. Without the Prologue, and very imperfect at the end. *Latin.*

In the full copies of the Legenda Aurea there is a short Life

of St. Patrick, with the visit to his Purgatory, abridged from Henry of Saltrey, but with the name of Owen changed into Nicholas. The copy of the Legenda in this MS. omits many Lives, among which is the Life of St. Patrick. The present abridgment has probably been added to supply this omission; but it is close to the text of Henry of Saltrey, and it retains the name of Owen. It has been abridged from a copy of the same class as that in Royal 13 B. viii. Begins: "Dicitur magnus sanctus Patricius qui est a primo secundus qui dum in hybernia uerbum dei predicaret adque miraculis gloriosis choruscaret studuit bestiales hominum patrie illius mentes terrore infernalium tormentorum a malo reuocare." f. 195. The story of Sir Owen begins: "Contigit temporibus nostris scilicet regis anglie stephanum (*sic*) militem quendam nomine owen," etc. f. 196. This name is corrected (in the same hand) from "osten." The copy breaks off at the end of the first assaults of the Fiends, when they have piled up a great fire in the Hall, and have thrown Sir Owen on to it; the last lines being: "sed cum inuocasset nomen domini dei nostri ihesu christi sicut a prefatis uiris superius edoctus fuerat statim ab illo incendio est liberatus et ita ille ignis penitus extintus est ut nec [s]cintilla remansit quod cum" . . . f. 196 b, col. 2.

Additional 33,957. ff. 28–30.

Paper and vellum; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 3, having 35 to 40 lines to a page.

The whole MS. contains theological treatises, in *Latin*, in 10 articles, interspersed with short theological notes. The ninth article is the Speculum Laicorum attributed to John of Hoveden, with the Introduction (ff. 73 b–219). Two of the fly-leaves (ff. 1, 224) contain 14th cent. fragments of the Life of Becket, by Herbert of Boseham: see *Materials for History of T. Becket*, Rolls series, vol. iii. (1877), pp. 253–5.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. An abridgment of the narrative of Sir Owen; with a short introductory account of St. Patrick. *Latin.*

The Introduction begins: "In Hibernia primum predicauit

beatus Patricius verbum Christi Sunt autem gentes illius patrie bestiales et proniores ad mala cunctis." It ends: "que autem narrauerunt hii qui inde redierunt scripta sunt in prioratu." The Narrative begins: "Tempore Stephani regis Anglie miles quidam nomine Owayn venit ad episcopum illius patrie ad confessionem." f. 28. The account of the Bridge is at f. 29 b; but the whole narrative is so very meagre that one can hardly ascertain from which version it is derived. The last two lines are: "et scripserunt omnia que ei acciderant postea vero perrexit ad ierusalem et caste viuens vsque in finem migrauit a seculo. Amen. Explicit." f. 30.

Harley 912. ff. 161 b–162 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 2, having 34 or 35 lines to a page. In a commonplace-book, containing short *Latin* treatises and extracts, for the most part theological. There are also 95 *French* verses (ff. 183 b–184), telling how Charlemagne was saved by St. Giles from keeping a sin unconfessed.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. Narrative of the descent of a man of noble birth, named "Nicolaus," into the Purgatory. Abridged from the work of Henry of Saltrey. The same version as that introduced by Jacobus de Voragine into his Legenda Aurea. *Latin.*

The chief points of the old narrative are repeated here, the only material change being that the name of Owen is changed into Nicholas. This may perhaps have been due to Jacobus himself (for an account of whom see above, p. 130). There are seven MSS. of the Legenda Aurea in the British Museum which contain copies of the present article. These are: Add. 11,882 (dated 1312), ff. 77 b, col. 2–78 b; Add. 14,089, ff. 96 b, col. 2–97 b, col. 2; Harley 3657, ff. 54–54 b; Egerton 666, ff. 107–108 b; Royal 8 C. x. ff. 149, col. 2–150 b, col. 2; Add. 18,358, ff. 23–23 b, col. 2; and Stowe 249, ff. 57, col. 2–57 b, col. 2. Another MS., Burney 348, has several leaves missing after f. 67, which probably contained another copy.

There is a later Nicholas whose name is historically con-

nected with the Purgatory. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. (1740) Part i. p. 174 (under the year 1358) are printed the Testimonials given by Edward III. of England to "Malatesta Ungarus," a knight of Rimini, certifying that he had passed a day and a night in the Purgatory; and to this is added (p. 175), "Consimiles Literas Regis habet Nicholaus de Beccariis de Ferraria Domicellus, natione Lumbardus, sub eâdem Datâ." Tiraboschi (2nd ed., vol. v. p. 581) calls this Nicholas "del Beccaio o de' Beccaria," and styles him a poet of Ferrara; but his elder brother Antonio was better known as a poet, and is generally called "Beccari." Antonio was born in 1315 (see G. Bottoni's edition of some of A. Beccari's poems, Ferrara, 1878); so that one of our copies (Add. 11,882) is earlier than the birth of the two brothers.

The French translation made by Jean de Vignay is found in the following MSS.: Add. 16,907 (ff. 77, col. 2–78); Royal 19 B. xvii. (ff. 90, col. 2–91, col. 2); Egerton 645 (ff. 107, col. 2–108, col. 2); and Stowe 954, vol. i. (ff. 138–9). Three MSS. of the English translation of 1438 (made from the French of Jean de Vignay) contain the same article, as follows: Harley 630, ff. 88–89, col. 2; Harley 4775, ff. 54 b, col. 2–55 b; and Egerton 876, ff. 68, col. 2–69, col. 2. Some slight account of this translation is given by William Blades, in his *Caxton*, vol. ii. (1863), pp. 152–4.

The Introduction of the present article begins: "Cum beatus patricius per yberniam predicaret et fructum ibi permodicum faceret rogauit dominum . ut aliquod signum ostenderet." After describing the Purgatory, it ends: "et qui inde uellent intrare (redire *expuncted*) a mane vnius diu (*sic*) usque ad mane sequens . ibi moram facere oporteret . Multi ingrediebantur qui non reuertebantur." f. 161 b. The narrative begins: "Post longum tempus mortuo beato patricio . vir quidam nobilis nomine . nicolaus qui multa peccata commiserat cum eum suorum peniteret . delictorum et purgatorium predictum sancti patricii sustinere uellet," etc. f. 161 b. It ends: "Tunc nicolaus inde ascendens . in loco per quem descendit se restitutum inuenit . et exiens . omnia que sibi contigerant . pluribus enarrauit. Et post 30 dies in domino feliciter requieuit." f. 162 b.

The Latin text may be found in *Legenda Aurea* (Venice, 1483),

ff. lviii. b–lix. The text of Jean de Vignay is in the *Légende Dorée* (Paris? ab. 1480), ff. cxiii.–cxiii. b, col. 2. Caxton, in his *Golden Legend* (1483), fol. cxlvi., gives a short account of the Purgatory, but he makes no mention of any particular visitor to it.

Cotton, Domitian A. iv. ff. 257–267.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Quarto; ff. 11, in double columns of 40 to 44 lines. Bound up in a later volume of vellum and paper.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. A metrical translation of the work of Henry of Saltrey. With the Prologue and the Epilogue; and with the Tales of the two Hermits. In 1766 octosyllabics. *French.*

The Prologue in 44 lines begins:—

"Vn moyne de saltereie
En escrist cest cunte enueie
Al abbe de sartiz od salud
Dis vus dit il qe dit mei fud
Dvn purgatoire en Hyrlande." f. 257.

Ends:— "E si cum ioe puis recorder
Si le mei cumenca a cunter." f. 257, col. 2.

The introductory portion, relative to the preaching of St. Patrick, the revelation to him of the cavern known as the Purgatory, and the foundation there of the Priory of "Reglis," (*i.e.* Regles, an Irish word for "Cloister"), is in 198 lines. It begins:—

"Doeus patrics dist il unt ested
En Hirlande de grant seinteted
Li derein de els qe ioe ai nomed
Li grant patric i ert apeled." f. 257, col. 2.

Lines 13–40 of this portion contain the Story of the Irishman who did not know that manslaughter was any sin. After describing how the monks of Reglis looked next morning for any one whom they had allowed to enter the Purgatory, and if he were not

at the entrance of the cavern, concluded that he was lost for ever, it ends :—

"Meis si lumme est iloec trouez
A goie en le iglise i ert menez
Leinz redeit veiler e orer
Quinze altres iurs pur deu loer." f. 258, col. 2.

The Narrative of Sir "Oen," down to his emerging from the cavern, is in 1052 lines. It begins :—

"Or en noz iurz est auenud
Al tens qe Rey esteuene fud
Qe vn cheualer de Hirlande esteit
Oen par nun e cil veneit
Al eueske en qui paroisse
Est li liu de cele fosse." f. 258, col. 2.

He passes the Bridge of Dread at f. 262 b; and he leaves the Earthly Paradise at f. 264, col. 2. Neither of the two Homilies, occurring in the Latin text at these points, is translated here. His release from the Purgatory is thus described :—

"Quant li priur vint lus ouerir
Le chieualier i vit venir
A grant goie le funt aler
En le eglise pur leynz orer." f. 264 b.

The subsequent adventures of Sir "Oen," his connection with Gilbert of Louth, from whom Henry of Saltrey received this narrative, together with a few confirmatory remarks, concluding with the evidence of Bishop "florencient," are versified in the next 166 lines. This Portion begins :—

"En oreysuns leinz demurrad
Quinze iurs e puis se cruisad." f. 264 b.

It ends with the description of the appearance of any man who has emerged from the Purgatory :—

"E mustre assez en sun semblaunt
Qil ad eu e veu grant turment." f. 265 b.

Bishop "florencient" then goes on to tell about a Hermit, living in the neighbourhood of the Purgatory; and the Bishop's Chaplain tells a much longer tale about another Hermit "al pie seint Brandan" (now Mount Brandon).

The Bishop's account is introduced by the following couplet:—

"Si vus dirrai de vn altre rien
Qe resemble cel assez bien."

The account then follows, in 24 lines, beginning:—

"Vn heremite prodomme e seint
Pres de cel purgatorie meint." f. 265 b.

The Chaplain's Tale (the Hermit of Mount Brandon) is in 195 lines. It begins with an allusion to the first Hermit, as his authority for the tale of this (the second) Hermit:—

"Joe soil dist cil parler assez
Al produmme qui vn iur mei dist
Meint quide ester haut qui bas gist
Si vus dirrai pur quei ieo le di
Lum cunte cent lves de ici
Desqe al pie seint Brandan," etc. f. 265 b, col. 2.

Ends:— "E puis ad li prestre mise
La meschine en vne eglise
E a dieu lad cumandee
Sil ad fet nunein velee." f. 267, first 4 lines.

The Epilogue is in 78 lines. It is very different from the Latin Epilogue (see Royal 13 B. viii. f. 112 b, col. 2). It begins:—

"Beau pere ore vus ai tut manded
Si cum ciant mei fut cunted." f. 267.

After a series of allusions to the Egyptians and the Israelites, it ends:—

"Si repreum communement
Qe dieu nus de noz maus ament
De noz pecchiez ci duinst luier
Qe apres la mort ni ait qe espurgier."
f. 267, col. 2.

Eugen Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), has an article on "St. Patriks purgatorium," in which he quotes many single lines out of this MS., and also the following five longer passages: (1) Story of the Irishman (27 lines), p. 62. (2) Fire kindled by Fiends in the Hall (18 lines), p. 71. (3) Desert, with men nailed to the ground (36 lines), p. 74. (4) Tale of the first Hermit (6 lines), p. 87. (5) Tale of the second Hermit (4 extracts, 23 lines altogether), p. 88. The version by Marie de France, in 2302 lines, published by Roquefort in his edition of her poems, vol. ii. (Paris, 1820), pp. 411–499, renders the Prologue of Henry of Saltrey more fully than the present version; but it alters some of the phrases so much that Marie almost appears to be speaking in her own person. It contains an abstract of Homily i. in lines 1401–1484. After the Tales told by Bp. "Florenciens" and his Chaplain (lines 2071–2296), Marie ends with an Envoy of her own, in 6 lines.

Harley 273. ff. 191 b–197 b.

Vellum; about A.D. 1300. Octavo; ff. 7, in double columns of 31 to 36 lines.

For a general description of this volume see the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. (1883), pp. 587–8, under the heading of "Turpin's Chronicle." Nearly all the articles are in *French*, written in England, perhaps (see the Calendar, f. 1 b) at Ludlow in Shropshire.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. A metrical version of the work of Henry of Saltrey. With a Prologue, and an Epilogue, added by the Translator, in 859 octosyllabic lines altogether. *French.*

Heading:—"Ici comence purgatorie seint patric." f. 191 b.

The Prologue is as follows:—

"[P]vr la bone gent conforter
E pur lalme amender
Ad dieu fet meinte merueile
Sauntz cui ne se mest esteile
Ne la fueille chiet del raim
Par cui oisel nad point faim
Vne merueile vueil descriure
Je su requis ne los dedire

De latin la dei estrere
E pur lais en romantz fere
Bien se purra il deduire
Ce doier enprent cure
Ce valt pluz qe conter fables
Esches iuer ou a tables
Ou sourdent souent tencons
E autre mesprisiouns
De ce parler lerrai atant
E ma reson dirrai auant." f. 191 b.

The Poem opens with 62 introductory lines on the preaching of St. Patrick, the revelation of the cavern to him, and his founding a monastery there. They begin:—

"Seint patric qe deus ama
En Irlaund de dieu precha." f. 191 b.

They end, after saying that many entered the cavern:—

"Ne vus sai pas de touz dire
Mes de vn vus vueil escrire." f. 192.

The narrative of Sir Owen, containing 728 lines, begins:—

"Al temps Esteuene le vailant
Le bon . pious . et despendant
Qui dengletere rois estoit
En Irland clama droit
Vn cheualer* mist el pais
Ce out vers dieu grant mespris
Owein out noun dieu merci
De ces pechies se repenti." f. 192.

Sir Owen enters the cavern, and is met by the 15 holy men clothed in white (f. 192 b, cols. 1–2). He passes the Bridge of

* For the spelling "cheualer" see f. 194, col. 2, line 3, and various lines on ff. 194 b and 195. But see "cheualier" at f. 196 b, col. 2, last line. If "mist" is the proper reading, it would seem that in the present version "Owein" is regarded as an English knight, as he is in the printed *Owain Miles*, where (p. 12) he is called a knight of Northumberland.

Dread, and enters the Earthly Paradise (f. 195 b, cols. 1–2). He is received by the two Bishops (f. 196, col. 2, l. 3).* He returns towards the gate of the Purgatory, and is again met by the 15 holy men. The following lines then occur:—

" Vindrent regiers a lui
Les . xv . homes dui e dui
Doucement le welcomerent
E dampnedieu mercierent
Quil out este partot si pruz
E qe tot sein ert reuenuz," etc. f. 197.

The narrative concludes with the reception of Sir Owen by the Prior of the Monastery; and with the crusade of Sir Owen, who finally becomes a Monk. It ends:—

" Par le congie son seignour
Qui dengletere tint lonour
Se rendi en moignage
E vesqui bien si fist qe sage
Mout serui dieu e bone gent
E puis morust molt seintement." f. 197, col. 2.

The Epilogue, of 51 lines, begins:—

" Oy auez beaus seignours
E les ioies e les dolours
Qavindrent a cest cheualer
Bien nus en deuom chastier
Guerpir de nus la folie
E bien amender nostre vie
Par verroi confessioun." f. 197, col. 2.

Ends:—" Deus nus doint la sue aie
Quamender puissom nostre vie
E nus otreit saluatioun
Par verroi confessioun.
Amen . amen touz diom." f. 197 b, cols. 1–2.

---

* The words in the text are " Lui euesques"; but this should evidently be " Dui euesques," both from the passage itself and from f. 196 b, col. 2, last line but 9, where it is said: " E vn des euesques si parla."

Many single lines are printed from this MS. in Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, vol. i. (1877), besides the following five longer passages: (1) First 10 lines of the Prologue, p. 60; (2) Fire kindled by Fiends in the Hall (9 lines), p. 71; (3) Desert, with men nailed to the ground (18 lines), p. 75; (4) Gate of the Earthly Paradise (14 lines, compared with a passage of the English version in the Auchinleck MS.), p. 84; (5) Sir Owen takes the cross, becomes a Monk, and dies (10 lines), p. 87.

Lansdowne 383. ff. 1–1 b.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Small Folio; f. 1, in double columns of 41 lines. Mutilated, so that only the second column is left on the first page; the other page has the first column, together with the first two or three words of each line on the second. Used as a fly-leaf to a 12th cent. Psalter, which on f. 2 bears the names of three owners in the 17th cent., viz.: (1) "William Ablard de Skendleby [4 miles N.E. of Spilsby, Lincolnshire] 1612," probably the William Ablard, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, B.A. in 1600: see Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis, Early Series*, vol. i. (1891), p. 2;—(2) "Gather of the Flowers but take heed of the weedes ỳn this booke. Charlton";—(3) "If you doe rightlie on this looke there are no weeds within this booke," and "[L]earne to liue," both inscriptions due to "Dorothy Berington, Anno domonie 1627."

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. Fragment of a metrical translation of the work of Henry of Saltrey. A single leaf, containing 82 complete octosyllabic lines; and 41 more lines, of each of which only the first two or three words remain. *French.*

The complete lines contain nothing more than an account of the first two attacks made by the Fiends upon Sir Owen; how they lighted a fire in the Hall, and threw him on to it; and how they bore him over an icy-cold desert to the first Field of torment. They begin with the resistance of Sir Owen to all the threats and temptations of the Fiends:—

"Kar il pur rens nes consentist
Sacez ke mult en sunt marit
Dunc firent il demeintenant
En la sale un fu mult grant," etc. f. 1, col. 2.

The above 4 lines answer to 8 in Cotton, Domitian A. iv., beginning "Ne volt de rien sun quer changier" (f. 259 b, col. 2); and they answer to 6 lines in Harley 273, beginning "Mes il ne velt lur ditz receiure" (f. 193).

The last 23 complete lines describe the field with men and women nailed down upon it:—

"Tant lunt les diables traine
Ken un champ lunt mene
Il esgarda trestut entur
Meis ne pout pur la grantdur
La fin ueer ne la laur
En tut le munde ni out nul greinur.
Li champ esteit tut repleni
Dummes . [e] de femmes autersi .
Luur uentres turne uers la tere
Si ne se poeient pas retraire
Kar il esteint de clous fichez
E par les mains e par les piez
A [t]ere furent estenduz
A grant dolur si erent muz
A la feiz si lui ert uis
Tere mangerent li chaitifs
Pur la dolur e pur la peine
Ke nuit e iur luur fud proceine
A la feiz pur la turment
Crierent mult dolerusement
Merci merci de nus aeiz
Vus ki en peine nus metez
Meis ia ni out un pur ueir." f. 1b.

The above 23 lines answer to 17 in Cotton, Domitian A. iv., beginning "Tant lunt treit qe od li sunt entree" (f. 260); and they answer to 22 lines of Harley 273, beg. "Tant le trestrent quil oi" (f. 193, col. 2).

Kölbing prints two passages from this MS.: (1) The fire kindled in the Hall (16 lines), beginning with what is here line 3, "Dunc firent il demeintenant," *Englische Studien*, vol. i. p. 71; (2) Description of the desert over which the Fiends bore Sir Owen (42 lines), beg. "Quant li cheualier out co uou," and ending "De

tant le meuz oi les a," pp. 75–6. The last line mentioned above, as printed by Kölbing, is followed (in the MS.) by the 23 lines already quoted here.

Additional 6524. ff. 115 b–120 b.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 6, in double columns of 46 lines. With initials in blue, flourished with red. The whole volume contains a selection of 50 articles from the Lives of Saints, in *French* prose, by Jean Belet, a work founded upon the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine, but containing many additions.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. Translated from Henry of Saltrey, by Jean Belet, early in the 14th century. *French.*

In the full copy of Belet's work in Additional MS. 17,275, the List of Chapters has a short Preface (f. 3), beginning "Li (*for* Ci) conmencent les rebriches de la uie des sains. Laquele maistre Jehan beleth translata de latin en rommans." Paulin Paris, *Manuscrits François*, vol. ii. (Paris, 1838), pp. 87–88, 91, and 387–390, has given some account of the additions made by Belet to the Legenda Aurea, and partially adapted (soon afterwards) by Jean de Vignay. In the present instance, however, the latter followed the Legenda, attributing the adventures of Sir Owen to a certain Nicholas (above, p. 466). Belet, on the other hand, translated a copy (probably abridged) of the work of Henry of Saltrey.

The Introduction begins: "En cel tens qui seinz patrices li granz preschoit en yrelande," etc. f. 115 b. After telling how the Priors of the Purgatory come to the door in the morning, and reckon any adventurer as lost for ever, if they do not find him waiting there, it ends: "E li prieurs referme luis: et einssint se reuienent arrieres." f. 116, col. 2. The narrative then begins: "Au tens le roi esteuenon qui fu roiz dengletere auint cun chiuailier quauoit non oiens se uint confessier en leglise en qui euechie cil purgatoires estoit." When Owen has entered the hall, the white-robed men who come there and give him their blessing are not 15 in number, as in most copies; but they are only 12 (see f. 116 b, col. 2), as they are in the Bamberg MS.

edited by Mall, and also in the poem by Marie de France. The first Homily (very much abridged) is included here; it begins:— "Qui ben penseroit aus dolors et as tormenz qui la sont," etc. f. 118 b, col. 2.

Belet seems to have translated from a MS. belonging to the class of Arundel 292. The three test-passages quoted above (p. 453) are rendered here as follows: (1) "e pou sen failli quil noblia dieu . e toute laide nostre seignor por langoisse e por la dolor quil auoit." f. 118 b; (2) "Lors distrent li deable. Il te couuent aler sor ce post (*for* pont) e si tost come tu i serras uenuz . li uenz qe uos gitta en lautre flume [te] flatira en cestui . e nostre compaignon qui la sont te prendront moult tost e te plungeront el plus parfond denfer." f. 118 b, cols. 1–2; (3) "Lors uint li cheualier tot plorant a la porte e il auec lui . e il sen issi hors . mes ce fu contre sa volentee mes la porte fu mult tost close apres lui." f. 120, cols. 1–2.

The translation ends with the story of the adventures of a Monk, told by Gilbert of Louth, as having happened at a time when he was Abbot of Basingwerk (here called "basige heuriere," see f. 120, col. 2). The last words are: "E ge meismes ui les plaies e les senti meinte foiz . E graces e mercis rend a nostre seignur de ce qe ge lenseueli de mes meins." f. 120 b, col. 2.

The full copy of Belet's work, in Additional 17,275, might have been used for the present description. The Purgatory is at ff. 249 b–253. But it has lost a leaf after f. 252; and that leaf must have contained the third of the test-passages. There is another selection from Belet's work (not in the same order as the present selection) in Royal MS. 20 D. vi. The Purgatory is there, beginning at f. 213 b; but it breaks off (just after the first test-passage) at f. 216 b.

Egerton 1993. ff. 119 b–128.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 10, having 42 to 44 lines to a page. With two initials in blue, flourished with red. In a Collection of Lives of the Saints, in *English* verse.

St. Patrick's Purgatory. A metrical version, adapted from the work of Henry of Saltrey; with a few additions in the introductory portion relative to the preaching and the miracles of St. Patrick. In 712 long lines of ballad metre. *English.*

Warton fancied that the collection to which the present article belongs was formed before 1200; but this date was almost a century too early. In the 1840 edition of his *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 18, there is an addition to Note x., by Sir Frederic Madden, saying: "The style and language of these Lives of Saints would lead us at once, from their similarity to the Chronicle ascribed to Robert of Gloucester, to attribute them to the close of the 13th century, and perhaps to the same writer." Most of Madden's remarks have been confirmed by later writers. Aldis Wright, in his Preface to the Rolls edition of the *Chronicle* (1887), says that there were two recensions of that work, neither of them much before 1300; and that the latter was, at least not improbably, written by a Robert, who was a Monk of Gloucester (pp. v–xiv). But further on, Wright says that perhaps "the metrical Lives of the Saints, from which the writer of the Chronicle frequently quotes, . . . have been too hastily attributed to Robert of Gloucester" (p. xxxix). Carl Horstmann, in his Preface to the Lives contained in Laud MS. 108, which he edited for the Early English Text Society (1887), agrees with Wright in the main; but he speaks more confidently. He says that the Lives are not taken from the Legenda Aurea; that perhaps they are rather older, and that the Collection "was the work of many decades of years, . . . most likely the joint work of a whole abbey, that of Gloucester" (p. viii). The Laud MS. represents an early form of the Collection before it was completed, and before it was arranged according to the Calendar. The earliest copy which is complete in both these respects is Harley 2277 (about 1300); but the Harley MS. is mutilated at the beginning, and has thus lost the Patrick's Purgatory.

Horstmann goes on to say that Egerton 1993 has many additions; and that "it generally shortens the lines from septenaries to Alexandrine verses, by omitting words and condensing the sentence; so that it is to be regarded as a separate version" (p. ix).

The introductory portion begins:—

"Seint patrik com þorw god. to prechi in yrlonde
To teche þe riȝt bileue . of ihesu to vnderstonde."
f. 119 b.

It then relates some of the Saint's miracles, his discovery of the Purgatory, and his foundation of the priory. The whole introductory portion is in 88 lines. After telling how the Prior and Canons bring each adventurer to the pit, it ends:—

"Bote he come in certein time aȝen . wiþ gret deol and sore
Heo torneþ aȝan | and siker beþ . þat he ne comeþ na more."
f. 120 b.

The story of Sir Owen then begins:—

"Hit bifel bi king steuens day . þat now late was
Of a kniȝt þat het owein . a wel wonder cas."

The Bridge is at f. 125. There is no Homily. The story of Sir Owen ends:—

"Ac ofte he tolde of þe men . þat in paradis were
As hi̇m þouȝte greiȝe monkes . in mest ioie he seiȝ þere.
None in so grete ioie . ne in so gret honour eseiȝ
No wonder nis sikerliche . vor þe ordre is so heiȝ."
ff. 127 b–128.

This is followed by 8 concluding lines, of which the last 4 are:—

"Bete we our sunnes her . as god wole grace sende
Þat we wiþoute oþer pine . to paradis henne wende
God vs lete oure sunnes bete . vor is holi wounde
So þat we in purgatorie . bileue lutel stounde. Amen."
f. 128.

Published, among other texts of the same poem, by Dr. Carl Horstmann, in his *Altenglische Legenden*, First Series (Paderborn, 1875). Horstmann prints (pp. 151–174) one text from the Ashmolean MS. 43, with various readings from the Cotton MS., Julius D. ix. The present MS. (described, pp. xiii–xvi) follows at pp. 175–6, and after that on every second page, down to 210. The text which he prints on the alternate pages (pp. 177–211) is taken from a Bodleian MS., Laud 108. Horstmann has reprinted the same text in *The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints*, Part i. (containing the whole collection from Laud 108), edited for the Early English Text Society, 1887. The Purgatory is at pp. 199–220.

Cotton, Julius D. ix. ff. 36–44 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 9, having 35 to 38 lines to a page. With an initial in red. In a Collection of Lives of the Saints in *English* verse.

St. Patrick's Purgatory. A metrical version, taken from the work of Henry of Saltrey. In 627 long lines of ballad metre. *English.*

The introductory portion begins:—

"Seint patric com þorou godes grace to prechi in yrlond
To teche men ȝhare riȝt bileue of ihesu crist to onþerstonde."
f. 36.

The narrative begins:—

"Hit bi . fel bi steuene kynges day . þat nou late was
Of a knyȝt þat het oweyn a wel wonþer cas." f. 37 b.

It ends:—

"Ac ofte he tolþe of alle men þat in paradis were
As him douȝte grei monkes in mest ioie he sei dere
Non men in so gret ioie . ne in so gret honour he ne sei.
Ne no wonþer sikerliche . for the ordre is noble and hei."
f. 44 b.

This is followed by six concluding lines, of which the last two are:—

"Beteþ alle 3oure sinne her as god wole 3ou grace sende.
Þat 3e wiþoute oþer pine. to paradis henne wende."

f. 44 b.

This MS. was used by Dr. Carl Horstmann, in his first Series of *Altenglische Legenden* (Paderborn, 1875), pp. 151–174, to furnish various readings to the text which he published from the Ashmolean MS. 43.

Additional 10,301. ff. 41–51.

Vellum; late xivth cent. Small Folio; ff. 11, having 36 lines to a page. With 4 initials in blue, flourished with red. In a collection of Lives of the Saints in *English* verse. This volume formerly belonged to Richard Gough, and he has written inside the cover: "ex libris Ant. Askew M.D. Mar. 10, 1785." Below this a later owner, Richard Heber, has inserted the note: "This book was bound by John Reynes in the reign of Hen. VIII. He probably rebound it, preserving the sculpture in ivory on the original cover. The back was added afterwards." The ivory is of the 14th, or the early 15th cent.; it represents the Crucifixion. The leather is stamped with the initials, and with the bee and other devices, of John Reynes.

St. Patrick's Purgatory. A metrical version, taken from the work of Henry of Saltrey. In 716 long lines of ballad metre. *English.*

The introductory portion begins:—

"Sein patric com þoru godes grace. to prechi in yrlonde
To teche men hor riȝt byleue. of ihesu crist to vnder stonde." f. 41.

The narrative begins:—

"Hyt by fel by one Kynges day. that nou late was
Of a kniȝte þat hete oweyn. a wel wonder cas." f. 42 b.

It ends:—

"Ac ofte he tolde of alle men . þat in paradise were
As him þo3t greye monekes . in mest joye he sey þere
No men in so gret joye . ne so gret honur he ne sey
Ne no wonder sykerliche . for þe ordre is noble and hey."
f. 51.

This is followed by eight concluding lines, of which the last two are:—

"Nou god let vs so oure sinne bete . for is holy wonde
So þat we in purgatorie . by leue lute stonde." f. 51.

Cotton, Caligula A. ii. ff. 91 b–95.

Paper; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 5, in double columns of 40 to 48 lines.

For a general description of the MS., see the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 180, under "Titus and Vespasian." Seven other English poems are described from it in the same vol., for a list of which see p. xi.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY, or OWAIN MILES. A metrical version, taken from the work of Henry of Saltrey. In 682 octosyllabic lines. *English.*

This is the version mentioned by Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (ed. of 1840, vol. ii. p. 462), and analysed by Thomas Wright (with several extracts amounting to 260 lines) in his *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (pp. 64–78). There is another version in the Auchinleck MS., written in six-line stanzas. Eleven of these stanzas (describing the Bridge) were quoted by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. i. (Kelso, 1802), pp. 228–230; and there Scott calls that version the "Legend of Sir Owain." In the list of articles in the Auchinleck MS., prefixed by Scott to his edition of *Sir Tristrem* (1804), No. 7 (at p. cxi) is called "the Legend or Romance of Owain Miles." Again, when Turnbull and David Laing printed the Auchinleck version, they entitled their volume *Owain Miles* (Edinburgh, 1837). But that title was obtained from the present MS.

The poem is headed "Owayne Myles." It begins:—

"God þat ys so full of myght
Þat mendede wronge and made ryght
He sente men vs to wysse
The ryght way to heuen blysse." f. 91 b.

It proceeds to tell how after the Prophets Christ came himself, and was succeeded by the Preachers, one of whom was "seynt patryke." The discovery of the Purgatory is then described, and the establishment of the Priory there. This introductory portion is in 112 lines. After having told how some pilgrims emerged safely, it ends:—

"Some wente yn þat bolde wore
But out come þey neuur more." f. 92.

The story of Sir Owen then begins:—

"In steuenes tyme y vnþurstonde
That was kyng of Inglonde
Ther was a knyȝt men called Oweyn
He was þer yn and come agayn." f. 92.

The bridge is described at ff. 93 b, col. 2–94. The poem, after telling how Owen went to the Holy Land and returned "hole and sownde," ends:—

"And aftur when he wexede olde
And hys body wex vnboolde
He dyede and wente þe ryȝte way
To þe blysse þat lastes aye
To þat blysse he vs brynge
That of all ys lorde and kynge." f. 95, col. 2.

Colophon: "Explycit Owayne."

Published entire, by Eugen Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, Band i. (Heilbronn, 1877), pp. 113–121. Another copy with considerable variations was found "at Brome Hall, Suffolk, belonging to Sir Edward Kerrison, bart."; and it was published by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, *Englische Studien*, Bd. ix. (1886), pp. 3–12. Miss Smith again published it, in her edition of the

Brome MS., entitled *A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century* (Norwich and London, 1886) pp. 82–106. The Auchinleck version was republished by Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, Bd. i. pp. 98–112.

Royal 17 B. xliii. ff. 133–148 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 16, having 23 to 27 lines to a page. With two coloured initials. Preceded by a rude coloured drawing of a sainted Bishop in the act of benediction, surrounded by Fiends and by Souls in torment (f. 132 b). For the full contents of the MS. see above, p. 433.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. The Vision of William Staunton, a native of the County of Durham, as it was seen by him on Friday, 20 September, 1409. *English.*

Heading: "Here begynneth þe reuelacion the which William Stavnton saw in Patrikis purgatorie the friday next After the fest of þe exaltacion of þe crosse in þe yere of owre lord M^l^.CCCC^mo^. ix." The narrative then begins: "Y William Stavnton born in þe bisshopryche of Dereham of englond bi goddes grace entred in to þe purgatorie of seint Patrik in the bisshopriche of Cleghire in Irlande þe viii. owre bifore þe none on the friday next after holyrode day in harvest I was put in by þe prior of seint Mathew [a mistake, Matthew being the name of the Prior, see Royal 10 B. ix. f. 43] of þe same purgatorie with precession and devougte prayers of þe same priour and þe Covent toke me An Orison to blesse me with and to write þe first worde in forehede þe which prayer is this Jhesu Christe fili dei viui miserere michi peccatori.* And þe priour taught me to say this prayer when ony sprit good or evel appered vnto me or when y herd ony noyse þat y shuld be afered of if þei were good sprites or evel." f. 133.

It goes on: "After þat by the techying of þe priour I came to a restyng place of Seint Patrik in þe which he abode the

* The same prayer was taught to Laurentius Ratold, see Royal 10 B. ix. f. 39 b (below, p. 491).

reuelacion of goddes angellis when he passed þat way in his tyme | And there y abode and sumwhat slumbered and slepte | And after y was ware of a litel light a fer as it had be the dayng of þe day | And me thought y sawe a man and a woman boþe cladde in white | The man in a chanons is abite and þe woman in the same abite with a vayle on hir hede as a nonne." ff. 133–133 b. This Canon instructs William what path to follow; and (in reply to a question) he says: "I am cleped in northcontree John of Bridlyngton and so y am and þis woman is seint Ive my suster þat woned in Quitike." f. 134. The Saint Ive, who gave her (or his) name to the parish next to Quethiock (in Cornwall), was of quite uncertain date, and even of uncertain sex.* St. John, a Canon of Bridlington (in Yorkshire), therefore, who died on the 10th October, 1379, could only have used the term sister in a spiritual sense. William is left to walk alone for a time; and more than once he is bewildered by the Fiends, and forgets his prayer; but each time Saint Ive comes to his side and inspirits him. On one occasion he meets the two Saints again, "and a suster of myne" (he says) "þat was dede long tofore in a pestilence tyme and a nothir man which I knewe well þat my suster loved wel whiles thei leved in this world." f. 135. This Sister denounces William for having hindered her marriage. Saint John rebukes him, saying: "y tel the þer nys no man þat letteth man or woman to go to geder in the bond of god þow the man be a sheperd .... he synneth in holy chirche aȝenst god and his cristendome". f. 135 b. Saint John leads William to see the torments of various kinds of sinners. At the end of this Part, William sees a Bishop trying to cross a bridge and falling into a foul black stream, where the Fiends seize him (f. 143 b). This Part ends with the Colophon: "Finis reuelacionum penalium." f. 144.

The second Part begins: "and when seint John had shewid me al þese paynes and many mo þan y can or may tell or bi think y said to him may ther be ony remedi or mytigacion to þese sowles þat be þus ypayned in these diuers paynes and he said thus. William god forbede it els for þow shalt vnderstond þat þese

* In the Inquisition of 1294 the church of this Saint Ive (not Saint Ives) is called "Ecclesia Sancti Ivonis in Decanatu de Eastwellshire": see the *Parochial History of Cornwall*, vol. ii. (Truro, 1868), p. 244.

sowles may be holpen owt of þese paynes principallich bi the mercy of god and bi þe good dedis þat her frendes and þe people levyng in þe world may do for hem as to lernyd men as bi masses singyng saing of sawters placebo and dirige commendacions . vii. salmes and the . xv psalmes with þe letenye bi almes dede and bi pilgrimage | And also bi lewidmen with þe Pater noster þe Aue Maria and þe Crede almesdede fastyng and pilgrimage," etc. f. 144. William is now left alone. He comes to the black stream, but he misses the bridge. At last he sees a tower on the other side of the stream, and a fair Woman standing upon it. He kneels down and says 5 Pater-Nosters, in memory of the 5 wounds of Christ; and 5 Aves, in memory of the 5 Joys of the Virgin. f. 145. A ladder descends from the tower across the water; and, though at first the rungs are too sharp for his hands and feet, by repeating his prayer and repeating his efforts he steadies himself, and the Woman helps him up to the tower. She leads him down into a fair country, "and al the erthe of þat contree was clere as cristal stone." He meets "a faire company of monkis channons and pristes clothid al in white"; and presently they are joined by a Bishop. f. 146. The Bishop tells William that he must return home; but that before he goes, he shall witness the trial of a prioress. "And there were wonder many fendes aboute þat sowle." f. 147 b. They accuse her of wearing silver girdles and silver shoe-buckles; of eating and drinking daintily, and of lying late in bed, "not daynyng hir for to arise to goddis servis." She has nothing to answer; "and þan þe bisshop enioyned hir to payne enduryng evermore til þe day of dome." f. 148. The Bishop gives William his blessing, and adds: "And lyve rightfully and yow shalt come to ever lestyng ioy and drede þe noght of thi way as thow passist home warde for thow shalt see none evil sprites that shul disese the thow shalt not faile of the way." ff. 148–148 b. The work then goes on to the end, thus: "and with that y toke my leue . anone y was at the dore where y went first ynne. Wherfore al cristen men þat heryn or redyn this I beseche yow for the loue of god þat ye haue me in yowr praier And ye shul be yn myne." f. 148 b. Colophon: "Explicit."

An account of the present article, with several extracts from it, has been printed by Thomas Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (London, 1844), pp. 140–151.

Additional 34,193. ff. 99–100 b, 106–106 b, 119 b–125 b.

Vellum; late xvth cent. Folio; ff. 10, in double columns, of 33 to 34 lines.

The whole volume, for a fuller description of which see the *Catalogue of Additions*, 1888–92, contains: (1) Two charters confirming privileges to St. Peter's, York. *Lat.* ff. 2, 3 b. (2) Pilgrimage of the Soul, with coloured drawings. *Engl.* f. 5. (3) Tale of St. James and the sorcerer Hermogines. *Lat.* f. 99. (4) The present article. ff. 99, 106, 119 b. (5) De Spiritu Guidonis. At the end is a note, in *Latin*, of the conspiracy of Lord Soulis against Robert Bruce (1320). f. 101. (6) Hymns in *Latin*, with *English* translations in 110 7-line stanzas. Beg. "O first fownder and hevenly creature." f. 107. (7) Account by Edmund Leversegge, of Frome, co. Somerset, of a vision he saw when supposed to be dead of the plague, May, 1465. *Engl.* f. 126. (8) Rules for a Hermit, in 17 chapters. *Engl.* f. 131. (9) Liber de moralibus philosophorum: sayings translated into *English* by Anthony Wydeville, Earl of Rivers, and printed by Caxton, as *Dictes of the Philosophers*, 1477. f. 137. (10) "Epistola beati Barnardi ad Raimundum nepotem suum militem," on the care of a household. f. 202. (11) Report of a church synod at Westminster, 9th Sept. 1125. *Lat.* f. 202 b. (12) Epistle of "Baltizar . . . Soudayn of Surry, Emp[er]our of Babulon," etc. f. 203 b. (13) Catonis Disticha; with *Engl.* paraphrases in 7-line stanzas. f. 204. (14) Religious poem, beg. "Howe holsum and glade is the memory" and breaking off imperfectly at the end of 44 7-line stanzas. ff. 223 b–228 b.

St. Patrick's Purgatory. The Vision of William Staunton, seen by him (according to the present copy) on Easter Day [11 April], 1406. *English.*

The copy in Royal 17 B. xliii. gives the date of the Vision as Friday, 20 Sept. 1409; and the differences between that text and this are generally in favour of the former. Thus, William is here called "of Stranton," instead of "William Staunton." Again, the Purgatory is said in the Royal MS. to be in the bishoprick of "Cleghire" (Clogher), whereas here it is said to be in the bishoprick of "Jalcet." Another change is probably, though not so palpably, wrong. In the Royal MS. Staunton (himself a Northumbrian) meets his two patron saints, John of Bridlington (in Yorkshire) and Ive of Quethiock (in Cornwall). The association of these two names could hardly have occurred, as a correction, to a mere copyist; and it is more probable that John

of Bridlington spoke the truth when he said to Staunton (according to the Royal version, f. 134), "þu hast often tymes comen to me whare my body ligh[eth] and to my suster here seint Eve more disesyng þe þan owre comyng dothe vs." In the present copy the virgin saint is called "Hylde of Whytby" (a name not unlikely to be due to a guess); and the corresponding passage runs: "Thow hast often cum to me . wher my body lyes . and to my syster Sant Hylde that more desesyd þe then owre cumynge doose huse" (f. 100, col. 2). On the other hand, the Royal MS. wrongly speaks of the Prior of "seint Mathew"; whereas here it is the Prior himself who is correctly called "Matheus" (cf. Royal 10 B. ix. f. 43).

The present article is in three portions, each beginning on a blank space left in a page of another article. The first portion is headed:—"Here begynnes the boke of Wyllyam of Stranton the weche berys wyttenes of sothefastenes . and of alle ferdfulle Juges . the whiche he herde and saw . when he was in patrike purgatory. In the ȝere of owre lorde M̊CCCC̊. and VI." f. 99, col. 2. The work then begins: "In the name of Gode Amen. I Wyllamm of Stranton borne in the bysschoppryke of Dorham in ynglonde . thorht goddys grace enterde in to purgatory of saynt Patrike in the bysshoppryke off Jalcet in Irelande on Ester day the viii^te owre before none. And I was putt in by þe Prior Matheus keper of the same purgatory with procession and deuote prayers of the same Prior . and Conente . the wheche techyd me on orisoun to blysse me wythe And to wrytte the fyrst worde in my forhede weche is thys Jhesu fili dei miserere. mei. And the Prior taughe (*sic*) me to say thys orysoun . when any sprette gud or evyll apperyde to me Or yf I herde any noyse þat I shulde be aferde of." ff. 99–99 b. It will be observed that the "orisoun" differs a little from that in Royal 17 B. xliii, and from the same in Royal 10 B. ix. The first portions ends: "and ther I mett agayn sant Johnn and sant Hylde and a syster of myne owne þat was dede And an other man weche I knewe well luffyde my syster in hyr lyffe. Then I com and dyde worschyppe to sant Jon a[n]d santt Hylde Then sant Johnn sayde to me Wyllamm," f. 100 b, col. 2 (see Royal 17 B. xliii. f. 135, foot of the page). The sentence is continued in the second portion, which begins: "þu was grettely aferde of evyll sprettes," f. 106. The second portion breaks off, in a description of Women tormented

for finery, with these words: "And wemen with gownys traylyng by hynde . a mekyll space," f. 106 b, col. 2 (see Royal 17 B. xliii. f. 136 b, lines 8–9). The sentence is continued in the third portion, which begins: "And other with gaye chappelettes on þer heddys of golde and perlle and other precyvse stones." f. 119 b. There is no formal division here into two Parts; but the passage that in the Royal MS. (f. 144) begins Part 2 is here as follows: "And when sant Jon hade schewyd me thyes horrabyl paynes," f. 123 b, col. 2. The third portion breaks off, in the middle of the discourse of a Bishop, when he has just concluded the trial of a Prioress, with these words: "Alas alas þat wardely men wyl nat take hede with all ther myght. How mekyll kyndenes and mercy owre lorde Jhesu criste hase schewyde vnto all vnkynde wrechys in erthe. That euery day feghttes agayn hym and agayn hys cummandementes. Ande synnys in þe vii dedely synnys and ther v inwyttes. Weche vnkynde saulys be callyde vnwytty . for ther wyttes turnes them to foly. For god ordende them to gett them hevyn with them And thay purches them helle. For þer" . . . f. 125 b, col. 2. In this last passage the text (instead of being, as usual, more condensed) is fuller here than in Royal 17 B. xliii. (f. 148, lines 13–16). About a dozen lines more would have completed the copy.

Royal 10 B. ix. ff. 36 b–44 b.

Paper; end of xvth cent. Folio; ff. 9, having 32 to 38 lines to a page. Written, in a scrivener's hand, in the early part of a commonplace-book, which contains Forms of Letters, etc., in *French* and *Latin*; *Latin* translations from Greek by Leonardo Aretino; and Treatises by various authors of the Renaissance. Formerly owned by Archbishop Cranmer, and afterwards by John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. Visit paid there in 1411 by Laurentius Ratold of Pasztho, an Hungarian Noble; recorded by James Yonge, a Notary of Dublin. In 13 chapters, not numbered but distinguished by headings. With a Proem. *Latin.*

In Johann Siebmacher's *Wappenbuch*, Band iv. Heft 15 (2), (Nuremberg, 1888), p. 483, under "Pásztóhy," it is said that

"Stefan de Genere Ratold" received Paszthó (in County Heves) as a donation in 1265. Again, some further mention of the "Genus Rathold" in Hungary occurs in the same volume, p. 535. The Laurentius Ratold of the present MS. received a letter of commendation from Sigismond, King of Hungary (elected Emperor in 1410), dated 10 Jan. 1408, styling him "Laurencius Ratholdi de Pastoth, magister dapiferorum et supremus dispensator," and stating that he was setting out on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella and to St. Patrick's Purgatory (ff. 37 b–38).

The Proem is headed: "Prohemium memoriale super visitatione domini Laurencij Ratholdi militis et baronis Vngarie factum de Purgatorio sancti Patricij in Insula Hibernie." f. 36 b. It begins: "Postquam almificus vniuersorum creator omni carens cuiuscunque eternaliter egestate / suamque volens infinitam protendere bonitatem / mundum fecerat vniuersum / ut demum in errorem oues errantes diabolica fraude seductas sue passionis misterio in veritatis viam dignaretur ineffabiliter reuocare / diuersa sanctorum vias et loca propter sue veritatis testimonium vt ignorancie velamen toto depelleret orbe / variis fecit choruscare miraculis duraturis. Inter que locum qui dicitur purgatorium miraculosi confessoris sancti Patricij Hiberniensis apostoli / virtutis sue potencia dignatus est mirabiliter operari." ff. 36 b–37. After 5 lines more the Proem ends: "tunc inter alios dampnandos miserimis dicat Hibernicis quod scriptum est Ve . ve . quibus prius datum est sentire quam credere." Ch. i. is headed: "Querimonia contra incredulos . etc." It ends: "Scimus enim nostro tempore dictum locum plures cursu preoptato visitasse paucos autem sanctitatis pretextu realiter intrasse De quorum vero paucorum numero laurencius prenotatus tempore serenissimi Henrici quarti Regis Anglie post conquestum / Anno regni sui duodecimo qui post mortem strenuorum T[homæ] filii . Regis . E[dwardi] ducis Gloucestrie . ac T[homæ] comitis Arundelie flebili consilio nuper Ricardi Regis Anglie indebite peremptorum iuxta Merlini propheciam dispersos greges in amissam pascuam reuocabit locum supradictum personaliter introiuit." f. 37 b. The date just given does not exactly agree with that given further on (f. 42 b), namely 1411. Ch. ii. is headed: "De aduentu militis ad ciuitatem dublinensem et de litteris Vngarie." It contains the commendatory letter of King Sigismond. Ch. iii. is headed: "De aduentu militis ad Primatem Hiberniensem necnon de pere-

grinacione ad ciuitatem dublinensem." f. 38. Ch. iv. is headed: "De aduentu militis ad Priorem Purgatorij et hortacione eiusdem Prioris etc." f. 38 b. Ch. v. is headed: "Descripcio insule Purgatorij et introitus eiusdem . etc." f. 39. It concludes with a description, how Ratold entered the Purgatory, burning one portion of a wax candle divided into nine, and repeating the words that were to scare the Fiends: "Domine Ihesu Christe Fili dei viui miserere michi peccatori." f. 39 b. The same prayer had been taught to William Staunton (see above, p. 484). Ch. vi. is headed: "De prima Visione Militis in spelunca." f. 40. Chapp. vii., viii., ix. are headed: "De secunda Visione," etc., "De tercia," and "De quarta Visione militis." ff. 40, 40 b, 41. In Chapp. vii. and viii. he sees Fiends in various shapes; but his trials are very small, compared with those of Sir Owen. In Ch. ix. he meets an Angel, who salutes him "lingua ebreica," saying "Slam alecha" (*i.e.* Shālōm 'Ālēchā) "quod interpretatur pax super te." This Angel is Saint Michael, the chosen Patron of Laurentius Ratold, and he leads him within sight of a valley, full of purgatorial flames. Laurentius sees nearly all his dead friends there (two of whom are named further on, at f. 43 b); but he does not see either Hell or Paradise. He is led by Saint Michael back to the door, and is released by the Prior. The date is here given as 1411 (f. 42 b, last line but one); but this does not exactly agree with that given at f. 37 b (l. 5), where it is said to be in the 12th year of Henry IV. (30 Sept. 1410—29 Sept. 1411), whereas Martinmas (see f. 40, l. 8) in 1411 would belong to the 13th year of Henry IV. Ch. x. is headed: "De aduentu militis ad Ciuitatem Dublinensem." f. 43. Ch. xi. is headed: "De littera Primatis Hiberniensis." f. 43. It is a statement by Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh, that he has received the enclosed letter from Matthew, "Prior Purgatorij sancti Patricij Clothof Raynes diocesi" (the Priory being by this time in the diocese of Clogher). The Prior certifies that Ratold had passed a night in the Purgatory; and that amongst the sufferers whom he had seen were "Georgius filius Grofani (*or perhaps* Grifani) militis de partibus vngarie et Eugenius dictus Obrian de Anglia." This letter is dated "in Insula sanctorum" (one of the names given to the Island of the Purgatory) "Feria quinta post diem sancti Martini." St. Martin's day (11 Nov.) was that year on a Wednesday; and therefore the Thursday after it must have been the 12th. The Chapter ends

with the author's naming himself: "ego Jacobus Yonge notarius Imperialis ciuium et scriptorum minimus Ciuitatis Dublinensis predicti huius memorialis compilator indignus," etc. f. 43 b. Ch. xii. is headed: "De questione compilatoris huius memorialis ad militem etc." f. 43 b. It ends with Ratold's own opinion about the substantial reality of his visions, thus: "De visionibus autem quas in dicto purgatorio vidi vtrum corporaliter eas vidi dico sicut sanctus Paulus dixit Raptus fui vtrum extra corpus nescio deus scit. Sed proba[bi]lius michi videtur quod corpore verius raptus fui quam extra corpus cum ego nouem pecias cerei mei vnam continue post aliam illuminarem et cremarem quousque de spelunca loci purgatorii exiuissem." f. 44. Ch. xiii. is headed: "De commendacione dei et militis etc." Ratold is here said to be versed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and in other branches of learning. It ends: "Et laudes assint inscrutabili sapiencie dei summi qui presens memoriale ad finem perducere dignabatur. Qui pios inde legentes corporis et anime tribuat sanitatem regnans per omnia secula seculorum Amen." ff. 44–44 b.

In Harris's ed. of *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware*, vol. ii. pt. ii. (1746), p. 88, in an account of the "Writers of Ireland," it is said: "James Young, or Junius, a Notary-Publick of the City of Dublin, writ Monita Politica de bono Regimine, to James, Earl of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (An. 1407), and a History of the Pilgrimage of Laurence Rathold, a Knight, and Baron of Hungary, to Saint Patrick's Purgatory, An. 1411."

Cotton, Cleopatra C. xi. ff. 49–69 b.

Vellum; early XIIIth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 21, in double columns of 32 to 38 lines. The volume is written in different hands, but the first 3 articles at least originally belonged to the same MS. It contains:— (1) Liber de Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus, by Eadmer (see Migne, vol. clix., col. 605). With initials in red and green, and a few miniatures. f. 2. (2) The present article. f. 49. (3) Treatise on the faculties of the mind, and on sciences, etc. f. 70. (4) Treatise on cloistral life. f. 78. (5, 6) Sermons on Ecclesiasticus, xxvi. 23, and without a text. ff. 106, 110 b–121 b. At the top of f. 2 is inscribed, in a hand of about 1520, "Liber abbathie de Dore / J. Exon." Dore Abbey (in Herefordshire) was dissolved in 1539–40, when John Voysey (*al.* Harman) was Bishop of Exeter (1519–51).

VISION OF THE MONK OF EYNSHAM. Story of the Vision of Purgatory and Paradise, which was revealed by St. Nicholas to Edmund, a monk of Eynsham (in Oxfordshire), from the night before Good Friday till the end of Easter Eve (April 18–20), 1196. Written in the same year by Adam, Sub-Prior of Eynsham. In 33 chapters, indicated by initials in red and green. With a Prologue. Imperfect, a leaf being lost after f. 61. *Latin.*

In the Preface to the Vision of Thurkill, written soon after 1206, (see below, p. 512) the author (almost certainly Ralph of Coggeshall) makes mention of St. Patrick's Purgatory and of Tundal, and then he says: "And yet another vision has been clearly recorded, which was seen in the monastery of Einesham in the year 1196; and Adam, the subprior of the monastery, a most grave and religious man, wrote this narrative in an elegant style, even as he heard it from the mouth of him whose soul had been disembodied for two days and nights. I do not believe that such a man, so religious and so learned, would have written these statements until they had been sufficiently tested; he being at that time, moreover, chaplain to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, a most holy man; and Thomas, Prior of Binham [in Norfolk], who was then Prior of Einesham, and who examined the evidence closely, has since assured me that he feels no more doubt of the truth of the vision than of the crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so much I have wished to say, because many of the Einesham

monks decry the vision; but every revelation is doubted of by some." Adam left Eynsham, and resided at Lincoln with Bishop Hugh for the last three years and five days of the bishop's life (12 Nov. 1197—16 Nov. 1200). He became Abbot of Eynsham in 1213. About this time he wrote the Life of Bishop Hugh, who became St. Hugh in 1220. He was deposed from his abbacy in 1228; but he was still alive in 1232. See the Biography prefixed by the Rev. James F. Dimock to his *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis* (Rolls Series, London, 1864), pp. xxxiv.–xliv.

No name is given to the Visionary in the present version, but in the other version (in Cotton, Caligula A. viii.) he is called Edmund. He is here only a poor sickly young Monk, in a certain monastery. The Prologue gives the date of 1196; and the narrative tells that Easter was approaching, when the young Monk recovered a little strength and was able to stir about, with the help of a staff. But on Good Friday (19 April), as the others are going to Matins, they find him prostrate in the Chapter-House. Meanwhile, the great Crucifix, which had been taken down on Ash Wednesday from above the altar, and laid upon the chapel floor, is found to have fresh bloody marks on the wounds of the Image; and the staff and the shoes of the young Monk are lying beside it. He is put to bed; and he lies in a trance till the hour of Complines on Easter Eve (20 April). At length he opens his eyes; and he tells portions of his Vision to different Fathers at different times. This Introduction is here divided into 3 chapters, ff. 49 b–51 b, col. 2. (In the English translation they are the first 8 chapters). His story then follows. He has been visited in a dream many weeks before by a most venerable personage, who has promised him a sight of the other worlds; and now the same personage (who proves to be St. Nicholas) meets him in the Chapter-House, and leads him to view some of the places of torment. He sees the Soul of a Harlot rescued by St. Margaret (f. 54 b). He sees a Knight mangled by a sparrow-hawk, for his over-love of sport (f. 61 b, col. 2). He sees a figure in fiery armour, of one who had been the most powerful of princes (doubtless Henry II.), mounted upon a horse snorting fumes of pitch and sulphur (f. 62, col. 2). But most of those whom he notes are old acquaintances of his own, people of religion. He sees three Bishops; but in the middle of the chapter describing

their sufferings (f. 61 b, col. 2) a leaf is lost.* He does not mention any names, either of place or person.† At length St. Nicholas leads him away from the three places of Purgatory, and into the Earthly Paradise (f. 66, l. 27). And here he takes no note of any one, except in the case of a Priest, or a Monk or Nun. St. Nicholas now tells him it is time to return (f. 68 b, l. 22, etc.). And, whilst the Saint is still speaking to him, the young Monk hears a peal of bells, as if all the bells in the world were chiming together (f. 68 b, col. 2, l. 10). He wakes up, and sees the brethren round his bed. The author inserts here a chapter, to show that the vision must have been ordained by God, especially noting the miraculous cure of an ulcer in the young Monk's leg, whilst he was lying in the trance. A short concluding chapter tells what joy it gave the young Monk ever after to hear a chime of bells (ff. 69, col. 2–69 b).

The present text was very much abridged, and in that form it was inserted in the Chronicles of Wendover and Matthew Paris, under the year 1196. It seems evident also that a French poem was founded upon it. The poem has been lost; but in the course of the 13th century it had been turned back into Latin, and a copy of the latter text is preserved in the Cotton collection (Caligula A. viii., ff. 192–209 b). An English translation was printed by William de Machlinia (it is supposed) about 1482. It follows the present text, as a general rule, very faithfully; but it bears the title of *a meruelous reuelacion .... to a monke of Euyshamme.* A few passages will presently be quoted in order to compare the four texts together.

The Prologue is as follows :—

"Usu notissimum habetur quod diem terris sole post tenebras noctium reptante . paulatim umbrarum densitas lumine succedente atteritur . donec pleno fulgore facies terre et rerum forme illustrentur . et sic uideri incipiant que uisum penitus latuerant . uisa etiam certa agnicione comprehendantur . que in luce dubia uideri ut cunque sed discerni certius nequibant. Totus autem mundus inuoluitur tenebris . in aliis tanquam in profunda nocte funditus caligans ; in aliis uelud in crepusculo dubie uidens. Aderit post

* It may be concluded from the English version (ch. xxxvi.) that the principal portion here missing is a chapter relating to Baldwin (not so named, but evidently alluded to as) the crusading Archbishop of Canterbury (1185–90). See further on, p. 500.

† Unless the lost passage was an exception. But even there the designation of "canturbery" may have been supplied by the translator; just as "englond" has been supplied by him, when describing the king on horseback.

hec ueri manifestacio diei . cum scilicet in regno patris eorum gaudebunt omnes electi . beata immortalitate felices . solem iusticie perpetuo cernentes. Aurora huius diei . est . resurrectio uniuersorum ; et iudicii tempus . quo uere diuidetur lux a tenebris . iusti uidelicet ab impiis. Tunc nox in diem commutabitur ; ut modo fidei merito et deuocionis a deo cognoscimur ; dum in eum credimus et eum non uidentes . iam cognoscamus eum sicut ab eo cogniti sumus . ipsum facie ad faciem contemplantes. Uti . uero . de die mundi premisimus quod occulis iugiter cernimus ; quia ipso iam iam terris imminente ; noctis umbra tenuatur . et uicine lucis candor magis ac magis aperitur . sic nimirum eterne uicinitas diei mundi . scilicet fine quasi obscurissime noctis termino instante lucis sue gratiam euidencius aperire ubique pene terrarum cepit . et fiunt passim mire uite future reuelaciones . ut ea que patres per fidem cernebant in speculo et enigmate ; nunc manifesta reuelatione ab aliis quidem uideantur . et audita per illos qui uiderunt ; ab aliis conscius (*sic*) agnoscantur. Plura etiam huic seculo inaudita et quasi ab occulis in hac mortalitate degencium penitus occulta ; ipsis reuelationibus producuntur in lucem . et fiunt certa que dubia erant . et que prorsus latuerant ; claris uisibus exponuntur . Legimus sane multas temporibus patrum de statu seculi uenturi factas reuelationes . et ab ipsis sanctis patribus successure posteritatis noticie stili beneficio transmissas. Legimus quoque nonullas huiusmodi manifestationes que nostris diebus et reuelate sunt diuersis ; et per fideles excepte . scriptoque mandate personas quibus et fides non incertis roboretur argumentis . animetur spes . karitas inflametur. Maxime autem inicium sapientie . scilicet timor domini adquiratur . cautela quoque augeatur . que in uite presentis lubrico gressum dirigit . et a lapsu protegit tendencium ad patriam ; superne hereditatis. Uidetur dominus secundum quod peciit ab abraham diues in inferno sepultus ut in omnibus et suis prospiciat amicis ad salutem ; et inimicis omnem auferat excusationem . non eo solum contentus esse . quod moysen et prophetas . apostolos etiam et uiros apostolica sanctitate illustres ad preparanda mortalium et excitanda torpencium corda seculo concessit . nisi etiam ea que apud inferros (*sic*) sunt uiuentibus in hoc mundo innotescat . queque etiam in locis penalibus perferant ; qui hic maculas pecaminum minus diluerunt . et quanta felicitate perfruantur qui labe uitiorum discussa superni aditum regni in regione amenitatis et lucis . in loco quietis et suauitatis beata expectatione prestolantur. De hiis enim que super celos sunt ubi exultant iusti in conspectu dei sicut multa et ineffabilia bona credere omnibus fidelibus et plerisque contemplari permissum est. Sic de ipsis aliquid pro excellencia rem digne referre omni creature que in terris consistit inpossibile est. Igitur ut magnis uiris quibus et sanctitatis merito et auctoritatis eorum priuilegio paruitas mea et conditionis ordine et deuotionis affectu usquequaque addicta et obnoxia habetur pro uiribus satisfaciam qui id oneris mihi inperito ineuitabili prescriptu obediencie imponunt ; quedam ualde preclara et ut nonnullorum se habet estimatio ad tocius catholice matris ecclesie consolationem et edificationem atque instructionem multorum si fideliter audiantur eficacissima que in quodam notissimo mihi monasterio contigisse anno presenti qui est uerbi incarnati annus millesimus . centesimus Nonagesimus sextus . certissime agnoui . utpote quibus interfui . et que fratri cuidam in uisione ostensa sunt ex parte scribere disposui. Et hinc quidem summis uotis fidelium edificationem quos presenti relatione letificandos spero exoptans ; hinc etiam serui inertis

pigri notam et penam euitare satagens. Hanc namque inminere michi pertimescerem si conseruos tante edificationis stirpe ingrato silentio fraudarem. De ueritate autem dicendorum fidelium nemo dubitare maluerit quia sciens perdendos a domino omnes qui loquuntur mendacium magis silerem funditus quam quicquam obnoxium mendaciis scriptitando. tot ipse primo menciens redderem falsiloquos quot fore contingeret scripti nostri narratores." ff. 49–49 b.

The introductory narrative begins:—

Cotton, Cleop. C. xi. (f. 49 b, cols. 1–2).

"In quodam igitur cenobio iuuenis quidam nuper ad uitam monesticam fedeli deuotione a seculi uanitate conuersus. qui circa primordia conuersionis sue uehementer egrotare incipiens per annum integrum et menses tres graui corporis inualitudine laborans cibi et potus abhominationes ita incurerat. ut per nouem aliquando dies uel eo amplius nichil preter modicum aque calide perciperet."

Fifteenth century English.

"In a monasterye callyd Euyssham there was a certen yong man turnyd wyth feythfull deuocyon fro thys worldys vanyte to the lyfe of a monke the whiche abowte the begynnyng of his conuersion fylle yn to a grete and a greuys sekenes and by the space of . xv. monthys was sore labouryd with gret febulnes and wekenes of body. Also hys stomake abhortyd so gretly mete and drynke that sum tyme by the space of . ix. days or more he myght resceyue noo thyng but a lytyl warme watyr."

Abridgment in Wendover.*

"Circa dies istos monachus quidam Eineshamensis cœnobii in languorem decidens per annum integrum et tres menses vehementi corporis molestia vexabatur, qui cibi potusque abominationem adeo incurrerat, ut per novem aliquando dies vel amplius nil præter modicam aquæ calidæ susciperet portionem."

Second version, in Cotton, Caligula A. viii. (f. 192).

"In quodam monasterio de eynesham regni Anglie erat quidam monachus uir simplex et rectus ac timens deum et recedens a malo. castus et humilis et obediens erat obsequiis diuinis uigiliis et oracionibus ac ceteris operibus bonis die et nocte insistens corpus suum spiritum seruire ieiuniis. abstinencia et laboribus coegit indesinenter ad nichil aliud preterquam ad cultum diuinum deuocior et sancte religionis obseruancias intentus. Et quia piissimus pater et redemptor noster flagellat omnem filium quem recipit hunc filium suum electum ex milibus ad augmentum mercedis sue graui corporis ualitudine per annum integrum et menses tres flagellari permisit."

* Rolls edition, vol. i. (1886), p. 246. The passage is there a little closer to the passage in the full text than it is in the Rolls edition of Matthew Paris, vol. ii. (1874), p. 423. The Rolls editor of Wendover, H. G. Hewlett, printed "Eveshamensis" in his text, but he corrected it into "Eineshamensis" in vol. iii. (1889), pp. xlvi and 187.

The narrative of the Young Monk begins:—

Cleop. C. xi. (f. 51 b, col. 2).

"Cum inquit et graui et prolixa sicut uidistis tabescerem . ualitudine corporis et ore spiritu atque animo dominum benedicerem et gratias illi referrem quod me indignum paterno uerbere castigare . dignaretur."

Calig. A. viii. (f. 192 b).

"Dulcissimi fratres hanc egritudinem quam ut uidistis multo tempore passus sum cum omni pacientia sustinui assidue gratias agens deo qui me tanquam unum ex filiis suis corripere dignatus est."

The Abridgment in Wendover (vol. i., p. 249) begins: "Cum, inquit, gravi et prolixa, sicut vidistis, corporis infirmitate deficerem," etc. The English translation (ch. ix.) begins: "Sothely he seyde whan y was laborid as ye sawe me with greuys and longe wekenes of body," etc.

When the Fiends are tossing the soul of the Harlot to and fro like a ball, it is said:—

Cleop. C. xi. (f. 54 b, col. 2).

"Et tamen ut ipse deus testis est . hec tanta talia tormenta tam uere quam seue irrogabant illi . pertulit illa ego conspexi. Neque enim ut carnalium oculorum natura consuevit eorum superficiem tantummodo qui uidebantur perstringebat obtutus . sed que in occultis bona uel mala senciebant ⁊ qui afficiebantur letis aut tristibus ⁊ omnia intuenti peruia fuerunt atque conspicua."

Calig. A. viii. (f. 195, l. 9).

"Deum qui omnia nouit testem inuoco quod non mencior . quia hec omnia uidi . non tamen sicut homo mortalis . sed quasi separatus a carne reuelacioneque diuina tam illius anime quam ceterarum occulta cordium consciencias spem et opera bona ac mala manifeste uidi et agnoui."

A band of heavenly Virgins appears, and the Fiends fall to the ground.

Cleop. C. xi. (f. 54 b, col. 2–55).

"Lux repente de sublimi celorum cardine copiosa emicuit . cuius ebetati radiis predicti tenebrarum ministri qui eam uehebant ad terram cum illa pariter dilabuntur. Cum . luce . uero premissa multitudo decendit uirginum niueis uestibus auro et margaritis intermicantibus refulgencium."

Calig. A. viii. (f. 195).

"Magna namque claritas de celo descendens exterruit eos et in terram ruere ac immobiles stare coegit. In ipsa uero claritate simul affuit gloriosa quedam et speciosa comitiua uirginum bissinis et aureis uestibus gemmis interlucentibus amictarum."

St. Margaret herself appears, and scourges the Fiends away with the sleeve of her dress: "quasi flabello de manica sua facto" (Cleop. C. xi., f. 55, col. 2, l. 11). This is correctly rendered

by the English writer: "and made of her sleue a maner of a schorge" (ch. xviii.); but the second Latin version, deriving the phrase from the French, has confused the image: "et percuciens eos uirga quam in manu tenebat exteritos effugauit" (f. 195, ll. 32–3). It is then said of the Fiends:—

Cleop. C. xi. (f. 55, col. 2).	Calig. A. viii. (f. 195).
"Qui mox ut solent musce acte turbinibus hac illacque diffugiunt."	"et quasi muscas raptas a uento turbinis penitus ambigebat."

St. Margaret then points out a trench of boiling water, in which the Sinner must sit, until she has purged away her sins. The chapter ends:—

Cleop. C. xi. (f. 55, col. 2).	Calig. A. viii. (ff. 195–195 b).
"Dici uero non potest quam hilaris et gaudens peccatrix illa exceperit sentenciam. in quam sic debitam agnouit iram ut indebitam sentiret clemenciam. Ita uirginalis acies specioso seque digno potita trihumpho celo recipitur."	"quo audito anima illa gaudens et illaris immensas sue liberatrici gratias egit in aquam bullientem intrauit promissum expectans solacium et tempore suo sibi collatum per intercessionem beate uirginis Margarete. cui laus sit eterna."

This passage is thus rendered into English: "Treuly hit can not be seyde howe ioifully this synful woman toke tho wordys seyde to her in the whiche sche knewe an ende of her due penanse and afterward myght fele the goodnes and mercy of God. So than thys vyctoryose dede done þat glorius sight* of vyrgynys ascendyt vppe to heuyn" (end of ch. xviii.).

Wendover has omitted most of the personal interviews and scenes, including the rescue of the Harlot by St. Margaret. But of that which follows, the interview with a Goldsmith who died drunk, there is a very brief abstract in Wendover (vol. i. p. 256). Indeed, the only other individual Shade in Wendover is the "Legista," whom the English translation calls "a doctour a lawe that was a sodemyte" (ch. xxvi.). In the present text the passage begins: "Itaque licet quantum potui que ibi fiebant refugerem intueri:" (Cleop. C. xi., ff. 58, col. 2–58 b); and in Wendover's abridgment, except that "itaque" is changed into "verum," the

* Dame Juliana Bernes (or, at least, one of the authors of the *Boke of St. Alban's*), in the List of the "companyes of bestes," records the phrase of 'a bomynable syght of monkes."

first words are the same (vol. i. p. 259). In the other text it begins: "[I]n parte predicta quendam clericum tam iuris canonici quam ciuilis agnoui" (Caligula A. viii., f. 197 b). The gap in Cleopatra C. xi. after f. 61 occurs in the middle of a description of the second of three Bishops. It is here said that he "continencie cingulo aliquando negligencius usus est" (f. 61 b, col. 2). The same meaning is much more verbosely expressed in the other MS. (Calig. A. viii., f. 201 b). The present MS. goes on to say that this unchaste Bishop obtained some relief owing to his having turned monk before he died, and the passage breaks off at the words: "Profuit multum inter alia satisfactionis bona quod calcate prelationis ambitu ꝛ humilem monachorum" . . . . (f. 61 b, col. 2). The English text says that "he lefte the honowre and dignyte of hys byshoprye, and toke apon hym the meke habette of a monke" (ch. xxxv.). The passage is not very different in the second Latin text (Calig. A. viii., f. 201 b). The missing leaf must also have contained an account of the Archbishop of Canterbury who had been punished for worldly-mindedness, but whose pains were alleviated by St. Thomas of Canterbury, in whose honour this Archbishop had founded a Hospital for Pilgrims in the Holy Land (English text, ch. xxxvi.); and to this it is added in the second Latin version that he died "in terra syrie" (Calig. A. viii., f. 202 b, l. 6). This, of course, must have been Baldwin (Archbishop, 1185–90). The passage about the King (who is not named, nor even said to be king of England, in either of the Latin versions) begins in the present MS.: "Quid uero de principe quodam quem inter tocius mundi principes uidimus potentissimum dicam" (Cleop. C. xi. f. 62, col. 2). He is clad in red-hot armour; and he is seated on a horse "piceam ore et naribus flammam cum fumo et fetore tartareo iugiter in supplicio sessoris efflanti" (f. 62 b). The English translation begins: "But what schal y sey of a certen prynce and sum tyme king of englond þat y sawe the whyche in his lyfe was ful myghty amonge al the princys of thys world" (ch. xli.). It goes on: "He sate apon an horse, that blewe owte of her mowthe and nose a flame blacke as pycche. medylde whyt a smoke and stenche of helle.yn to the greuys torment of hym that sate aboue." The other Latin version begins: "[D]e quodam principe in diebus suis in terra potentissimo," etc. It says of the snorting of the horse: "de cuius ore hiante flamma uehemens et

de naribus fumus fetidissimus effundebatur ꝛ" (Calig. A. viii., f. 203 b). In both versions the King complains of the neglect of his Sons and his Favourites, but hopes to be released by the prayers of the Ecclesiastics. This is doubtless Henry II., who died seven years before the Vision. Near the end of the young Monk's narrative the peal of bells is thus described:—

Cleop. C. xi. (f. 68 b, col. 2).

"Dum adhuc mecum talia loqueretur ꝛ [he is alluding to St. Nicholas] subito classicum mire suauitatis cepit audiri quasi tocius mundi campane uel quicquid sonorum est una simul pulsacione concuteretur. In hoc classico mirabilis suauitas et uaria melodie permixtio magnitudine nescio an dulcedine soni plus stupenda fuit."

Calig. A. viii. (f. 208 b).

"Et cum mecum sermocinaretur ꝛ audiui mirabilem sonitum dulcedine plenum quasi sonitum omnium campanarum mundi pariter resonancium. cuius suauitati et melodie omnia instrumenta mundi organica insimul canencia non possent comparari."

In Wendover (vol. i. p. 265) the passage is the same, word for word, as in Cleop. C. xi; except that Wendover reads "audire cœpi," and omits "soni"; but he arranges the words a little differently. The English translation has: "And whyle the holy confessour sent nycholas thys wyse spake ȝet with me sodenly y harde ther a solenne pele and a rynggyng of a meruelus swetenes. and as al the bellys yn the worlde or what sumeuer ys of sownyng had be rongyn to gedyr at onys. Trewly yn thys pele and rynging brake owte also a meruelus swetenes. and a variant medelyng of melody sownyd wyth alle. And y wote not whether the gretnes of melody. or the swetnes of sownnyng of bellys was more to be wondirde." (ch. lvii.)

The young Monk's narrative is followed by a chapter by Adam of Eynsham, intended to prove the truth of the Vision. Amongst other proofs, he says that an ulcer on the young Monk's leg, that had been pronounced incurable, was completely closed during the Vision, and had now left no trace behind. He adds a concluding chapter: "Delectabile sibi admodum perhibet esse quociens pulsare classicum uel sonare aliquid signum audierit quia ex hocsibi ad mentem redit classicum illud illud (*sic*) suauissimum quod in regione beatorum audiuit. Sibi uero post excessum redditus cum ei diceretur a fratribus iam paschalem adesse

festiuitatem ⁊ tunc primum asserentibus credidit ⁊ cum signum complectorii audiuit pulsari. Jamque cercius animaduertit classicum illud hoc innuisse ⁊ quod etiam apud ciues celi non sine ineffabili iocunditate exultationis et gaudii nec absque festiua celebritate recolitur salutis humane effectus . quam (*sic*) in solempnitate paschali operatus est in medio terre . qui uno eodemque momento olim creauit ex nichilo celum et terram . ihesus christus deus noster . cui est cum coeterno patre et spiritu paraclito. Honor . Potestas virtus et magnificencia . regnumque et inperium in secula seculorum Amen" (ff. 69–69 b). The Abridgment in Wendover attaches the greater part of this passage to the narrative of the young Monk himself. After telling how he opened his eyes, the Abridgment ends thus: "Redditus itaque mihi, cum a fratribus audivi jam Paschalem adesse festivitatem, tunc certius animadverti classicum illud hoc innuisse, quod etiam apud cives cœlestes non sine ineffabili jocunditate atque festiva celebritate recolitur salutis humanæ mysterium, quod in solemnitate Paschali operatus est in medio terræ, qui eodem momento olim cœlum et terram ex nihilo creavit Jesus Christus Dominus noster," etc. (Wendover, vol. i. pp. 265–6). The English translation speaks of the young Monk in the past tense: "Ful delectable hyt was to hym as he seyde fro that tyme forthe," etc. The rest of the passage keeps close to the original till it approaches the conclusion, when it diverges rather more than usual. The second Latin version has much the same sense as the first one; but the phraseology is different. This passage begins: "Denique ad euidenciam ueritatis"; and it ends: "illius dulcissimi sonitus quem in fine uisionis audiuit semper recordatus" (Calig. A. viii., f. 209).

Three other copies of the first Latin text are at Oxford: see Sir Thomas Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for British History*, vol. i. part i. (1862) pp. 78–9, 81. One of these has been lately described by the Rev. W. D. Macray, in his *Catalogue of the Digby MSS.* (1883); it is there No. 34. It is described as of the early 13th century, and as containing the names of Adam, the author, and of Eadmund, the young Monk; but it is imperfect at the end. The English translation was only known till lately in the edition of William of Mechlin (about 1482); and of this there is only one copy known, preserved at the British Museum. This unique copy has now been reprinted by Edward Arber, in his *English Reprints* (London, 1869).

Cotton, Caligula A. viii. ff. 192–209 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Quarto; ff. 18, having 41 lines to a page. With a few initials in red. Bound up with a MS. of the 12th cent., containing the Chronicle of Simeon of Durham, and Lives of English and other Saints.

VISION OF THE MONK OF EYNSHAM. The Vision of Purgatory and Paradise, revealed to Edmund (as he is named in the present version), a Monk of Eynsham in Oxfordshire. Translated from a French poem, by a member of some religious house at the desire of his Superior. In 40 chapters. With a Prologue and an Epilogue. *Latin.*

The Prologue is as follows:—

"Ad laudem dei et legencium utilitatem presens opusculum super quadam uisione terribili de supplicijs et locis penalibus in quibus anime peccatis obnoxie post obitum corporis cruciantur. quam deus ulcionum. et pater misericordiarum cuidam seruo suo ꝯ non solum ad premuniendum electos suos. uerum etiam ad eorum incredulitatem corripiendum. qui huiusmodi penas et loca penalia non esse opinantur. necnon ad terrorem precancium et penitere nolencium dum tempus habent ꝯ reuelare dignatus est de gallica edicione rithmice composita in latinam transtuli stilo communi quamuis rudis ego et inops uerborum diuitibus forsitan multis exponendum. Quorum prouida discrecio mee queso indulgeat insufficiencie. quia non presumpcione aliqua negocium istud quod uires meas excedit attemptaui ꝯ Sed iussu ac rogatu reuerendi ac karissimi magistri mei ꝯ cuius precepta reuerenter exequi ut cunque potero non solum magistralis auctoritas. et merita ipsius gratissima animum meum alliciunt quin immo dileccio sincera suadet. Placuit autem sibi hoc onus imponere mihi hac ratione. quia in prenotato tractatu rithmico sermo nimis diffunditur causa metri et multa inseruntur que fastidium inferunt legenti et parum ad propositum facere uidentur. que tanquam superflua rescindere ꝯ et rem gestam succincte perorare seruata sentencia uerborum ut oportet. me docuit magister meus prenominatus. utilitati legencium consulens et considerans fructum leccionis non in multiloquio. sed pocius in compendio consistere conuenienter ad intellectum ordinato. Nomen uero serui dei memorati. frater Edmundus uocabatur monachus de aynesham. Regnante illustre rege Ricar[do] quem tante uirtutis fuisse. ac tante sanctitatis et meriti apud deum testatur ipsa scriptura quod fides certissima est ab omnibus sibi adhibenda et a nullo sane mentis reuocari debent in dubium que uir spiritu sancto qui est ipsa ueritas repletus scriptis committere decreuit. Hijs igitur pro parte prohemali premissis ad partem executiuam inuocata spiritus sancti gratia uertatur stilus." f. 192.

The body of the work follows, translated from a French poem, which was itself evidently translated from the Latin work of Adam of Eynsham. A copy of the latter is in Cotton, Cleopatra C. xi. (ff. 49–69 b), in the description of which (above, pp. 497–501), several passages are quoted from the present MS. The young Monk's narrative begins at f. 192 b, and ends at f. 209. The second Latin Translator then resumes, in a sort of Epilogue, which begins: "Ecce fratres karissimi uisionem quam pro salute uestra ac mea de penis purgatorij ac gaudijs paradisi mihi reuelauit omnium rerum creator uobis fugiendo multiloquium sub compendio descripsi," etc. f. 209. It goes on:—"Si quis uero dubitauerit de uisione ista . aut uisionis istius reuelatorem de mendacio aut falsa adinuencione suspectum habuerit aduertat infirmitatem eius a medicis desperatam et post uisionem subbito curatam argumentum clarum esse." f. 209.

After adducing other proofs of the truth of the Narrative, the Translator concludes with promising pardon to the penitent, saying:—

"Benedictus deus et pater domini nostri nostri (*sic*) ihesu christi pater misericordiarum et deus tocius consolacionis . ipsumque toto corde exoro . ut et timorem pene . et spem indulgencie mee iugiter inprimat memorie quia in hijs duobus consistit fructus presentis historie . quam ut cunque calamo exaratam uestre reuerencie magister ego discipulus uester et confrater minimus . qui utinam dignus corrigiam calciamentorum uestrorum soluere uel manu tangere atramentarium uestrum sicut ergo placuit uestre prudencie hoc opusculum interpretandum mihi indigno committere sic placeat iam uobis presentatum inspicere . omissa inserere superflua rescindere et in informi materia formam speciosam inducere ac corrigenda corrigere stilo sapientie." ff. 209–209 b.

Colophon:—"Explicit uisio."

Harley 3776. ff. 89 b–92.

Vellum; early xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 4, having 51 lines to a page. With initials in blue. Preceded by the Vision of Tundal, under which heading see the description of the rest of the MS. (above, p. 416).

Vision of the Monk of Eynsham. Extracts from the work of Adam of Eynsham, arranged in 12 sections. *Latin.*

The text is slightly abridged; and, in some instances, lines from different passages are set together. As compared with the full text the sections are as follows:—

1. The young Monk's interview with St. Nicholas; beg.: "Senem quendam venerabilem qui me vocis imperio et ductu manus vie sue comitem asciuerat." f. 89 b. Compare Cotton, Cleopatra C. xi. f. 53 b.

2. Some of the pains in the first place of torment; beg.: "Nonnullos conspiciebam de loco in quo torquebantur." f. 90. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 53 b, col. 2.

3. Second place of torment; beg.: "Post hunc ad alium deuenimus locum." f. 90. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 54, col. 2, l. 9.

4. The Harlot delivered by St. Margaret; beg.: "Dum autem supradicta stupenda conspicio." f. 90 b. Compare the fuller text in Cleop. C. xi. f. 54 b, l. 33—f. 55.

5. Third place of torment; beg.: "Relinquentes igitur iam dictam lacrimarum vallem." f. 90 b. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 57 b, col. 2, last line.

6. Worst torments of the third place; beg.: "Restat adhuc." f. 90 b. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 58, near the foot of col. 1.

7. The Doctor of Law; beg.: "Hic autem decretista fuit." f. 91. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 58 b.

8. The "Rector religiosorum" (in the English, ch. xxvii, called "a Prior"), much abridged; beg: "In primo loco penarum." f. 91. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 59 for the introductory line and ff. 59 b–60 for the story.

9. Pains of persons of Religion; beg.: "Hanc autem omni moriencium generalem condicionem esse cognoui." f. 91 b. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 60 b, and f. 61.

10. Incontinent Priests; beg.: "Sacerdotum plures," and ending: "Nam ego in tota visione ita neminem ibi vidi qui spem indulgencie funditus amisisset." f. 91 b. The lost leaf, after f. 61 of Cleop. C. xi., must have contained this passage. Compare the English translation, close to the end of Chap. xxxvi.

11. Poisoners and Child-murderesses; beg.: "Veneficos et mulierculas." f. 91 b. Compare Cleop. C. xi. f. 62, col. 2.

12. The King on horseback; beg.: "Principem quendam quondam prepotentem ibi videbam," and ending "vnde quod spem misericordie adipiscende adhuc habuit plane intellexi." f. 92. Compare Cleop. C. xi. ff. 62, col. 2–62 b, col. 2.

Royal 13 D. v. ff. 45–50 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Folio; ff. 6. In double columns, having 54 lines to a column. With initials in blue and red. At the beginning of the volume (f. 1), and again at the beginning of the present article (f. 45), is written: "Hic est liber Sancti Albani de libraria Conuentus." Art. 1 is the Historia of Geoffrey of Monmouth, under which heading the MS. is described in the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. (1883), p. 229.

Vision of Thurkill. A Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, seen in the year 1206 by a Husbandman of Stisted in Essex. Probably by Ralph of Coggeshall the Chronicler. In 23 chapters, not numbered, but with headings in red, preceded by a Prologue and an Introduction. *Latin.*

In 1207 Ralph became Abbot of Coggeshall; he resigned, on account of ill-health, in 1218; and he is said to have died in (or soon after) 1228. The first two of these events are recorded in the Cottonian copy of his own Chronicle (Vespasian D. x. ff. 112, 121). Unfortunately there is a gap after f. 111; and a leaf has been there inserted, to supply a brief account of the years 1206–1212. But, as Sir Frederic Madden has remarked, "this second hand is contemporary and perhaps autograph" (see the British Museum copy of A. J. Dunkin's edition of Ralph of Coggeshall, 1856, at the beginning of which a sheet of note paper has been inserted, covered with MS. remarks by Sir F. Madden). We believe that the entry under 1207 contains some allusion to our

present subject. It says: — "MCCVII. Obiit domnus Thomas Abbas quintus de Cogeshala . cui successit domnus Radulfus monacus eiusdem loci . qui hanc Cronicam a captione sancte crucis usque ad annum undecimum [written over an erasure] Henrici Regis . iii . filii Regis Johannis descripsit . ac quasdem uisiones quas a uenerabilibus uiris audiuit . fideliter annotare ob multorum edificationem curauit" (f. 112). "Visiones" might be used here for one set of visions; as Ralph himself had previously used the phrase, when entering (under 1196) an abstract of the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham (ff. 70 b–71). But the additional phrase, "quas a uenerabilibus uiris audiuit," seems to indicate that Ralph claimed the authorship of more than one Vision. Under the year 1202 (f. 102) he gives one or two introductory details of a Vision at "Streflur in Gualiis" (Stratfleur, a Cistercian abbey in Cardiganshire), to which an allusion is made in the Prologue of the present work also, but which we have failed to find mentioned elsewhere; and that may perhaps have been one of his Visions. Thurkill, on the other hand, is never named in the Chronicle. But no one can examine the inserted leaf (f. 112) without seeing that the annals (for 1206–1212) are crowded into it as closely as possible. The remaining evidence is in favour of Ralph's being the author of the present Vision. Thus, both here and in the Chronicle, special notice is taken of the Vision of Eynsham, and it is praised as being written "eleganti stilo" (see Vespasian D. x. f. 70 b, and Royal 13 D. v. f. 45, col. 2). And, above all, the author speaks of the vision as having occurred in 1206 "in partibus nostris" (f. 45 b); and Stisted is only about four miles from Coggeshall.

Thurkill was a poor husbandman, who had rented a few acres from Roger Picot of Stisted, before this narrative began; and who still held them of Roger's son, William Picot. It happened that, after the hour of Vespers (4 p.m.) on 27 October, 1206, he was trenching his little field, which he had sown the same day, in order to drain away a flood of rain (f. 45 b). Suddenly, he sees a man before him, who says that he is "Julianus hospitator" (St. Julian the Good Harbourer, the patron of hospitality); that he is at present on his way to the province of "Danesei" (now the Hundred of Dengey in Essex); "but (he adds) I shall return hither, to thy house, to-night, and I shall lead thee to thy lord, St. James, whom thou hast already sought in prayer" ("quem

deuote iam requisisti." f. 45 b). Thurkill returns to his house; and, when all are asleep, St. Julian stands by his bedside and breathes into his mouth; and his soul leaves the body and follows the Saint. His body lies snoring heavily; but his Wife thinks him tired to death, and does not try to awake him next morning till she returns from Mass. Her distress and the excitement of the neighbourhood are well described in the Introduction. The body lies snoring for two days. At length they force holy water into his mouth; and he sits up and says "Benedicite." He soon tells a few things about his vision; and on the morrow he discourses more fully with the Priest (f. 46). But St. Julian appears to him one night, and orders him to publish his Vision in the church on the next Holy Day. And accordingly, on the Day of All Saints (1 Nov.), and on the Day of All Souls (2 Nov.), Thurkill proclaimed all that he had seen, in the English tongue, in the presence of Osbert de Longchamp, Lord of the vill, and of his wife, and of the rest of the parishioners (f. 46). And afterwards, invited to many churches and cloisters, he continued to proclaim his Vision, some believing, but some others deriding and laughing in their sleeves (f. 46, col. 2).

Thurkill, then, had by this time become closely connected with the Monks of Essex; and it is not improbable that he ended his life as a tenant of the Priory of Colne. In Ch. 17 of his Vision he tells how he met his old landlord, Roger Picot, who confessed to having left certain debts still due to his labourers and to the Canons of St. Osith. And Roger charged him to tell his son and heir, William, to clear off his debts. Moreover, Roger belonged to a band of Souls who kept drawing nearer and nearer to the Mount of Joy, according to the number of masses said for them (f. 49 b). Now, in one of the Cotton MSS. (Tiberius E. ix. f. 14 b.) there is an abstract of a Grant, by which the land held by Thurkill is transferred by William Picot to Colne Priory. The Grant is one of many, which were copied out of the Colne Register in the middle of the sixteenth century; it is only an abstract, and it has suffered from the fire of 1731. Still, enough is left to serve our purpose, except that a verb is omitted, which would have told us whether Thurkill was then alive or dead. The words are: "Willelmus Picott de Stisteed assensu heredis sui conce[ssit pro] salute parentum etc. illam terram in Stisted quam Turk[illus filius] Wlferici [*either* tenet *or* tenuit

omitted] scilicet ad sacristariam eiusdem loci. Testibus Ri[cardo de] Gosfeld Waltero de Crepping Willelmo filio suo Roberto filio [——] Ricardo filio suo; Roberto primogenito meo. Willelmo Johanne Rogero f[iliis meis]." It will be observed that, while William gave his father's name, Roger, to the youngest son, he named his eldest son Robert. That such was the case with our William Picot is shown by Harley Charter, 112 B. vii., undated, but written about 1210–20. It is a Grant of lands from Lady Avelina de Longchamp to John Miller of Stisted. It is witnessed (first, as in the Grant to Colne) by Richard of Gosfeld; and next by William Picot, Robert of Stisted, and others; and the twelfth witness is Robert, son of William Picot. The Grantor, then, of the Stisted lands to Colne is our William Picot, and the tenant (or late tenant) is our Thurkill.

The Vision is narrated in 23 chapters. Ch. 1. Thurkill follows St. Julian to a Basilica dedicated to the Virgin; where St. James, wearing a mitre, receives his Pilgrim, Thurkill ("peregrinum suum pro quo miserat"), and tells St. Dominick, the Warden of the Basilica, to join St. Julian in showing the mansions of the wicked and the good to his pilgrim ("peregrino suo"). f. 46, col. 2. If Thurkill had ever gone to Compostella, the fact would probably have been stated here; but perhaps he may have visited one of the nearer shrines of St. James, by way of pilgrimage; even if no further off than Saffron Walden, where the Abbey was dedicated to the Virgin and St. James. And there he might well have heard of St. Dominick of the Causeway, who had built the great bridge, and repaired the road for the pilgrims; and whose name had been given to the town of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, the scene of the legend of the dead cock that crowed, one of the most popular tales connected with St. James. In our other copy of Thurkill (Julius D. v.) the Saint is called "Domninus," and in the abridgment in Wendover and Matthew Paris, he is called "Domnius." Perhaps these may be conjectural emendations of scribes, who only knew of one St. Dominick, and who were aware that he did not die till many years after this Vision (namely, in 1221), and that he was not canonized till 1234. At the end of Ch. 1 the author adds that from the east end of this Basilica there runs a narrow path, first between purgatorial fires, then through pools of icy cold, and then over a long bridge, bristling with stakes and nails; and

at the end of all is the Mount of Joy, crowned with a church that seems large enough to hold all the people in the world. This perhaps is a visionary reflection of the Mons Gaudii at Compostella, with its Church of the Holy Cross, built in 1105 (see *Historia Compostellana*, forming tom. xx. of the *España Sagrada* of Florez, p. 54). Ch. 2. The actions of the Souls are weighed by St. Paul and by the Devil. f. 46 b, col. 2. Chapp. 3–13. The Saints and Thurkill look over a wall into a round theatre; and there they see the Souls acting their old sins; there are the Proud Man, the lazy Priest, the cruel Knight, the corrupt Chief Justice, and many more; they are applauded by the Fiends, hauled to and fro, and at last flung back on to their seats of torture. ff. 47 b, col. 2–49. These plays are the "Infernal Pageants" of Warton's *History of Poetry* (section xxvii. under the heading of "Kalendar of Shepherds"). Chapp. 14, 15. Thurkill sees vacant seats prepared for sinners who are still alive; and he surveys various tanks of torture. f. 49. Ch. 16. Thurkill returns to the Basilica; and he is led along the path, and across the bridge; and he reaches the Mount of Joy. f. 49, col. 2. Chapp. 17–19. Thurkill sees many Souls not yet able to enter the church. On the south side he has an interview (already described) with Roger Picott; and on the north side with his own father. But he cannot see his mother anywhere. f. 49 b, cols. 1–2. Ch. 20. St. Michael allows Thurkill to visit the church. f. 50. Ch. 21. St. Michael brings him back to the great purgatorial pool; and it is all drained, for it is Sunday morning. f. 50. This was the Sunday rest of the Vision of St. Paul (see above, p. 397); but Thurkill's idea of it was no doubt influenced by his remembrance of his own field, which he had been trying to drain of a flood. Chapp. 22, 23. Thurkill visits the Earthly Paradise. Adam is there, his robe of immortality shining with more and more colours, in proportion to the good deeds of his children. Thurkill turns to the most beautiful of all the shrines there, and he sees three Virgin Martyrs enthroned there, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Osith. But now he wakes up, with the holy water in his mouth, and says "Benedicite." f. 50 b.

Adam's robe is here described in the same way (sometimes in the same words) as in the Vision of Gunthelm, an English Cistercian, which is abridged by Helinand, and entered under

1161 (see Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. ccxii., cols. 1060–1063). Gunthelm, after leaving Paradise, visits the furnaces of Hell; and he sees Bishops there, and Monks and Nuns, acting their former misdeeds, for the gratification of the Fiends. This may possibly have suggested the "Infernal Pageants"; but the picture was probably a common-place.

The Preface is headed: "Incipit prefatio de subsequenti visione que contigit in Estsexia." It is as follows:

"Multifarie multisque modis olim deus loquens patribus in prophetis ⁊ sub quodam tegumento occidentis littere. ac sub obscura et uelut enigmatica locutione. multociens loquebatur ad eos. precipue de corporum resurrectorum futura glorificatione. de statu animarum. atque earum post mortem expiatione. de locorum penalium situ et qualitate. de infernalium tormentorum genere. atque diuersi generis ineffabili multiplicitate. sed nouissime unigenitus dei filius. per quem facta sunt et secula. pro redemptione humani generis. particeps effectus nostre humanitatis ⁊ multo clarius. multoque euidentius omnia hec nobis manifestare dignatus est. tum per euangelicam doctrinam. tum per apostolorum predicationem. necnon et per miraculorum ac reuelationum exhibitionem. quatinus ob metum interminabilis pene sese in presenti homines a peccatis et uitiis custodiant ⁊ atque ob celestium premiorum desiderium bona opera indesinenter exerceant. Sed quia humana proteruitas ad peccandum prona. atque ex calle praue et inueterate consuetudinis nimis est obdurata ⁊ uerba celestis predicationis ⁊ per aures multociens inaniter demissa ⁊ segnius irritant animos. ut nec pro comminatione suppliciorum. nec ambitu premiorum diuinis uelint homines obtemperare mandatis ⁊ immo exigentibus culpis. nonnulli iusto dei iudicio. ad tantam perueniunt cordis cecitatem. ut dictis sanctorum non credant ⁊ nec ex auditu celestis doctrine aliquatenus proficiant. Siquidem ualde durum uidetur hominibus. qui in delictis et deliciis sunt nutriti. et idcirco uelut insensibiles per cordis malitiam effecti. ut aliquatenus uera esse credant ⁊ que corporeis optutibus non subiacent. Proinde omnipotens deus ut tolleret occasionem malignis hominibus ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis ⁊ multos contra eos per diuersa tempora. per singulas fere generationes instaurauit testes. ut sint omnino sue incredulitatis inexcusabiles. quibus incerta et occulta sapientie sue. manifeste reuelare dignatus est. ut non tantum ex auditu. sed etiam ex uisu tormenta reorum. ac lucidas mansiones iustorum aperte et dilucide cognoscant ⁊ et quis sit status animarum post corporum depositionem. et que loca penalia. queue pro singulis peccatis maneant tormentorum genera. quibus etiam suffragiis post mortem expiari possint. Multa preclara de huiusmodi reuelationibus que temporibus suis contigerunt ⁊ Beatus Papa Gregorius in quarto dialogorum libro ueraci stilo conscripsit. cuius scriptis fidem non accomodare ⁊ fidei derogare est. Plura de his uisionibus patres alii conscripserunt. Temporibus etiam nostris plures et insolite in diuersis prouinciis fiunt reuelationes de statu animarum. et quanto magis finis seculi presentis. et uicinitas generalis resurrectionis appropinquat ⁊ tanto clarius et frequentius fient passim mire reuelationes. ut occulta in lucem

prodeant . et que dubia erant ⁊ certa et euidentia fiant . quatinus fides uacillans certis roboretur argumentis . et caritas pene refrigerata frequentium uisionum inflammetur incitamentis. Scripsit quidam monachus de quodam milite ybernensi nomine Audoeno ⁊ sicut ab illorum monachorum relatione cognouerat . qui cum predicto milite diutius conuersati sunt ⁊ horrenda tormentorum genera . que in purgatorio sancti patricii oculis carneis conspexerat. Super purgatorio hoc Abbates ybernenses ad capitulum cisterciense euntes interrogati ⁊ nonnulli eorum respondent . omnia uera esse que de predicto purgatorio narrantur. Exstat alia quedam uisio que similiter in hibernia contigit . de quodam milite qui per tres dies cum totidem noctibus eductus a corpore ⁊ mira et nimis horrenda suppliciorum genera . ad corpus rediens narrauit. Est et alia uisio diligenti narratione luculenter exarata . que in monasterio de Einesham anno uerbi incarnati m̊cc̊xvi̊ . contigit . quam domnus Adam supprior eiusdem cenobij ⁊ uir ualde grauis ac religiosus eleganti stilo conscripsit . sicut ab eius ore audiuit . qui a corpore per duos dies et noctes eductus fuerat. Non credo tantum uirum . tam religiosum . ac tam litteratum . nisi comperta et probabili auctoritate subnixa ⁊ uoluisse scripto mandare . maxime cum tunc temporis extiterit capellanus domni Hugonis lincolniensis episcopi sanctissimi uiri. Interrogatus autem a nobis domnus thomas prior de binham ⁊ qui illis diebus extitit prior de Einesham . et qui diligenti scrutinio omnia examinauerat de Monacho educto . et que de eius uisione perscrutanda erant . quidnam super his sentiret ⁊ respondit se non amplius de ueritate huius uisionis hesitare ⁊ quam de domini nostri Ihesu Christi Crucifixione. Multaque alia nobis retulit probamenta ad commendationem predicte uisionis. Hec iccirco dixerim . quia multi contubernialium suorum huic uisioni contradicunt . sicut fere de omni reuelatione a quibusdam dubitatur. Quid dicendum de uisione monachi de streflur in gualiis . et de Monacho Vaucellensi . quorum uisiones nuper ostense ? a quibusdam approbantur . et a quibusdam eorum sociis inanes et friuole iudicantur. Sic curre per omnes diuinas paginas . per miracula . per reuelationes . et inuenies fere tot calumniatores ac incredulos quot approbatores et credulos. Nec mirum cum de domino saluatore tot miracula in terris faciente scriptum sit ⁊ quod quidam dicebant quia bonus est . alii autem non ⁊ sed seducit turbas. Proinde non admirandum . si cuidam uisioni . que anno uerbi incarnati . m̊cc̊vi̊ . in partibus nostris contigit ⁊ a quibusdam contradicatur . et uelut nugatoria habeatur. Sed quia plurimi quorum mens est sanior . intellectus acutior . uita religiosior . huic uisioni fidem adhibent . tum pro simplicitate et innocentia uiri ⁊ cui hec uisio contigit . tum quia plerique audientium ex relatione predicte uisionis non minimum profecerunt . emendatiorem uitam eligentes ⁊ rogatus a quibusdam sociis ⁊ immo eorum importunitate compulsus . uisionem simplicis uiri ⁊ simplici eloquio . sicut ab eius ore audiuimus . scripto summatim mandare curauj. Explicit prefatio." ff. 45–45 b.

"Streflur in Gualiis," it may be observed, is mentioned above (p. 507); the same form that occurs in Ralph of Coggeshall's Chronicle, under the year 1202.

The Introduction is headed: "Incipit Series Visionis." It

begins:—"Igitur in episcopatu londoniensi in villa que dicitur stidstede⁊ erat quidam simplex⁊ rurali operi assuefactus. et iuxta mediocritatem facultatis sue elemosinis atque hospitalitati deditus · nomine Thurkillus. Hic autem dum post horam uespertinam in Vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Jude. que euenit vi^a. feria. agellulum suum quem eadem die seminauerat. ab inundatione aquarum pluuialium per riuulos euacuaret⁊ subito sursum oculos deflectens⁊ conspicatur eminus uirum quendam ad se usque properantem." f. 45 b. The place is called Stidstede above; and in the margin is "uel sticstede," in another hand. The words "nomine Thurkillus" are supplied from the margin. The Prologue ends: "Postmodum supradictus uir a multis personis inuitatus. in pluribus ecclesiis. atque hominum conuenticulis. ac in religiosorum domibus uisionem suam constanter predicauit. aliis credentibus⁊ aliis uero irridentibus ac subsannantibus. Sed iam tempus est. ut prelibate uisionis summam agrediamur." f. 46, col. 2.

Ch. 1 is headed: "De quadam Basilica ad quam anime congregabantur." It begins: "Igitur uir ille a corpore eductus. eo ordine quo superius iam diximus⁊ Sanctum Julianum preeuntem alacriter sequebatur. in tali membrorum effigie. et tali habitu. sicut ceteris diebus incedere solitus erat. excepto duntaxat quod crebrius solito ut sibi uidebatur hanelitum attrahebat." f. 46, col. 2. Ch. 3 (the first chapter of the "Infernal Pageants") is headed: "De theatrali ludo demonum et cruciatu animarum." f. 47 b, col. 2. The last chapter (Ch. 23), after describing the beauties of St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Osith, ends (speaking of Thurkill): "Cum autem illas nimis desideranter contemplaretur. earum uenustatem admirando⁊ confestim sanctus Michael ait beato Juliano. Reduc festinanter virum hunc ad corpus suum. quia nisi citius reductus fuerit⁊ iam aqua frigida quam nunc in os suum astantes moliuntur inicere ex toto pernicioso interitu suffocabitur. His dictis⁊ continuo ad corpus proprium nesciens quo ordine reductus. absque mora ueluti in momento expergefactus est. atque in stratu suo residens⁊ Benedicite dixit. referens postmodum omnia. que circa ipsum clementer gesta sunt. sicut in hac presenti pagina simplici eloquio ad simplicium eruditionem summatim descripsimus. qui plerumque in huiusmodi descriptis reuelationibus magis in profectu uirtutum proficiunt⁊ quam ex perplexis et profundis theologie disputationibus." f. 50 b, col. 2.

This Vision was published, from the present MS., with some readings from Cotton MS., Julius D. v., and from Wendover, in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xxxi. (London, 1875), pp. 440–459, with an Introduction by H. L. D. Ward, of the British Museum, at pp. 420–440. The only version previously known had been the Abridgment inserted in the Chronicles of Wendover and Matthew Paris. This had been used by Warton, when giving a brief abstract of the story in his *History of Poetry*, vol. ii. (1840), pp. 387–8; and also by Thomas Wright, who gave a fuller abstract in his *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (London, 1844), pp. 41–5.

Cotton, Julius D. v. ff. 168–176.

Vellum; xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 9, having 40 to 48 lines to a page.

The whole MS. contains:—(1) Gesta Britonum, by Nennius. f. 2. (2) "Cronica paucorum" (or Chronicon Sancti Martini de Dover), from the Creation down to 1286, with some additions, the last of which (f. 68) is dated 1367. f. 14. (3) Note of a sermon on the date of Antichrist. f. 70 b. (4) Opus Majus of Roger Bacon, very much burnt and imperfect. f. 71. (5–11) Seven small scientific treatises, some of them attributed to Roger Bacon. ff. 152, 158, 159, 160, 161 b, 164 b, 166. (12) The present article. ff. 168–176.

Vision of Thurkill. Slightly abridged from the same text as that in Royal 13 D. v. Apparently intended to be divided into about 20 chapters, with an Introduction. *Latin.*

The Saint who (together with St. Julian) has charge of the Visionary is here St. Domninus.

The Introduction is headed: "Incipit Visio que contigit in Esaxia anno uerbi incarnati M̊cO̊vi. Scripta a quodam viro relligioso." It begins: "[I]gitur in episcopatu londoniensi in villa que dicitur Stystede erat quidam vir simplex rurali operi deditus et iuxta facultatem suam elemosinis et hospitalitati intendens. Hic post horam vespertinam in vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Jude dum agrum suum quem eadem die seminauerat ab inundatione aquarum per riuulos euacuaret." f. 168. Ch. 1 is headed: "Incipit Processus visionis." f. 169. The last chapter ends: "atque in stratu suo residens benedicite inquit. Referens

postmodum omnia que circa ipsum clementer acta sunt sicut in hoc scripto ad simplicium erudicionem summatim descripsimus qui plerumque in huiusmodi reuelacionibus in profectu virtutum proficiunt." f. 176. Colophon (written twice): "Explicit visio incepta conpendiose et conplete."

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN.

Harley 3958. ff. 103 b–121 b.

Vellum; about A.D. 1200. Folio; ff. 19, having 30 lines to a page.

The present article is preceded by a copy of Barlaam and Josaphat: see above, p. 125,* for a general account of the MS.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Story how Brendan of Clonfert set out from Mount Brandon, in Kerry, in search of the Isle of Promise; how he sailed for seven years from island to island, always returning to one island for Christmas and to another for Easter; how he discovered the object of his search; and how he then returned home to die. *Latin.*

There were two St. Brendans living in the sixth century, both of them abbots; Brendan of Birr (now Parsonstown in King's County), who died (according to the Four Masters) in 571; and Brendan of Clonfert (Cluain-ferta-Brenainn, Lawn of the Grave of Brendan), who died on 16 May, 576. They are both mentioned by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, in his Life of St. Columba (written about 690). Brendan of Birr, we find (Book iii. chap. 3), took the side of Columba in the Synod held in Meath in 561; and, when this Brendan died, Columba, who was then in Iona, had a miraculous vision of his flight from Birr up into heaven (Book iii. chap. 11). The other Brendan, we find (Book iii. chap. 17), was one of four holy Founders of Monasteries † who came from Ireland to visit Columba in the Scottish Island of "Hinba" (supposed to be one of those lying off the coast of Lorn). Adamnan calls this visitor "Brendenus Mocu Alti" (Great-grandson of Alta); and we know from various sources that Finnlug, grandson of Alta (one of the descendants of Kiar, who gave their family name to Kerry), was the father of Brendan of Clonfert. There used to be a cross named after

* The MS. is there described as of the 13th century; but, on further consideration, we think that it may be a little earlier.

† He is said to have founded Ardfert (in Kerry), and afterwards Clonfert (in Galway).

Brendan in Iona; and there are still several places bearing his name, one of which is the ruin of a chapel in the island of St. Kilda. This island lies about ninety miles to the west of Iona, in the midst of very dangerous currents; and if St. Brendan personally founded the chapel there, or was only reported to have done so, that alone might be sufficient to make him the hero of a monkish voyage of adventure.

The earliest existing version of the Voyage of St. Brendan is contained in the Life of his scholar, St. Malo. The Life (adapted from an earlier one), by Bili, a Deacon at Aleth (afterwards St. Malo), is addressed to Ratuili, who was Bishop of Aleth in 866. It is preserved in a MS. (probably transcribed before 1000) in the British Museum, Royal 13 A. x. (ff. 63–98).* "Machu" (as he is here styled)† is said to have been born "in brittannia quadrangula" (Britain between the four seas); in the kingdom of Gwent (at that time including Glamorganshire as well as Monmouthshire); and in the valley (near Cardiff) called "Nantcaruan," where the monastery (Llancarvan) had Brendan for its Abbot. "Machu" displays such miraculous powers that his Master becomes in the habit of appealing to him. Brendan is very eager to visit the wonderful island, "Yma"; he fits out a vessel with 905 men; he persuades "Machu" to accompany him; and they are out at sea for seven Easters (ff. 75–75 b). In the seventh year they come to an island which bears the cairn of a heathen Giant. "Machu" raises him. His name is Milldu. He has once seen "Yma," but he proves unable to conduct them there. He dies, and is buried again (f. 76). The voyagers never reach "Yma." After an adventure with a fountain of jewels (ff. 76 b–77 b), they look out for some land upon which to celebrate their seventh Easter. They see a small island. They anchor and land upon it; and they begin to celebrate the Mass.

* The work of Bili has been published (from the Royal MS. augmented from a Bodleian MS.), by the Société Archéologique du Départment d'Ille-et-Vilaine, in their *Bulletin et Mémoires*, tome xvi. (Rennes, 1883), pp. 167–256, under the editorship of Dom François Plaine; and another adaptation of the earlier Life appeared in the same volume (pp. 267–293), edited by A. Le Moyne de la Borderie. These two lives were published separately the next year (1884), as *Deux Vies inédites de Saint Malo*; and they were reviewed by L. Duchesne, "clericus Aletensis," in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. xi. (Paris, 1890), pp. 1–22.

† The oblique cases run Machutis, Machutem, etc.

They feel the island move; and they cry out: "O brendane ecce nos omnes deglutimur . Tunc magister (*i.e.* Brendan) ait . O sanctę (*sic*) machu dusmus se transfigurauit ut multos in interitum ducat" (f. 78). "Machu" completes the Mass by himself, sending the rest on board; and the island (which is in fact a whale) remains quiet, to support his feet.* A favourable wind springs up; and they are wafted home to the neighbourhood of Nantcarvan (f. 78 b). The second of the *Deux Vies de S. Malo* (Rennes, 1884) is anonymous. It is based on the same early Life as that by Bili. It speaks of two voyages, both suggested by Brendan, in search of Yma. Of the first voyage, it only says that they were a long time out at sea, and visited the Orkneys and other northern islands. The incidents of the second voyage closely resemble those related by Bili, except that the anonymous writer omits the fountain of jewels. As to Sigebert of Gembloux (b. 1030, d. 1112), he misunderstood the old accounts of the birth of St. Malo. He makes "Guent" the name of the Saint's father, instead of his fatherland; and the family he makes belong to Brittany, instead of Britain. He makes the Saint born in Brittany, saying: "Citra oram Britannici maris fuit editus." He does not say where the Saint was educated; yet, when he speaks of his voyage, he says: "Ad hoc eum etiam magistri sui et abbatis Brandani exemplum animabat" (Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clx., col. 734). He refers to the Life of Brendan for further particulars; but he proceeds to describe the incidents of the whale and of the resuscitation of the buried Giant, and to say the voyagers were absent for seven years (cols. 734–6).

The legend, then, of celebrating Easter on the whale was told of St. Brendan as early as the ninth century at least. The Service, however, was sometimes changed into a ride. Thus, in the Lismore "Life of Brenainn," after the usual story in prose, a stanza is quoted, which Whitley Stokes translates thus: "Brenainn loved lasting devotion According to synod and company; Seven

* Whitley Stokes has printed this passage in the Notes to the Life of St. Brendan, which he has translated, among other Lives of Saints, out of the Book of Lismore (in a volume of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Clarendon Press, 1890), p. 352; and in a foot-note he adds "dusmus diabolus, Zeuss, G[rammatica] C[eltica], second edition, p. 1063, last line, may be cognate with the Gaulish dusii, as to which see Ducange, s.v." The word "dusmus" is extracted from the Luxemburg Old-Welsh Glosses, though Zeuss regards it as barbarized Latin.

years on the back of the whale: Hard was the rule of devotion" (p. 253). This might seem to have been an act of penance. Again, in the Life of St. David by Ricemarch, an abbot named Barri, when returning from Wales to Ireland, comes to a spot where "Sanctus Brendanus super marinum cetum miram ducebat vitam:" see W. J. Rees, *Cambro-British Saints* (Llandovery, 1853), p. 133. Rodulfus Glaber, on the other hand, adds a ride to the usual story; "Bendanus" and his monks land upon the whale by mistake, and then they are borne by it, several days, towards the East, as far as the Paradise of Birds (Historiarum Lib. ii. cap. 2).* A monstrous excrescence first appears in the present Romance. The whale has kept his back so long above water (why, it is not explained) that trees have grown upon it; and the monks cut some down, to make a fire. This incident is regarded by J. de Goeje as evidently derived from the First Voyage of Sindbad.† But the Book of Sindbad itself is nothing but a collection of Travellers' Tales, some of them at least as old as the Odyssey; and these, especially the sea-stories, have been buffeted backwards and forwards so long, that one can only say that the Eastern author and the Western author repeated the same "yarn"; the former indeed treated it rather more cleverly, but he did not invent it.

The Life (even the legendary Life) of St. Brendan has been almost supplanted by the Voyage. The only Latin biography hitherto published is that taken by Cardinal Moran from the Liber Kilkenniensis (a MS. of about 1400).‡ All the articles in the British Museum MSS. which are entitled *Vita* in Sir Thomas Hardy's *Catalogue*, vol. i. Part i. (1862), pp. 159–161, ought to be entitled *Navigatio* or *Peregrinatio*. As for the Voyage itself, in its present form it is probably not much older than 1000. It may have been remodelled about that time, with the help of other voyages of adventure (called by the Irish "Imrama"), more especially the Voyage of Maelduin. We probably have an earlier form of Brendan's Voyage in that which is attached to the Irish Life in the Book of Lismore: see Stokes's translation,

* See *Raoul Glaber, les cinq livres de ses Histoires* (written before 1049), edited by Maurice Prou (Paris, 1886), p. 27.

† See *La légende de Saint Brandan, par M. J. de Goeje* (Leiden, 1890), p. 6, etc.

‡ See *Acta Sancti Brendani* (Dublin, 1872), pp. 1–26.

pp. 252–260. Brendan stands on a promontory (probably Mount Brandon), and afar off he sees the Isle of Promise, "with trains of angels (rising) from it." Three ships are built, and thirty men are put in each. "Thus they abode for the space of five years on the ocean marvellous, strange, unknown to them. . . . . Now when the Easter was nigh, his family kept saying to Brenainn that he should go on land to celebrate the Easter. 'God,' saith Brenainn, 'is able to give us land in any place that He pleases.' Now after the Easter had come the great sea-beast raised his shoulder on high over the storm and over the wave-voice of the sea, so that it was level, firm land, like a field equally smooth, equally high. And they go forth upon that land and there they celebrate the Easter, even one day and two nights. After they had gone on board their vessels, the whale straightway plunged under the sea. And it was in that wise they used to celebrate the Easter, to the end of seven years, on the back of the whale" (p. 253). Then follows the stanza which we have already quoted, although it seems to speak of a seven-year penance. The rest of the Irish Voyage bears little resemblance to the Latin one. They return home after seven years, without having seen the Isle of Promise. Brendan resolves to try again. He builds one large ship, for sixty men. "The buffoon" of the Monastery persuades Brendan to let him join them. They go to Aran (off the coasts of Galway and Clare), where they consult St. Enda. They come to an island swarming with sea-cats. Brendan tells "the buffoon" that the angels are calling for him, gives him the sacrament, and sends him ashore; and he is eaten by the sea-cats (p. 257). At last they reach a small island with a stone church and a Hermit, the survivor of twelve men. The Hermit warns Brendan against a monstrous sea-cat. Brendan prays; and a whale rises and fights the sea-cat, and they drag each other down to the bottom. The Hermit directs them to the Isle of Promise; and "after that, then they reached the land which they had been seeking for the space of seven years" (p. 259). The writer seems to intimate that they never returned to Ireland. He concludes with a peroration that properly belongs to the Vision of Adamnan. Visions of Hell have been displayed to Brendan, and to one of the Monks; and they have arrived at last at the Earthly Paradise. The peroration accordingly begins: "This then was the preaching that Peter and Paul and the other holy apostles most often used to make, this

preaching of the punishments and of the rewards, for they were displayed to them in the same manner." It goes on: "This, then, is the preaching which Elijah is wont to make to the souls of the righteous under the Tree of Life in Paradise. Now, when Elijah opens the book for the preaching, then come the souls of the righteous in shapes of bright white birds to him from every point." Again, it goes on: "Then Elijah shuts his preaching-book. The birds then make an exceeding great wailing, and beat their wings against their bodies till streams of blood come out of them for dread of the pains of hell and of Doomsday" (p. 260, in Stokes' *Book of Lismore*). We will mention here that in the Voyage of Snedgus, also translated from the Irish by Whitley Stokes, they come to "an island wherein was a great tree with beautiful birds (on its branches). Atop of it was a great bird with a head of gold and with wings of silver." This chief Bird tells them of the Creation and of Christ; "And he tells tidings of Doom; and then all the birds used to beat their sides with their wings, so that showers of blood dropt out of their sides for dread of the signs of Doom." Again: "Melodious was the music of those birds a-singing psalms and canticles," etc. (*Revue Celtique*, tome ix. Paris, 1888, p. 21). The island with the great tree covered with white birds, who sing psalms, and one of whom is the chief speaker, figures again in the Voyage of St. Brendan; and it is there called the Paradise of Birds.

O'Curry prints, in the Appendix to his eleventh Lecture (pp. 583–593), an extract from the Book of Leinster (first half of the 12th century), containing a list of 187 Tales which a complete Bard ought to know.* They are arranged in 15 Classes; and the first 6 of these are headed (in O'Curry's translation) Destructions, Cow-Spoils, Courtships, Battles, Caves (Incidents of), and Navigations (or, in the Irish, "Imrama"). Of the sixth Class there are seven examples given. The first example is The Navigation of Maelduin ("Imram Maeleduin"); and this is certainly connected with the Latin Voyage of St. Brendan, not only in several isolated adventures, but also in a material portion of the framework. A translation of the former was published by Patrick Joyce; and an edition, with another translation, by

* *Lectures on the manuscript materials of Ancient Irish History*, by Eugene O'Curry, Dublin, 1861.

Whitley Stokes; and comparisons of the two works have appeared, by Gustav Schirmer and Heinrich Zimmer.* At the end of the Voyage of Mael Duin, it is said that "Aed the Fair, chief sage of Ireland, arranged this story as it standeth here." Stokes, in the short Preface to his edition, can only say of this author, that he "seems to have been a layman,"—"but he seems to have had some classical culture, for he cites Vergil and the Vulgate" (*Revue Celtique*, vol. ix. p. 447). Stokes suggests that the Giant Smiths, one of whom casts a mass of red-hot iron at the ship (chap. xxi.), may be derived from the Cyclops in the Odyssey; and that the Queen, who draws back Maelduin with a thread of her magic clew (chap. xxviii.), may have sprung from Calypso. Other incidents are repeated in other Voyages; thus "the Miller of Hell (chap. xiv.), the Island of Weeping (chap. xv.), and the Island of Laughter (chap. xxxi.) are found also in the *Imram hua Corra*" (vol. ix. p. 449). "But the piece (continues Stokes) from which our author has apparently drawn most is the *Peregrinatio* (or *Navigatio*) *sancti Brandani Abbatis*, . . . of which one copy, said to be of the ninth century, is preserved in the Vatican" (p. 450). But the Vatican copy is only so dated on the authority of Hardy's *Catalogue* (vol. i. p. 159), and Hardy did not profess to have examined it himself; and we believe that no recent critic has dated any MS. of the Brendan earlier than the 11th cent. Zimmer differs from Stokes as to the relative positions of the two Voyages. He allows that the present text of the Maelduin is of the 11th century; but he maintains that it still bears traces of a much older text, probably about the 8th century (pp. 147–8, and pp. 289–292). He adduces strong evidence that the works of Virgil were at that time known, and apparently well known, in Ireland (pp. 326–7). He believes that

* Patrick Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* (London, 1879) has the Voyage of Maildun, in 35 chapters, at pp. 112–176. Whitley Stokes has published the Irish text, together with his translation of the Voyage of Mael Duin, in an Introduction and 34 chapters, in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. ix. (Paris, 1888), pp. 452–495, and vol. x. (Paris, 1889) pp. 50–95. The Essay by Schirmer mentioned above is entitled *Zur Brendanus-Legende, Habilitationsschrift*, etc. (Leipzig, 1888). The Essay by Zimmer, "Brendans Meerfahrt," is in two very elaborate articles, in the *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* (at one time more generally known as "Haupt's Zeitschrift"), edited by Elias Steinmeyer, vol. xxxiii. (Berlin, 1889), pp. 129–220, and pp. 257–338.

the Æneid suggested some of the Irish "Navigations" ("Imrama"); that the Voyage of Maelduin was one of these; and that the seductive Island Queen (of chap. xxviii.) was not imitated from Calypso, but from Dido (pp. 328–331). As for the Voyage of Brendan, he holds that it was modelled after that of Maelduin in the 11th century (p. 332). We are inclined (at all events, for the present) to accept these conclusions. Moreover, the author of the Maelduin has neglected the episode of the whale; and we do not think that this would have been the case, if he had been imitating the Brendan. Again, the portion of the framework, common to both, which we are just about to mention is surely better suited to a secular than to a church romance.

The two Voyages are very dissimilar in their first motives. Maelduin has been fostered by the Queen of his province. It is not till he is a youth that he learns that his mother was a Nun, and that his father, named Ailill, was killed before he himself was born. He does not know the name of his father's slayer; but he determines to find him out. He consults a Wizard ("Druid"), who instructs him as to the time for building his ship; and who tells him to take seventeen men, no more nor less. Just as he has pushed off, his three foster-brothers come swimming after him; and, to save them from drowning, he takes them on board. So far goes the introductory Chapter in Stokes's edition. At midnight the ship comes close to two small islands, on each of which there is a fort; and they hear men boasting of their deeds from the open windows in shouts from fort to fort. One of the men says that it was he who killed Ailill. Maelduin prepares for battle; but a great wind falls upon his ship, and drives it far out to sea. Then he says to his foster-brothers: "Ye have caused this to us, casting yourselves upon us in the boat, in spite of the word of the enchanter and wizard" (ch. i.). They are now driven to and fro for 3 years and 7 months (according to the oldest MS. used by Stokes, the Book of the Dun Cow, written about 1100). After visiting many strange islands, they come one day to an island fortress, enclosing several houses, without a man in any of them. In one hall they see tables spread with meat and drink; but with no living creature, except one small cat jumping round from one pillar to another. "'Hath this been left for us?' said Mael duin to the cat. It

looked at him suddenly, and began to play again." They eat and drink, and fill their cans with the leavings. But, as they are going away, one of the three foster-brothers takes down a torque, that is hung as an ornament upon the wall. The cat leaps upon him like a fiery arrow, and burns him to ashes (ch. xi.). Some time afterwards they reach an island of black men, who are all weeping and wailing. Another of the foster-brothers goes on shore, and begins at once to weep and wail; and his comrades lose sight of him altogether (ch. xv.). After a longer time still, they come to an island full of people who are playing and laughing. The third foster-brother joins the Laughers, and disappears (ch. xxxi.). The spell is now broken. Soon afterwards they reach a lonely rock, with only one Hermit upon it, clothed in nothing but his long white hair. He has been fed with salmon by an otter for seven years; and now other food is brought him by unseen hands. This Hermit tells Maelduin, that he will now find his way to the man who killed Ailill; but that he must forgive the man (ch. xxxiii.). At the next island they see a bird "like the falcons of Ireland." They watch its flight, and row after it, and at nightfall they see the little islands, where they had heard the men boasting. Again they hear voices; one of them says, "What, if Maelduin should come now?" "Great welcome to him if he should come," says the chief of the house, "for he hath been for a long space in much tribulation." Then "Mael duin strikes the clapper against the doorvalve," and cries "'Mael duin is here.'" So they enter, "and great welcome is made to them, and new garments are given them. Then they declare all the marvels which God had revealed to them, according to the word of the sacred poet who saith: *Haec olim meminisse iuuabit*" (ch. xxxiv.). To this quotation from Virgil (*Æneid*, i. 203) Stokes has added in a note: "The *fáith nóem* is a rendering of *vates sacer*" (*Revue Celtique*, vol. x. p. 93).

The framework of the Voyage of St. Brendan, unless we are very much mistaken, is little more than a monkish imitation of the Maelduin. Brendan hears of the island called the Land of the Promise to the Saints, and is moved with a strong desire to search for it. He chooses fourteen of his Monks to accompany him. They visit St. Enda, Abbot on the greatest of the Isles of Aran (off the coasts of Galway and Clare), and receive his blessing;

and then they encamp on Mount Brandon (in Kerry), and build their ship (§§ 2–4). When everything is ready, and the fourteen monks are on board, and Brendan himself is just about to embark, three monks, who have been left behind, fall at his feet. They have hurried after him all the way from Clonfert (nearly 200 miles); and he takes them on board to save them, but he warns them that two out of the three will end badly (§ 5). They land at an island, where a dog leads them to a town without inhabitants, and into a hall hung with ornaments of silver, and furnished with tables of food. On the third day Brendan says that a theft has been committed; and one of the three Monks who had come against orders draws a silver bit out of his bosom. Brendan forces a black Imp to leave his body; and the Monk receives the Eucharist before he dies (§§ 6–7). Again, after many wanderings, they reach the Isle of the three Choirs (Children, Youths, and Old Men); and the second of the three Monks is left behind, among the Youths (§ 15). Further on, they coast along the Isle of the Smoky Mountain, and the third Monk rushes on shore against his will, and is carried off by Devils (§ 21). Three days later, they reach the Isle of the Hermit Paul, who has no clothing except his white hair, and who had been fed for many years by an otter (§ 23). Finally, they reach the Isle of Promise. Brendan is told that he has been delayed for all this time (seven years) that the Lord might show him the mysteries of the Ocean. He returns home to Clonfert (§§ 24–25).

There are some other episodes which are found in both works. We will name three examples. (1.) In the Maelduin (ch. xxi.) they hear the smiths making the isle resound with their sledge-hammers; one of the smiths hurls a mass after them. This is told a little fuller in the Brendan (§ 20), and the hurling smith is joined by his companions. (2.) In the Maelduin (chapp. xxii. and xxiii.) they sail over a transparent sea; and they see flocks and herds far below them. In the Brendan (§ 18), on St. Peter's Day, they see multitudes of sea-beasts, looking like flocks and herds. The Saint chants the Mass; and the beasts rise, and swim round and round the ship. (3.) In the Maelduin (ch. xxvi.) they come to a square silver column, standing in the depths of the sea, and reaching up out of sight. A silver net hangs from the summit into the sea; the ship passes through one of its meshes, and one of the Voyagers strikes off a piece of the net with his

spear, devoting it at the same time to the high altar at Armagh. In the Brendan (§ 19) the column is of crystal, and the canopy ("conopeum") is like silver; but, instead of striking anything with a spear, the Monks find a chalice and a patera, the one of crystal and the other like silver, left for them on one of the ledges of the column. Indeed, Zimmer goes so far as to assert that all the episodes of the Voyage of Brendan may have been little more than developments of those in the Voyage of Maelduin; with two exceptions, the Whale (§ 9) and the Battle of the two Sea-monsters (§ 14). And these two (he adds) are constantly connected with the name of Brendan (*Zeitschrift*, pp. 180–1). Before leaving the Maelduin, we must make one more observation. In one of the islands they find a solitary "grey cleric," who says: "I am the fifteenth man of the community of Brenainn of Birr. We went on our pilgrimage into the ocean and came into this island. They have all died save me alone" (ch. xxx.: see *Revue Celtique*, vol. x., p. 73). Zimmer maintains that this was the original form of the tradition; that there was a community in one of the islands, which had been sent out (not led) by St. Brendan of Birr; and that this Saint had been changed by mistake into St. Brendan of Clonfert (*Zeitschrift*, pp. 292–297). We think, however, that it is more likely that one of the scribes of the Maelduin made the mistake; and that he ought to have written Clonfert.

Hermann Suchier, in the Preface to his edition of the Anglo-Norman poem (from the Cotton MS., Vesp. B. x.), divided the work into 25 Sections*; and this division was accepted by Schirmer and others, with some modifications. We follow the arrangement of Zimmer (*Zeitschrift*, p. 141, note). The Sections (here 26 in number) are as follows:—§§ 1–2. Brendan is among his monks at Clonfert.† He is visited by a holy man named Barinthus (Baruind), of the family of the Southern O'Neills.‡

---

* See Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, vol. i. (Part 5, 1875), p. 556.

† It is, naturally, not quite certain, whether Clonfert (in Galway) or even Ardfert (in Kerry) had been founded by Brendan before he undertook the voyage; but, at all events, he is here represented as being in a monastery, which is under his government.

‡ Dr. Lanigan says: "He governed a monastery at Druim-cuillin, now Drumcullin, in a part of the ancient Meath, adjoining Munster," *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. (Dublin, 1829), p. 219. In the Latin poem

Barinthus has just returned from the "Isle Delicious," where his favourite spiritual son, Mernoc, has established a community of his own; and whence they have sailed together to a sort of Earthly Paradise, the Isle of Promise ("terra repromissionis sanctorum"). f. 103 b. § 3. Brendan chooses his fourteen companions; he visits St. "Aende"; and he pitches his tent on the mountain, now called "sedes Brændani." f. 105. § 4. The ship is built. f. 105 b. § 5. The three Monks intrude themselves. f. 105 b. § 6. They set sail, and reach the Isle with the deserted city. f. 105 b. § 7. They enter the hall, where the Monk steals a silver bridle-bit. Death of the First Monk. f. 106. § 8. Isle of Sheep. A Man (known afterwards as their "Procurator") brings them a lamb for Easter Day. f. 107. § 9. They land upon the whale (or "iasconius"), and pass the night of Easter Eve there; and they begin to celebrate the Easter Festival. f. 108 (line 1). § 10. The Paradise of Birds. A tree is seen, covered with white birds. The Leader flies down, his wings sounding like bells, and perches on the prow of Brendan's ship; and tells him they are Angels who fell with Lucifer, but who refused to join in distinct rebellion. He says that Brendan has now been one year, and will have to be six years more, afloat. He rejoins the other birds; and, as the Hours go by, they chant all the Services. Brendan remains there till Whitsuntide. f. 108. § 11. Isle of the Family (*i.e.* the Community) of St. Ailbe, who had been Bishop and Abbot of Emly (Tipperary), and who died 526 or 541. On Christmas Day, Brendan sees a fiery arrow enter the Chapel, and light the lamps before the altar. He stays there till Epiphany. f. 110. § 12. Isle with sleepy well. f. 112. § 13. On Sheep Island again, for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Saturday morning; the rest of Easter Eve and the dawn of Easter Day on Jasconius (the Whale); the rest of Easter, down to Whitsuntide, on the Paradise of Birds. And this is to happen every year; so that they keep coming round to the same spot. f. 112 b. § 14. One sea-monster defends them against another. f. 113 b. § 15. Isle of Anchorites in three

by Geoffrey of Monmouth, called "Vita Merlini," it is Barinthus who steers the barque of Arthur to Avalon. It may be noted also, as rather a curious coincidence, that a "Meldinus" figures in the same poem. But he has no series of adventures, either by land or sea; and he is quite unconnected, probably, with our Maelduin.

Choirs; Boys, Youths, and Old Men. The Youths claim the second of the three Monks. f. 114 b. § 16. A great Bird brings Brendan a large bunch of red grapes. They reach Grape Island. f. 115 b. § 17. The Bird called "Grifes" threatens them. The Bird that bore the grapes kills "Grifes." f. 116. § 18. Transparent sea. The Fish rise, and swim around the ship, while Brendan chants the Mass. f. 116. § 19. The Column in the sea. f. 116 b. § 20. Isle of Giant Smiths. f. 117. § 21. Isle of the Smoky Mountain. The third of the three Monks carried away by Fiends. f. 118, first line. § 22. Judas is seen, crouching on a rock, and lashed by the waves. He says that this is his Sunday Rest; he has escaped from the smoky mountain for the day.* At the Hour of Vespers the Fiends crowd round the ship, shouting for the Friend of their Master to be given back to him. f. 118. § 23. Paul the Hermit, who has been fed for many years by an otter, and for many more has lived upon nothing but the water of his fountain. He tells Brendan that they must now spend their Easter as before, for the seventh time; and then they must go forward to the "terra promissionis sanctorum." f. 119. § 24. Their "Procurator" meets them at Sheep Island (this time on Easter Eve), and he goes with them on to the back of Jasconius. After the early Mass on Easter Day, Jasconius carries them to the Paradise of Birds. Their "Procurator" takes them back to Sheep Island, to provision the ship; and after he has directed their course for forty days, they enter a dense mist, which has hidden the Isle from them for seven years. They pass through the mist, and they land on the Isle of Promise. They traverse it for forty days. On the bank of a broad river they meet a Youth, who kisses them, but says that they must not go any further. f. 120 b. § 25. They leave the Isle of Promise, passing again through the circle of mist, and reach the "Isle Delicious" (where Mernoc is the Abbot). f. 121 b. § 26. Brendan returns to his own place, and dies. f. 121 b.

* The Sunday Rest was obtained by St. Paul for the Damned: see the Vision of St. Paul, above, p. 397. This episode is mentioned in chap. xxv. of the Life of St. Brendan, edited by Cardinal Moran (Dublin, 1872), p. 22. The passage there begins: "Nos vidimus Judam Domini proditorem in pelago horribili in Dominico die flentem et plangentem supra petram asperam et lubricam," etc.

The present copy agrees substantially with that in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which was numbered 5572 when Achille Jubinal collated it for his edition (Paris, 1836). It is headed in red: "Incipit uita sancti Brændani." It begins: "Sanctus Brendanus filius finlocha nepoti[s] . alti de genere eogeni istagnile regione ꝯ mu[mo]n[i]ensium ortus fuit; Hic erat uir magne abstinentię . et in uirtutibus clarus . triumque milium fere monachorum pater fuit;" f. 103 b. The words here written "istagnile" are printed by Jubinal "e stagnile." Moran in his *Acta Sancti Brendani* (1872) says: "We may translate this sentence: 'He was born in a district of Munster called *Annagh*,' for this old Irish name, which means *a marsh*, precisely corresponds with the Latin *Stagnile*. Close to Tralee there is still a parish which bears the name of *Annagh*" (p. vi). Reeves, in his Adamnan's Life of Columba, edited for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society (Dublin, 1857), p. 221, note, comes also to the conclusion that Brendan was born near Tralee (Kerry); but the copy of the Liber Kilkenniensis, with which Reeves was furnished, has "littoris Ly" (equal to Tralee), where Moran's edition of the same Liber has "littoris hyberniae (*Acta*, etc., p. 1). In Section 3 (f. 105) there is no mention made of St. Malo, who is named as one of the chosen fourteen monks in the text of Jubinal (pp. 5-6); and see Moran (p. 89).

In Section 10 the Leader of the Birds, when perched on the prow of Brendan's ship, says: "Nos sumus de illa magna ruina antiqui hostis . sed non peccando autem consensimus. Sed ubi fuimus creati . per lapsum illius cum suis satellitibus contigit nostra ruina. Deus autem noster iustus est et uerax qui suo iudicio misit nos in istum locum; Penas non sustinemus ꝯ presentiam dei uidere posumus . tamen alienauit nos a consortio aliorum qui steterunt. Vagamus per diuersas partes aeris et firmamenti et terrarum . sicut et alii spiritus qui mittuntur . sed in sanctis diebus atque dominicis accipimus corpora talia . que tu uides . et commoramur hic laudamusque creatorem." ff. 108 b–109. This passage agrees rather more closely with the text of Jubinal (p. 16) than with that of Schröder (p. 12). Compare also that of Moran (p. 99).

The present text seems to be abridged towards the end. The last two Sections (25–26) are as follows (beginning with the departure from the Isle of Promise): "Acceptis igitur de fructibus

terre . et de gemmarum generibus dimis-oque procuratore predicto et iuvene . beatus brendanus cum fratribus suis ascensa naui per caliginem nauigare cepit. Quam cum pertransissent . uenerunt ad insulam que uocatur deliciarum. Ibi trium dierum hospicio peracto . sanctus brendanus . accepta benedictione . recto itinere ad locum suum reuersus est : ibique dies uitę sue finiuit. Amen." f. 121 b. Both Jubinal (p. 53) and Schröder (p. 36) add some account of Brendan's reception in his own monastery, and of his death. Moreover, Jubinal has appended another chapter, "De obitu sancti Brendani" (pp. 54–5), in which it is narrated how St. Columba, in Iona, saw the soul of St. Brendan, who was in Ireland, ascending to heaven. But this is taken from Adamnan's chapter (iii. 11) on Columba's vision of the death of St. Brendan of Birr.

Edited by Achille Jubinal, followed by two French versions, one in prose and the other (from the Image du Monde) in verse, the volume being entitled *La Légende Latine de S. Brandaines, avec une Traduction inédite en prose et en poésie Romanes* (Paris, 1836). Carl Schröder's edition is entitled *Sanct Brandan. Ein lateinischer und drei Deutsche Texte* (Erlangen, 1871). Cardinal Patrick Moran reprinted Jubinal's text, with some corrections, in his *Acta Sancti Brendani* (Dublin, 1872) pp. 85–131. The Rev. John O'Hanlon, in his *Lives of the Irish Saints* (Dublin, 1873, etc.), vol. v., has given a Life of St. Brendan, in 4 chapters (under the 16th of May), pp. 389–472; the whole Life supplied with copious notes, and chapter 2 (pp. 407–441) containing a full abstract of the Voyage.

Cotton, Vespasian A. xiv. ff. 104 b–105 b.

Vellum; about A.D. 1200. Small Quarto; ff. 2, having 35 lines to a page.

The MS. contains: (1) Kalendar, in which most of the Saints named are Welsh. f. 1. (2) Cornish Vocabulary. f. 7. (3) "De situ Brecheniauc." f. 10 b. This article, and eleven of the Lives in the next article, were published (in 1853) by the Rev. W. J. Rees, in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* mentioned below. (4) Sixteen Lives of Celtic (for the most part British) Saints, as follows: 1. "Gundleius" (Gwynllyw). f. 13;—2. Cadoc. f. 17;—3. "Iltutus" (Illtyd). f. 43 b;—4. Teilo. f. 52;—5. Dubricius. f. 56;—6. David, by Ricemarch. f. 61;—7. Dubricius, again, with the name of the author, Benedict of Gloucester. f. 71;—8. Bernach. f. 77 b;—9. "Paternus" (Padarn). f. 80 b;—10. Clitauc. f. 84 b;—11. "Kebius" (Cybi). f. 86;—12. "Tatheus." f. 88 b;—13. Carantoc. f. 93;—14. "Kebius" (Cybi) again. f. 94 b;—15. Aidus. f. 96 b;—16. Brendan. Imperfect. The present article. ff. 104 b–105 b.

The rest of the volume is made up of two other MSS. The first (ff. 106–113 b) contains (a) Correspondence between Gregory the Great and Augustine; from Bede (Book i.). f. 106; (b) Essay on the Holy Ghost, addressed by G[ilbert Crispin], Abbot of Westminster, to A[nselm], Archbishop of Canterbury. f. 109; (c) Vision of Drihthelm, etc., from Bede, Book v. chapp. 12–13. f. 111. The other MS. (ff. 114–179 b) contains Epistles of Alcuin, etc.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Imperfect; containing only the introductory Sections. *Latin.*

It begins: "Sanctissimus itaque Brendanus filius finloc nepotis alti . de genere Eogeni . Stagnile regione Numensium ortus fuit." f. 104 b. Barinthus relates his story of his visit to the Isle of Promise. ff. 104 b–105 b. St. Malo is introduced here, as follows: "Igitur sanctus Brendanus de omni congregatione sua electis bis . vii. inter quos fuit preclarissimus ac deo dignus adolescens Macutus quidam," etc.: see the same interpolation in Vespasian B. x. (f. 12, col. 2). The present copy breaks off in the middle of the speech which Brendan makes to the fourteen monks (his "Conbellatores," as he styles them), the last words being: "Terram de qua locutus est pater Barinthus . repromissionis sanctorum . in corde mei" . . . f. 105 b.

Printed in *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, edited by the Rev. W. J. Rees for the Welsh MSS. Society (Llandovery, 1853), pp. 251–254. Rees has made strange mistakes in the proper names. Thus, instead of "finloc," "Eogeni," "Stagnile," he has printed "Tinloc," "Cogeni," "Straguile"; and "Barinthus," which occurs here four times, he has printed each time "Barurchus."

Cotton, Tiberius D. iii. ff. 107–118.

Vellum; early XIIIth cent. Folio; ff. 12, in double columns, having 43 lines to a full column; but mutilated by the fire of 1731. In a collection of Lives of Saints, the preceding article being on St. Servatius (13 May), the present article, St. Brendan (16 May), and the next article, St. Potentiana (19 May).

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Imperfect, owing to losses by fire. *Latin.*

It begins: "Sanctus Brendanus filius finloca. nepotis alti . de genere eogeni stagnili regione numensium (*sic*) ortus fuit." f. 107. There is no mention made of St. Malo here; see f. 108. In the same column St. Enda (whose name is usually written Aende) is called "Pende." The speech of the Leader of the Birds begins: "Nos sumus de illa magna ruina antiqui hostis. sed in peccati eorum . . . . per suum magnum iudicium [*probably* misit nos in istum] locum ꝟ ubi penas non sustinemus . . . [pre]sentiam dei possumus uidere." f. 110, cols. 1–2. It ends with the following description of the return from the Isle of Promise: "Tunc uero acceptis de fructibus terre et omnibus generibus gemmarum dimissoque benedicto procuratore et iuuene. Sanctus uero brendanus cum suis fratribus nauiculam ascendit . et cepit nauigare per medium caliginis. Cum autem pertransissent ꝟ uenerunt ad insulam que vocatur deliciarum ibique trium dierum hospicium peregerunt atque accepta benedictione sanctus brendanus recto itinere ad locum suum reuersus est . fratres autem illum gratulantissime susceperunt glorificantes deum qui tam amabilis illos noluit patris aspectibus depriuari ꝟ cuius absentia tam diu fuerant orbati. Tunc beatus uir predictus caritati eorum congratulans ꝟ narrauit omnia que ei accidissent in uia ꝟ et quanta ei dominus dignatus est miraculorum ostendere portenta . Postremo etiam uelocitatem obitus illius certa atestatione notauit. Secundum iuuenis predictum et terram (*sic*) repromissionis sanctorum . quod etiam rei probauit euentus . quia cunctis per se bene dispositis paruo interiacente temporis interuallo sacramentis munitus diuinis ꝟ inter manus discipulorum gloriose migrauit ad dominum . cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum amen." f. 118.

Colophon: "Explicit uita Sancti brendani . de diuersis miraculis que uidit in occeano . xvii. kal. Junii" (*i.e.* 16 May).

The full conclusion given above was printed by Jubinal in a note to p. 53, from MS. 3748 at the Bibliothèque. The conclusion given by Schröder in his text, at p. 36, is likewise very similar.

Royal 8 E. xvii. ff. 128 b–138 b.

Vellum; late xiiith cent. Quarto; ff. 11, in double columns, of 32 to 40 lines. For the rest of the MS., see the description of the Vision of St. Paul, above, p. 397.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. *Latin.*

It begins: "Sanctus Brendanus filius finlotha nepotis alti de genere eogenii staonili regione numenensium ortus fuit." f. 128 b. There is no mention of St. Malo here: see f. 129, col 2. At f. 130 b, col. 2, it is said of the great fish: "habet nomine (*sic*) Lasconius"; and a rather later hand has added in the margin "*i.e.* a whal." The conclusion is similar to that already given, from Tiberius D. iii. f. 118. The last words here are: "Inter manus discipulorum gloriose migrauit ad dominum." f. 138 b.

Harley 3776. ff. 67–75 b.

Vellum; early xivth cent. Quarto; ff. 9, having 50 lines to a page. With an illuminated initial (to which a border is attached) at f. 67; and with 29 initials in blue, flourished with red, upon the other pages. For the rest of the MS. see the description of the Vision of Tundal, above, p. 416; and for a general description of the whole volume, vol. i. p. 941.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Divided by the initials into 30 chapters. *Latin.*

It begins: "Sanctus Brandanus filius Finlocha nepotis alti de genere Eogeni Straguli regione Mumenensium ortus fuit." f. 67. There is no mention of St. Malo here; see f. 67 b, ll. 19–20.

The Section about the great fish (here forming ch. 10) is headed "De Lasconio." f. 69. The conclusion is similar to that in Tiberius D. iii., the last words here being: "inter suorum discipulorum manus . migrauit ad dominum gloriose . cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum . Amen." f. 75 b.

Cotton, Vespasian B. x. ff. 11 b–21.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 11, in double columns of 43 or 44 lines. With two initials in blue, flourished with red.

The MS. contains:—(1) The early Anglo-Norman poem on St. Brendan, f. 1. (2) The present article. ff. 11 b. (3) Life of Longinus, the soldier who pierced Christ (in *Latin* prose). ff. 21, col. 2–22, col. 2. Bound up with two other MSS., the first containing a *Latin* version of "Alpharabius de diuisione omnium scientiarum" (f. 24), followed by some short Treatises from Aristotle (ff. 27 b, 29 b, 30); and the other being an 11th cent. MS. of the Cosmographia of Æthicus.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. *Latin.*

It is headed: "Incipit uita beati brendani abbatis." It begins: "Sanctissimus itaque brendanus filius finloca nepotis althi de genere eogeni stagnile regione numensium ortus fuit." f. 11 b. The story of the Voyage begins with the second coloured initial, as follows; "Igitur sanctus brendanus de omni congregacione sua electis bis septem fratribus inter quos fuit preclarus ac deo dignus adolescens macutus . qui a deo ab infancia est eruditus uel electus . et usque ad finem uite permansit in dei laudibus . Quod si quis uoluerit noscere perlegat eius opera prima et nouissima que preclara habentur." f. 12, col. 2. This passage about St. Malo (from "inter quos" down to "habentur") is doubtless an interpolation (as Jubinal remarks, p. 5, note); it is probable that the author of the Voyage had never heard of the claims of St. Malo. The great fish is here called "lasconius" (f. 13 b, col. 2). The conclusion is similar to that in Tiberius D. iii., the last words here being: "inter manus discipulorum gloriose migrauit ad dominum. Cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum . Amen." f. 21, cols. 1–2.

Harley 108. ff. 45–62.

Vellum; xvth cent. Large Octavo; ff. 18, having 34 lines to a page. With the first initial illuminated. For the rest of the MS., see the description of a copy of Turpin's Chronicle (ff. 4 b–31 b), in the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 574.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Imperfect, Section 15 being omitted, probably by mistake. *Latin.*

It is headed, in red: "Incipit vita beati Brandani abbatis de diuersis miraculis que vidit in occeano, 17 Kal. Junij." (*i.e.* 16 May). It begins: "Sanctus Brandanus filius filiocha . nepotis alturi . de generacione eogeni stragnile regione ortus fuit." f. 45. There is no mention made of St. Malo (see f. 46 b). The speech of the Leader of the Birds begins at f. 50; but it is too much corrupted to be worth quoting. The whole of Section 15 (the Isle of Anchorites) is omitted at f. 56; together with portions of Sections 14 and 16. After describing Brendan's arrival at the Isle of Promise, and afterwards at the Isle of Delights, the work ends: "Ibi trium dierum hospicio peracto ꝛ sanctus brendanus accepta benediccione ꝛ recto itinere ad locum suum reuersus est. Ibique dies uite sue finiuit in pace . Amen." f. 62.

Additional 15,106. ff. 2–27.

Paper; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 26, having 28 to 29 lines to a page. With the first initial in red.

The present article is followed by the relation of the torture by Fiends of a Bishop Udo, of Magdeburg, in 984. ff. 27–32 b. The rest of the volume is made up of eight theological Treatises, in various hands of the 15th cent. It formerly belonged to a Carthusian monastery near Erfurt.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. *Latin.*

It is headed: Reuelacio Brandani Abbatis." It begins: "Sanctus Brandanus filius finlotha alti de genera eogeni stagindi regione uiminensum ortus fuit." f. 2. There is no

Hermits. f. 132. "Grifa." f. 132, col. 2, last line. Column in the sea; and the Isle of Smiths. f. 132 b. Isle of Smoky Mountain and Judas. f. 132 b, col. 2. Isle of Paul the Hermit. f. 133, col. 2. Isle of Promise. f. 133 b, col. 2. The Voyage ends: "Tunc acceptis de fructibus terre et omnibus generibus gemmarum ꝯ prospero cursu ad monasterium suum reuersus est. Quos cum fratres uidissent ꝯ cum magna leticia dominum glorificauerunt. Tunc sanctus brendanus omnia que eis acciderant et quanta eis dominus dignat[us]est m[i]raculorum ostendere portenta fratribus enarrauit." ff. 133 b, col. 2–134. The later miracles then follow, and the whole article ends with these lines (half burnt): "Sanctus u[ero Brendanus] anno uite sue nonagesimo ter[tio, plenus] uirtutibus et miraculis migrauit [ad dominum] xvii. kal. iunii (*i.e.* 16 May); et in cluenerc[a sepelitur]." f. 134, col. 2.

John Capgrave has included this article in his *Noua legenda anglie* (printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1516), ff. 43 b–48 b. But some passages are there omitted, three of which are important: (1) Jasconius; (2) Paradise of Birds; and (3) Judas. The present copy will soon be published by the Clarendon Press, in Horstmann's edition of John of Tinmouth's Sanctilogium Britannicum.

Arundel 330. ff. 24–24 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Small Quarto; one leaf, in double columns of 42 lines. In a collection of Lives of Saints entitled "Passionale." See the description of Barlaam and Josaphat, above, p. 133.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. An abridgment. *Latin.*

All the usual incidents are here, but related very succinctly. Begins: "Brandano uir nomine barintus retulit qui cum filio suo moroch oceánum perlustrans paradisum terrestrem inuenerat. Habebat autem sanctus brandanus tria milia fratrum de quibus xiiii accepit," etc. f. 24. Ends: "Demum per bonum sicū [suum?] procuratorem de quo supra diximus ad uisionem paradisi reducti . et acceptis de fructibus et gemmis quas ibidem inuenerunt redierunt in domum suam." f. 24 b.

Cotton, Vespasian D. ix. ff. 2–10.

Vellum; late xivth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 9, in double columns, of 36 to 38 lines. With initials in red and blue.

At the end of the volume (ff. 213–218) is a Life of St. Alexius, in rhyming *Latin* stanzas, like those of the present article, and apparently written by the same scribe, and supplied with red and blue initials by the same rubricator. On a space at the end of the present article (f. 10, col. 2), and on the reverse side of the leaf (f. 10 b), are 48 didactic *Latin* elegiac lines, beg. "Pro seruo dominus . ne seruiat . ut dominetur." The body of the volume (ff. 12–212 b) is filled with paper copies of various kinds, chiefly historical, the longest of which is a History of Holland, in *Flemish*, with coloured arms of some of the counts, down to 1476, imperfect at the end (ff. 50–162 b). At f. 167 b is a notice "De magistro Adam Cartusiensi," giving a list of the principal works written by him after he had become a simple monk at Witham, about 1180 (see the *Life of Hugh of Lincoln*, by Adam of Eynsham, Rolls Series, 1864, pp. 201–3); he had previously been Abbot of Dryburgh, and he appears to have been the author usually known as Adamus Præmonstratensis (see Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. cxcviii.). At ff. 177–183, and again at ff. 190–190 b, are fragments of an *English* poem, supposed to be spoken by a girl named "Kateryne," who desires to be a nun, but who has a vision of the foulness of nunneries. At ff. 183–8 there are 5 leaves of another *English* poem, signed at the end by the scribe, "Bertran Waton." These leaves contain about 260 lines of "The Stacyons of Rome," published (from Cotton, Caligula A. ii.) by the Early English Text Society in *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1866, pp. 113–134. The present fragments are followed (ff. 188–189 b) by two love-poems. At ff. 191–192 b are two leaves of Gospel story (the warning of Christ to his Disciples, that they will forsake him, and the Transfiguration), also in *English* verse.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. In 312 rhyming stanzas of four lines each. *Latin.*

It appears from the first and last stanzas that the work was addressed by the author to a friend, named Alexander, and in the fourth stanza the author calls him "Pius ille signifer: cuius jussu scribo."

The first page is headed with two titles: (1) "De s[ancto] brandano" (in a hand of the 15th cent.); and (2) "Vita Sancti Brendani" (17th cent.).

The first stanza is as follows:—

"Uana uanis garriat: pagina pagana
Greges . agros . prelia: uox uirgiliana
Mundi dilectoribus: placeant mundana
Alexandri studia: pia sint non uana

In stanza 8 the author says that, at the desire of his friend and patron, he has turned a French poem into the present measure:—

"Modis hec ut precipit rithmicis explano
Hunc in modum transferens rithmo de romano
Scriptum uetus renouo:' dum hec noua cano
Sic uetustas precinit:' scribens de brandano." f. 2.

In stanza 10 he begins the narrative with the line, "Ortus in hybernia:' flos est puerorum." f. 2, col. 2. In stanza 38 Brendan chooses his fourteen companions; no mention is made here of St. Malo. f. 3. In stanza 81 the monks mistake the whale for an island; and here a note is added, at the top of the page: "De pisse (*sic*) quem iasconium nominant." f. 4. After they have visited the Isle of Promise, and have been told, by the youth whom they meet there, to return home, the poem concludes thus:—

"Juuenis post mutuum:' rediit ualeto
Currunt ad hyberniam:' naute cursu leto
Nondum trium mensium:' termino completo
Ad suorum finium:' ueniunt aueto
Suum patris reditus:' hilarat conuentum
Hilaratur patria:' patris ad aduentum
Seriatim exerit:' quicquid est obtentum
Multis ex hac serie:' dans emolumentum
Complens uite terminum:' iste nazareus
Pius pio transitu:' factus est hebreus
Cuius piis meritis:' nobis parcat deus
Vigeat et ualeat:' Alexander meus." f. 10, cols. 1–2.

Colophon (written in a somewhat later hand, the same hand as that of the 48 elegiacs which follow it): "Expliciunt actus sancti Brandani." f. 10, col. 2.

Printed, from this MS., the only one known, by Cardinal Patrick Moran, *Acta Sancti Brendani* (Dublin, 1872), pp. 45–84.

Cotton, Vespasian B. x. ff. 1–11.

Vellum; xrvth cent. Folio; ff. 11, in double columns of 44 lines. With initials in red and blue. Followed (ff. 11 b-21) by a prose *Latin* version of the Voyage, which has been previously described (at p. 534).

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. A poem dedicated to Adeliza of Louvain (daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant), second queen of Henry I. of England, to whom she was married 24 Jan., 1121. In 1834 octosyllabic lines (including the Dedication). *French.*

The Dedication (in 18 lines) is as follows:

"Donna aaliz la reine
Par qui ualdrat lei diuiné
Par qui creistrat lei de terré
E remandrat tante guerré
Por les armes henri lu rei
E par le cunseil qui ert en tei
Saluet tei mil e mil feiz
Li apostoiles danz benediz.
Que comandas ćó ad enpris
Secund sun sens entremis
En letre mis e en romanz
Esi cum fud li teons cumanz
De saint Brendan le bon abeth
Mais tul defent ne seit gabeth
Quant dit que set e fait que peot
Itel seruant blasmer ne steot
Mais si qui peot e ne uoile
Dreiz est que cil mult se dóile." f. 1.

The first dozen lines are quoted by the Abbé de La Rue, in his *Essais* (Caen, 1834), tome ii., pp. 69–70; and yet he continues throughout his article (pp. 66–87) to call the author a "Trouvère anonyme." Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. (1846), p. xv, repeats the phrase, "anonymous trouvère," adding "apparently a Benedictine monk." Wright then quotes the whole Dedication, and attempts to support his views by

translating "ad enpris" into "I have undertaken," instead of "he has undertaken." Suchier, in Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, Band i. (Heft 5, 1875), p. 553, says that this poem was composed ("verfasst") by the "apostolicus (Bischof?) Benedeit." Francisque Michel, in the Introduction to his edition of this poem (1878), p. xi, merely remarks that the author "présente à la reine les compliments d'un 'danz Benediz' auquel il donne le titre d'*apostoiles*, plus généralement affecté au pape." But Gaston Paris, in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1890), § 148, calls the author "un moine nommé Benoit."

Queen Adeliza is known as a patroness of two other poets, Philippe de Thaon, to whom she proposed the subject of his Bestiary; and David, whom she engaged as the Biographer of Henry I., on his death in 1135. The latter work is lost, and is only known through Geffrei Gaimar, in the Epilogue to his Estorie des Engles. It seems as if the present poem was written soon after the Queen's marriage in 1121; for it hails her as one who will bring strength to the laws divine and human, and cause war to cease in the land.

In Boehmer's *Romanische Studien* (p. 556) Suchier has divided the Latin Brendan into twenty-five sections; of which twenty-two agree with those in the present poem, but three are omitted (Nos. 4, 16, 17). We will give the titles of the twenty-five sections, together with the first line of each of the corresponding French Sections.

1. Parentage and station of Brendan; his prayers to be shown the joys and the torments of the other world; and his resolve to consult another Man of God. Beg. (line 19): "Icist seinz deu fud ned de reis." f. 1.

2. Information given by Barinthus about Mernoc. Beg. (l. 75): "Barinz out nun cil ermite." f. 1, col. 2.

3. Choice of the fourteen Monks. Beg. (l. 103): "Quant ot brandan la ueue." f. 1 b.

4. Omitted. Visit to St. Enda, in the Latin.

5. Rock called "salt brandan"; and the building of the ship. Beg. (l. 157): "Uait sen brandan uers le grant mer." f. 1 b, col. 2.

6. The three intruding Monks. Beg. (l. 187): "Entrent tuit e il apres." f. 2.

7. Uninhabited City [no little dog mentioned here]. Beg. (l. 209): "Drechent le mast tendent le ueil." f. 2.

8. Theft of the "hanap de or." Beg. (l. 309): "Cum endormit furent trestuit." f. 2 b, col. 2.

9. Sheep Island. Beg. (l. 371): "Or unt uout li deu seruant." f. 3.

10. The great Fish. Beg. (l. 435): "Siglet brandan nel cuntredit." f. 3, col. 2.

11. Paradise of Birds. Beg. (l. 479): "Quant out co dist labes brandan." f. 3 b.

12. Isle of the Family of Ailbe. Beg. (l. 621): "Uunt sen mult tost en mer siglant." f. 4 b.

13. Isle of the Sleepy Well. Beg. (l. 779): "Quant ueint le iurn que labes mist." f. 5, col. 2.

14. Celebration of Easter, again, upon the great Fish (here called, at l. 837, "li iacoines"), and the Paradise of Birds, etc. Beg. (l. 821): "Par mer dileoc se sunt tolud." f. 5 b.

15. Fight between two Sea-Monsters. Beg. (l. 893): "Trestout curent al portant uent." f. 6.

16. Omitted. Isle of Hermits, in the Latin.

17. Omitted. Isle of Grapes, in the Latin.

18. The "grips" killed by the Dragon. Beg. (l. 1001): "De miracles deus ne cesset." f. 6 b.

19. Fish swim round the ship, while Mass is chanted, on St. Peter's Day; together with the Column in the sea. Beg. (l. 1031): "U jurnt la feste de saint perrunt." f. 6 b, col. 2;—and (l. 1063): "Quant curent e ueient cler." f. 7.

20. Isle of Smiths. Beg. (l. 1097): "Granz curs vnt fait li pelerin." f. 7.

21. Isle of the Smoky Mountain. Beg. (l. 1181): "Vunt sen auant ni dutent rien." f. 7 b.

22. Judas. Beg. (l. 1211): "Puis les meinet brandans par mer." f. 7 b, col. 2.

23. Isle of Paul the Hermit. Beg. (l. 1487): "Brandans sen uait diloec auant." f. 9, col. 2.

24. Isle of Promise. Beg. (l. 1607): "Or turnent uers lur hoste." f. 10.

25. Return to Ireland, and death of Brendan. Lines 1813–1834, as follows:—

"En treis meis sunt en irlande
Par la uertud de deu grande
Ja nuuele vait par pais
Que uenuz est de parais
Ne sunt haitet sul li parent
Ainz sunt trestuz comunement
Sur tuz sunt lied li chere frere
De ćó quor vnt lur dulz pere
Suuent lur dist cum vnt erret
V furent bien enserret
E si lur dist cum prest truuat
Quanque busuign a deu ruuat
E lun e lel trestut lur dist
Cum il truuat ćó que il quist
Li plusurs dels ensaintirent
Par la uertud quen lui uirent
Tant cum brandans el secle fud
A mulz ualut par deu uertud
Quant vint al tens que il finat
Ralat v deus lui destinat
El regne deu . v alat il
Par lui en uunt plusur que mil." f. 11, col. 2.

Colophon: "Explicit uita sancti brandani."

Hermann Suchier published a diplomatic transcript of the present MS. in Eduard Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, Band i. Heft v. (1875), pp. 567–587. His Introduction (pp. 553–566) contains some various readings from an Oxford fragment (pp. 565–6); Francisque Michel has republished the text of our MS. (but not in diplomatic form), *Les Voyages merveilleux de Saint Brandan* (Paris, 1878). Karl Bartsch has published the first 354 lines, from all the MSS., coming down to the death of the first of the three intruding Monks, *La Langue et la Littérature françaises* (Paris, 1887), cols. 69–84.

Harley 4333. ff. 25–35 b.

Vellum; xmth cent. Duodecimo; ff. 11, in double columns of 39 to 42 lines. With an initial in red. The whole volume is a collection of *French* poems, in 16 articles. Art. 3 (Fables of Marie de France) is described above, p. 306; and Art. 16 (Ordène de Chevalerie) in vol. i. (1883), pp. 810–812. For a fuller description of the MS. see an article (on a poem by Henri d'Andeli) by Paul Meyer, in *Romania*, tome i. (1872), pp. 190–215.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. A metrical version, inserted (in the year 1247 or 1248) in the second redaction of the Image du Monde; probably written by the author of the whole work, Gautier de Metz. In 1759 octosyllabics. *French.*

Three different names have, on various authorities, been given to the author; these are: "Omons" (for Osmond), "Gossouin" (derived from Gauzwin), and Gautier. The evidence given by earlier critics has been examined of late years by Victor Le Clerc* and Carl Fant,† and they both rejected the name of Omons; but, while Le Clerc was in favour of Gautier, Fant was in favour of Gossouin. About the same time as Fant was concluding his article (1886) Paul Meyer discovered at Cheltenham a long-lost MS., which had formerly belonged to Du Cange, and which had supplied him and Calmet with the name of Gautier. Meyer has described it in an article on the "MSS. Français de la Bibliothèque Phillipps à Cheltenham."‡ The first Rubric gives the poem the name of "Mapemonde," and then adds—"Si le fist maistre Gautiers de Mies en Lorraine, uns trés boins phillosophes" (*Notices*, p. 174). Meyer says that many passages point to the author's being of an "origine lorraine, ou plus spécialement messine"; and that, although the MS. is not earlier than the middle of the 14th century, he is quite ready to accept it as good authority for giving the author the name of Gautier de Metz.

---

* *Histoire littéraire*, tome xxiii. (1856), pp. 294–335. He discusses the authorship at pp. 296–301, and again at pp. 321–7.

† In an article in French in *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* (1886), 77 pages. He discusses the authorship at pp. 45–55.

‡ *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xxxiv. (Paris, 1891), pp. 167–176.

The first Redaction of the Image du Monde is in three Parts: (1) God and Creation; (2) Mappemonde, Bestiary, etc.; (3) Astronomy. At the end, it is stated that the poem was finished on the day of the Apparition to the Kings (the Epiphany, 6 January), 1245. This date was probably (as Meyer remarks) the 6 Jan., 1246; as the year began, in most parts of France, either on 25 March, or on Easter Day. It is odd that in the present copy both numbers are assigned to the year of composition. The poem begins: "En lan de lincarnation Jhesu nostre redemption Mil . cc . ans qarante sis Fui dun liure faire pensis De tote lymage del monde" (f. 1). At the end there is the same date as in most of the other MSS.: "Ci fenist lymage do monde A deu comence a deu prent fin Qui toz nos pregne a bone fin. En lan de lincarnation As rois a la pariricion [l'Apparition] mil et ii[c] . xlv . ans Fu premiers perfaiz cist romans" (f. 70, cols. 1–2).

The second Redaction, to which the present copy belongs, is differently divided. It is in two Parts (ff. 1–39 b, and ff. 39 b–70); and the first Part contains several insertions, the longest of which is the Voyage of St. Brendan. These were supposed by Victor Le Clerc to be by some other author; but Paul Meyer proposes to show (in a future publication) that they are by the same author (p. 174). One of his principal arguments (we believe) is that the second Redaction followed the first so quickly. After telling of the death of St. Brendan, the author says that he had found the original in the Abbey of St. Arnould at Metz, and had translated it from Latin into French on 9 March, 1247 (or 1248). We will quote the words at the end of the present description.

The present poem is fuller than the early French poem in Cotton MS., Vespasian B. x. (above, p. 541); it contains the matter of all those 25 Sections, into which Suchier has divided the Latin original.

1. Birth and station of Brendan. Beg. (line 1): "Entendez ci de saint brandan." f. 25. (See ed. Jubinal, p. 105.)

2. Visit of Barinthus, who tells of the Isle Delicious, and the Isle of Promise. Beg. (ll. 9–14):

" J. soir auint cuns siens cosins
Prodom uers deu qot non berins
Qui dune isle estoit reuenus
Vint a lui ce li dist salus
S[aint] B[rendan] tantost li requist
Qaucun des biens deu li deist."
f. 25. (Jubinal, pp. 105–6.)

3. Brendan consults with his Monks. Beg. (l. 133): "Qant S. brandans ot ce oi." f. 25 b, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 110.)

4. Visits a saint. (St. Enda not named here.) Beg. (l. 166): "xiiii freres prist o lui." f. 26. (Jubinal, p. 110.)

5. Goes to Mount Brandon. Ship built. Beg. (l. 171): "E trespasserent lo pais." f. 26. (Jubinal, p. 111.)

6. Three intruding Monks. Beg. (l. 188): "Lors uinrent acorrant mult fort." f. 26. (Jubinal, p. 111.)

7. Isle of the deserted city. Beg. (l. 217): "Apres xl . iors auint." f. 26, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 112.)

8. Theft of the "frein dargent." Beg. (l. 250): "Sains B. prist a sermoner." f. 26 b. (Jubinal, p. 114.)

9. Sheep Island. Beg. (l. 327): "Ensi uont per la mer naiant." f. 26 b, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 116.)

10. The great Fish, "Jascons." Beg. (l. 386): "Lors les en a lor neis portez." f. 27, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 118.)

11. Paradise of Birds. Beg. (l. 429, second half): "qant ale orent." f. 27 b. (Jubinal, p. 119.)

12. Isle of the Family of Ailbe. Beg. (l. 570): "Sains B. auec ces uisins." f. 28, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 124.)

13. Isle of Sleepy Well. Beg. (l. 758): "Qant la tiephene fu passee." f. 29 b. (Jubinal, p. 130.)

14. Celebration of Festivals. Beg. (l. 789): "Des pessons pristrent el riuage." f. 29 b, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 131.)

15. Fight of two Sea-Monsters. Beg. (l. 896): "Apres xl iors auint." f. 30, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 135.)

16. Isle of Hermits. Beg. (l. 995): "Contre bise uont a nauie." f. 31. (Jubinal, p. 138.)

17. Isle of Grapes. Beg. (l. 1095): "Ainc si gent fruit fait li S. hons." f. 31 b. (Jubinal, p. 141.)

18. Fight of a Griffin and another Bird. Beg. (l. 1134): "Si com il aloient naiant." f. 31 b, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 143.)

19. Fish swim round the ship, while Mass is being chanted on St. Peter's day; followed by the Column in the sea. Beg. (l. 1163, second half): "i. ior uoient." f. 32. (Jubinal, p. 144.)

20. Isle of Smiths. Beg. (l. 1259): "Piusqe cele columbe uirent." f. 32 b. (Jubinal, p. 147.)

21. Isle of the Smoky Mountain. Beg. (l. 1316): "Pres dels contre septemtrion." f. 33. (Jubinal, p. 149.)

22. Judas. Beg. (l. 1347): "Pius vii. iors uirent une forme." f. 33. (Jubinal, p. 150.)

23. Paul the Hermit. Beg. (l. 1486): "Au tiers ior uirent loi[n]g denqui." f. 34. (Jubinal, p. 155.)

24. Isle of Promise. Beg. (l. 1631): "Contre midi sen uont naiant." f. 34 b, col. 2. (Jubinal, p. 160.)

25. Return home and death. Beg. (l. 1732): "Dilec a lor leux sen reuindrent." f. 35 b. (Jubinal, p. 163.)

The death of St. Brendan is followed by eight lines, in which the author states where he found the Latin narrative, and when he translated it into French. These are lines 1752–1759 of the present poem. They are as follows:—

"A saint arnoul une abbaie
De moines noires qest establie
Droit deuant mez en loheregne
Troua listore molt anciene
De latin la mis en romanz
Por fare entendre as laies gens
En ix iors de mars lou perfet
Mil cc ans xl. set." f. 35 b.

The next two lines serve to introduce two other stories; but they are included in the last paragraph of our present article. They are:—"E ces dous ci aprez auec Don lune commence ciluec" (f. 35 b, col. 2). The subjects are: (1) How Nature made a Man (f. 35 b, col. 2); and (2) How a Student proved the unchastity of his own Mother (f. 36 b, col. 2). After about 150 lines more, the First Part of the second Redaction of the Image du Monde comes to an end (f. 39 b).

Achille Jubinal published a very faulty text of this poem (in 1751 lines), from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (at that time no. 7534), with some corrections from another (no. 7991), *La Légende Latine de S. Brandaines, avec une Traduction inédite en prose et en poésie Romanes* (Paris, 1836). This poem is at pp. 105–164; and the corrections at pp. 165–167.

Additional 6524. ff. 129 b–137 b, col. 2.

Vellum; xivth cent. Folio; ff. 9, in double columns of 46 lines. With initials in blue, flourished with red. In a selection of the Lives of Saints by Jean Belet; see above, p. 476.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Translated by Jean Belet. *French.*

The present copy is headed: "Si comence la uie mon seignur seint Brandan." It begins: "En la uie mon seignur seint brandan qui moult est deliteuse a oir e a cors e a ame trouom escrit quil fu niez dyrlande en une contree quauoit non stanille ou une gent habitent qui sont apelez mumenien por une citee qui la sciet quest apelee mumenie. Cil seint Brandanz fu filz finlocha nies dalthi du lignage eogenon." f. 129 b. When Brendan chooses his fourteen companions (ff. 130, col. 2, last line–130 b, first line), no mention is made of St. Malo. The Monks get upon the great fish (f. 132), but no name is given to it here. After relating how they visited the Isle of Promise and the Isle Delicious, and how they returned home, the translation ends: "Quant il furent uenuz a sabeie ꝑ si moigne e si frere li receurent ioieusement glorifiant e loant dieu qui tant les auoit amez qui leur auoit rendu lor abbe de qui il auoient estee ueoue. vii. anz. Seint Brandans qui moult fu leez deuz e de lor prosperitez raconta tot ce qui lor estoit auenu en la uoie e les merueilles e tous les miracles qui diex li auoit demoustrez. Apres lor escleira la ueritee de la terre de promission e coment e quant il trespasseront si come li iouuenciax li auoit dit qui sus la riue parla a lui de flueue si come deuant uos ai dit. Quant il ot ces choses bien ordeinez e receue tote droiture de seint eglise ꝑ il trespassa glorieusement entre les meins de ses desiples e fu porteez des angres en pardurable repos ou dieu le pere qui uit e regne e regnera auec qui nos puissons regnir in secula seculorum. Amen." f. 137 b, col. 2.

Additional 17,275. ff. 262–269 b.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Large Folio; ff. 9, in triple columns of 48 lines. With a miniature and an illuminated initial at the beginning; and with other initials in red and blue. "At the beginning is inserted a leaf, on which is blazoned a shield bearing the arms of Chateauvilain, quartering de Coucy and . . . ., with lions as supporters, surmounted by helmet crest, with the motto 'Espoir de myeulx'" (*Catalogue of Additions for* 1846–7, p. 383).

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Translated by Jean Belet. *French.*

The differences between this copy and that in Additional 6524 are very slight indeed.

Headed: "Ci apres conmence la uie monseingneur saint brandain qui fu abbes et de sainte uie." f. 262. Begins: "Or vous dirons de la uie monseingneur saint brandain qui est moult deliteuse a oir si conme nous trouuons en escrit et il est uoirs quil fu nez dirlande en une contree qui a a non stranisle . ou unes gent habitent qui sont apelez mumenien . pour une cite qui la siet qui est apelez mumenie." f. 262, col. 2. Brendan's choice of his fourteen companions is told at f. 263; no mention being made of St. Malo. The concluding passage quoted in our description of Additional 6524 begins here: "Quant il fu uenus en sabaye. Si moinnes et ses freres le recurent ioieusement." f. 269, col. 3. It ends: "Apres demoura pou de temps quant il ot ces choses bien ordenees et receues toutes droitures de sainte eglise . il trespassa glorieusement entre les mains de ces deciples . et fu portez el roial regne o dieu le pere qui uit et regne et regnera. Auec qui nous puissons regner ou siecle des siecles amen." f. 269 b.

Harley 2277. ff. 41 b–51.

Vellum; about A.D. 1300. Large Octavo; ff. 11, having 38 lines to a page, and one page (f. 48 b) having 39 lines. With initials in green and red. In a collection of Lives of Saints in English Verse. The present article belongs to 16 May. It is preceded by St. Quiriac (4 May), and followed by St. Dunstan (19 May).

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. In 732 long lines of ballad-metre. *English.*

It begins:—

"Seint Brendan þe holi man ⁊ was ȝund of Irlande
Monek he was of hard lyf ⁊ as ich vnderstonde
Of fasting of penance ynouȝ ⁊ abbod he was þere
Of a þousend monekes ⁊ þat alle an vnder him were
So þat hit ful an a dai ⁊ as oure louerdes wille was
þat Barint anoþer abbot ⁊ to him com bi cas
Seint Brendan him bisoȝte anon ⁊ þat he scholde vnderstonde
And telle þat he iseȝ ⁊ aboute in oþer londe." f. 41 b.

The story proceeds much the same as in the Latin original, except that there are a few omissions and slight changes, some of which injure the framework. Brendan chooses twelve Monks (instead of twice seven). f. 42 b. Two more (instead of three) follow him, and are taken on board. f. 43. At the first island a dog, the only living creature visible, leads them to a hall, where a full supper is ready for them (but the theft of the silver bit, with the death of one of the intruding Monks, is omitted). f. 43. Brendan says of the great fish:—

"Jasconi he is icleped ⁊ and fondeth niȝt and dai
To pulte his tail in his mouþ ⁊ ac for gretnisse he ne mai."
f. 44, lines 1–2.

In the Paradise of Birds, the chief Bird tells Brendan that he will spend midwinter in the Isle of "Abbey" (meaning "Ailbe"). f. 44 b. When they join the Family of Ailbe, the Abbot tells

Brendan that the twelve chosen Monks will return with him to Ireland; but as to the two Intruders, he says:—

"And þe þretteoþ fram þe ⁊ to þe ylle of ankres schal wende
And þe fourteoþe to helle al quic ⁊ and beo þer with outen ende." f. 46.

But this is the only allusion to the Isle of Hermits (here called "ankres"); and the visit to it, and the parting with a Monk there, are omitted. The column standing in the sea (which ought to come after the transparent sea, with its fish that attend the Service of Mass, f. 47 b) is also omitted. The only Monk whose loss is here described is the one who rushes of his own accord to the Isle of the Smoky Mountain. f. 48. Judas is at ff. 48 b–49 b.

After relating the visit to the Isle of Promise, here called the "Lond of Biheste," and the return to Ireland, the poem ends:—

"Here breþeren þo hi come hom ⁊ ioyful were ynouȝ
Þis holi man Seint brendan ⁊ toward deþe drouȝ
For euereft after þulke tyme ⁊ of þe wordle he ne roȝte
Bote as a man of þoþer wordle ⁊ and as he were in þoȝte
He deide in Irlande ⁊ after þulke stounde
Meni miracle me haþ þer ⁊ siþþe for him ifounde
An abbei þer is arered ⁊ þer as his bodi was ido
Nou god ous bringe to þulke ioye ⁊ þat his soule wende to. Amen." f. 51.

The present MS., collated with a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, was published by Thomas Wright in No. xlviii. of the Percy Society's volumes (London, 1844), pp. 1–34. It is there followed (pp. 35–56) by an English prose version, taken from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the Golden Legend (London, 1527); and the latter is evidently nothing but the poem (from a copy very similar to the present one) turned into prose.

Additional 10,301. ff. 80–90 b.

Vellum; about A.D. 1400. Large Octavo; ff. 11, having 36 lines to a page, and one leaf (f. 85) having 37 lines to each of its pages. With the first initial in blue, flourished with red. In a collection of Lives of Saints, in English verse. Preceded by St. Quiriac, and followed by St. Dunstan.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. In 734 long lines of ballad metre. *English.*

It is headed: "De sancto Brandano." It begins:—

"Sein Brandan þe holy man . was ȝend of irlonde
Monke he was of hard lif . as y vnder stonde." f. 80.

Brendan chooses twelve monks. f. 81 b. Two more follow him, and are taken on board. f. 81 b. The supper in the lonely hall (the theft and the death of monk omitted). f. 82. "Jasconi" the fish. f. 82 b. The Bird speaks here of the Isle of "Albey." f. 83 b. (In Harley 2277, f. 44 b, the name is turned by mistake into Abbey.) The Abbot there tells Brendan that the thirteenth Monk (the first Intruder in this poem) will leave him at the Isle of "Ancres"; and that the fourteenth will go "to helle al quik." f. 84 b, last 2 lines. The visit to the "ancres" omitted at f. 86. Column in the sea omitted at f. 86 b. The fourteenth Monk rushes away to the Isle of the Smoky Mountain. f. 87. Judas. ff. 87 b–88 b. Visit to "þe londe of byheste." f. 89 b. They return to Ireland. f. 90. Brendan dies, the poem ending:—

"He deide in irlond . sone after þat stonde
Mony miracle me haþ þer for him suþþe y fonde
On abbey þer is arered . as is body was y do
Nou god vs bringge to þat joye . as is soule wende to."
f. 90 b.

Cotton, Julius D. ix. ff. 74 b–83 b.

Vellum; early xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 10, having 39 to 42 lines to a page. With the first initial in red. In a collection of Lives of Saints, in English verse. The present article is numbered (in another hand) "ca^m xli^m." It is preceded by St. Quiriac, and followed by St. Dunstan.

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. In 732 long lines of ballad-metre. *English.*

It begins:—

"Seint brendain þe holi man was of yrlond
Monk he was of hard lif as ich vnþerstonde." f. 74 b.

The choice of twelve monks. f. 75 b. The intrusion of two others. f. 75 b. The lonely hall (no theft and no death of any Monk). f. 76. "Jasconi," the fish. f. 76 b. The Bird speaks here of the isle called "Ailbei" (a name better spelt than in either of our other two MSS. of this poem). f. 77 b. Further on again, the patron of the isle is called "seint ailbi." f. 78, last line but two. The Abbot says that Brendan will part with the thirteenth Monk (the first Intruder) at the Isle of "ankres"; and that the fourteenth Monk (the other Intruder) will wend "to helle al quic." f. 78 b. The isle is called by mistake "abbei" at f. 79 b, line 12. Visit to the Isle of Hermits (or "ankres") not mentioned here: see f. 79 b, foot of page. Column in the sea omitted: see f. 80 b, line 7. The fourteenth Monk rushes to the Isle of the Smoky Mountain. f. 81. Judas. ff. 81–2. Visit to "þe lond of biheste." f. 83. Return to Ireland and death of Brendan. The poem ends:—

"He deide in irlond sone after þilke stounde
Moni miracle me haþ þere for him suþþe ifounde
An abbei þer was suþþe arerd as his bodi was ido
Nou god ous bringe to dilke (*sic*) ioie . as his soule wente to." f. 83 b.

Additional 11,565. ff. 59–61 b, col. 2.

Vellum; about A.D. 1470. Large Folio; ff. 3, in double columns of 56 lines. With the first initial in gold, set in blue and red. In a collection of Lives of Saints, in English prose, the two Lives preceding the present article being those of St. Dorothy (f. 57 b, col. 2), and St. Leger (f. 58 b, col. 2). It is imperfect at the end; and the next page after the gap begins with the Life of St. Silvester (f. 62).

VOYAGE OF ST. BRENDAN. Imperfect at the end. *English.*

The first part of the volume (ff. 1–33 b) contains a collection (imperfect at beginning and end) of Gospel narratives, to be read on various Sundays, etc. The next page (f. 34) is headed: "Here bygynneth the life of seyntes and this boke is called yn latyn legenda sanctorum. Of the whiche first bygynneth the life of Seint Andrewe the apostle." The present article has this heading: "Here endith the life of the holy bishop and martir seint Leger. And next bygynneth the life of seint brandan." f. 59. It begins: "Seint brandan the holy man was a monk, and borne in Irlond and there he was abbot of an howse wherein were a thousand monkys. And there he lad a ful streete and holy life in gret penannce and abstynence." f. 59, col. 2. "Beryn" comes to visit him, and tells him how his "sonne" named "meruok" had settled in an island "bysides the mounteyne of stonns." "And there beryn see in a vision that this monke meruok was seiled fer estwarde in the see more than iii days seylyng." f. 59, col. 2. And so the text goes on, being the same that was published by Caxton in his *Golden Legend*, in 1483; though Thomas Wright has chosen to reprint it from Wynkyn de Worde's edition, in 1527 (see his *St. Brandan*, in the Percy Society, 1844). With regard to a phrase in our last quotation, Wright justly remarks that "the prose version is here rather confused," and that the writer seems to have thought that "the voyage of Barintus was nothing more than a vision" (p. 63). Wright hardly seems to have remarked that the mistake was due to three lines of the metrical version (ll. 30–32), which he himself had published (from Harley 2277) in the same

volume (p. 2). Barinthus is saying that Mernoc's abbey became famous; and he goes on:—

"Anon þo ich ihurde þis ⁊ þiderward ich gan gon
So þat in auisioun / oure suete louerd him kende
Þat aȝe[n] me er ich come þer ⁊ þreo iourneyes he wende."
(Harley 2277, f. 42.)

In the poem, it will be observed, the only vision is seen by Mernoc, who is charged to go three days' journey to meet Barinthus; and they then sail together to the "lond of biheste" (f. 42 b). In the prose version Barinthus sees Mernoc's voyage in a vision; but still, when Mernoc reaches the "londe of byheeste," Barinthus is in his company.

The present article is nothing but the poem turned into prose. Brendan chooses only twelve monks. Only two more follow them (f. 59 b). The theft of a silver bit and the death of the thieving monk are omitted (f. 59 b, col. 2). It is prophesied to Brendan that one of the two intruding monks will leave him at the Isle of "Ankres," while the other shall "go quycke to helle" (f. 60 b, col. 2); but the visit to the Isle of "Ankres" is left undescribed. The column in the sea is likewise omitted (see f. 61 b). Thus the action of the poem is adhered to throughout; and the words are often retained.

When Caxton included this version in his *Golden Legend*, he made a few slight changes or omissions; and one of these omissions happens to occur in the passage about Judas, with which the present copy breaks off. In Harley 2277 (f. 49) it is:—

"Seint Brendan seide þurf godes grace ⁊ we schulle schulde þe
Tel me what is þe cloþ ⁊ þat so heȝe hongeþ þere
Þo ich was an vrþe quaþ Judas ⁊ and oure louerdes pans ber
Þis cloþ ich ȝaf a mesel ⁊ and for myne nas hit noȝt
Ac hit was mid oure louerdes pans ⁊ and mid oure breþerne iboȝt
Ac for ich hit ȝaf for godes loue ⁊ nou hit is me bifore
For me ne schal noþing for him do ⁊ þat schal beo forlore
And for hit was oþer mannes ⁊ as myn Inwit vnderstod
Hit me doþ þeȝ hit hongi her ⁊ more harm þan god
For hit bet in myn_eȝen sore ⁊ and doþ me harm ynouȝ
Her me mai iseo which hit is ⁊ to ȝyue oþer manes wiþ wouȝ."

In the present copy it is: "And then seint brandan askid hym what clothe that was that hyng ouer his hed . He seid it was a clothe that he yafe to a lepir bought with oure lordys mony and not with myn whan I was his purseberer wherfore it doth me nowe ful gret peyne that it betyth euer so fast on my face . And therfore let euery man alyve byware that he take awey no manys goode wrongfully for he shal suffre peyne therfore here in thy" . . . (imperfect). f. 61 b, col. 2.

Caxton keeps pretty close to most of this text, even to the change from the third to the first person when reporting the answer of Judas; but he omits the line of moral at the end. His text (f. 397 b) is as follows: "And thenne he asked Judas what cloth that was that henge ouer his heed / and he sayd it was a clothe that he gaue to a lepre / whiche was boughte wyth the money that he stale fro our lord / whan I bare his purs / Wherfore it dothe to me ful grete peyne now / in betyng my face wyth the blowyng of the wynde." The use of the first person in the words: "I bare his purs," is found in the latest edition of Caxton (1493), probably issued by Wynkyn de Worde; but De Worde (in his own edition) altered "I" into "he."

The Voyage of St. "Brandon," as Caxton calls him, was included in his *Golden Legend* from the first, in the edition finished at Westminster, 20 Nov., 1483, in "the fyrst yere of the reygne of Kyng Rychard the thyrd. By me Wyllyam Caxton." The Voyage is at ff. 394 b–398 b. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted it; and Thomas Wright followed De Worde in his *St. Brandan*, No. xlviii. of the Percy Society publications (London, 1844), pp. 35–56. The passage about Judas, quoted above, is in Wright, with a change from "I" into "he," at pp. 50–51.

LES TROIS PÈLERINAGES.

Additional 22,937.

Vellum; about A.D. 1450. Folio; ff. 191, in double columns of 50 lines. With illuminated initials, and 41 miniatures, accompanied by borders; and with spaces left (from f. 30 b to the end) for nearly 100 other miniatures.

On a fly-leaf is the note by Sir Frederic Madden: "This volume appears to have been executed for Claude de Montaigu, Seigneur de Couche, Knight of the Golden Fleece, whose arms appear on ff. 1, 26, 29 b, etc. He died in 1470. His wife was Louise de la Tour, daughter of Bertrand, Baron de la Tour d'Auvergne. She died in 1472. See Maurice, 'Blazon de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or,' 1667. F. M."

LES TROIS PÈLERINAGES.—Three poems; two of them allegorical, on the Pilgrimage of Man's Life, and on the Pilgrimage of the Soul after death, written in 1330–1332; and the third, the Pilgrimage of Jesus Christ, a version of the Gospel narratives, accompanied by some allegories, written in 1358. By "Guillermus de Deguilevilla" (a surname probably standing for Digulleville, a commune of Normandy), who was a Monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Chaalis (or Chaslis, Charlis, or Chailly), in Valois, near Senlis. The three poems containing altogether about 35,700 octosyllabic lines. *French.*

In Book ii. of the first poem Reason says to the Author, "Ne cuydes pas que soies fil De thomas de guilleuille" (f. 34 b).* But in the second and third poems the author introduces two sets of acrostics, and in both of them the name indicated is Guillermus de Deguilevilla (ff. 84–5, and 151 b–152 b. See the remarks upon these passages made further on). This evidence is very strong; and the conjecture of Paul Meyer, that "Guilleville" was a mistake of the scribes, and that "Deguilevilla" stood for Digulleville, is probably correct. Meyer says: "L'auteur tirait son surnom de Digulleville, commune de l'arrondissement de Cherbourg, canton de Beaumont-Hague."†

* He is called "thumas de longeville" in Harley 4399 (f. 39, col. 2).

† *Notices et Extraits*, tome xxxiv. (Paris, 1891), p. 172.

Guillaume says that he was engaged upon the first poem (Man's Life) in 1330 and 1331 (see ff. 3 b, col. 2, and 30 b, col. 2). Our MSS. all belong to the first Recension. But the printed Edition (about 1500) belongs to a second Recension. In the printed "Prologue de lacteur" (f. 1 b), Guillaume says that the sheets of his work had been stolen from him, before he had time to revise them; that he could not regain and arrange them for many years; and that he had not completed the whole work till twenty-five years after he had begun it. That is to say, he finished the second Recension in 1355. In the new Prologue, again, he introduces another set of acrostics, in the form of a long lamentation; and the first initials of his twenty-four stanzas again make "Guillermus de Deguileuilla" (printed edition, ff. lxxxiiii–lxxxv.).

The Phillipps copy of the first Pilgrimage (Man's Life), described by Paul Meyer in *Notices*, vol. xxxiv. (1891), pp. 171–4, says that the poem was written (probably, as Meyer observes, completed) in 1332. The second Pilgrimage (Soul after death) seems (if we accept the words of the Prologue literally) to have been composed immediately after the first. Then came the second Recension of the first Pilgrimage (in 1355); and lastly the Pilgrimage of Jesus Christ (in 1358).* In the present copy the three poems occur as follows:—

1. PÈLERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE. — First Recension of the poem. Divided into four Books. In about 13,300 lines. With a Prologue of 34 lines. *French.*

Guillaume has been, one day, reading the Roman de la Rose. When he goes to bed (in the Abbey of Chaslis) he has a vision of Jerusalem the Golden. He desires to set out on a pilgrimage. He meets the beautiful Daughter of God, Grace-Dieu (f. 2 b, col. 2). She offers to prepare him, and to set him in the right

* Some further particulars have been given by the Abbé Goujet, in his *Bibliothèque Françoise*, tome ix. (1745), pp. 72–92. See also Paulin Paris, *Manuscrits François*, tome iii. (1840), pp. 239, 243; and tome vi. (1845), pp. 350, 355, 356. And see Aldis Wright's Preface to his edition (for the Roxburghe Club) of the *Lyf of the Manhode* (1869); and Paul Meyer's Letter to F. J. Furnivall, *Trial-Forewords*, Chaucer Society (1871), p. 100; Meyer's edition of the "prière abécédaire" to the Virgin, derived by Chaucer from the Second Pilgrimage, in *A one-text print of Chaucer's minor poems*, Part i. (Chaucer Society, 1871), p. 84, and Meyer's article (already mentioned) in *Notices et Extraits* (1891). Finally, see Gaston Paris, in *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, 2nd edition (1890), pp. 228–9 and 286.

way. He is led into her house, the Church (f. 3 b, col. 2). Reason joins them there; and discourses take place between Reason and Nature, and others (ff. 5, 10 b, etc.). Grace-Dieu supplies the Pilgrim with scrip and staff, and arms him, but (at his earnest desire) she takes the armour off for a time (ff. 20–27 b). He now goes forward, and is assailed by the Vices. Amongst other figures he sees that "beste sauuaige," Satan, fishing for sinners (ff. 63 b–64); but he is rescued by Grace-Dieu. Eventually he finds shelter in a monastery; but he is visited there by Age, Infirmity, and Death (ff. 69 b–74 b).

At the head of the first page is a double miniature (called in the rubric "hystoire"), representing the author (whom the artist has forgotten to depict as a monk), when he is holding up his book, and when he lies dreaming in bed. The rubric is as follows: "Cy commence le pelerinaige de vie humainne expose sus le roumant de la rose. Hystoire comment il songe en dormant en son lit . et apres come il escript son liure." The Prologue begins:—

"A ceulx de ceste region
Qui point ny ont de mansion
Ains y sont tous com dit saint pol
Riche . poure . saige . et fol
Soient rois . ou soient roynes .
Pelerins . ou pelerines
Vne vision vueil noncier
Qui en dormant mauint lautrier
Quen veillant auoie veu
Considere et bien leu
Le tresbeau Roumant de la Rose
Bien ie croi que ce fut la chose
Qui plus mesmut ad ce songier
Que cy apres vous vueil noncier." f. 1.

After 16 lines more, the Prologue ends:—

"Or entendez la vision
Qui mauint en religion
En labbaye de chaalit
Si com ie dormoie en mon lit." f. 1, col. 2.

Book i. begins:—

"Aduis mestoit si com dormoie
Quen pelerinaige iestoie

Et daler iestoie excite
En iherusalem la cite." f. 1, col. 2.

The first date given in the present recension is when Grace-Dieu leads the Pilgrim to her house (the Church), of which it is said:—

"Treize cens et trente ans auoit
Si com bien lui en souuenoit." f. 3 b, col. 2.

At the end of Book i. is the colophon: "Explicit le liure premier Et le second encommencier." f. 29 b.

The second date is at the end of the Commission given by Grace-Dieu to Reason, in the following couplet:—

"Donne en nostre an que chacun
Dit . mil . ccc . et xxxi." f. 30 b, col. 2.

A little further on Reason remarks that the author is now close upon 36 years old:—

"Se xxxvi. ans disoie
Je cuide que de pou mesprendroie."
f. 33 b, ll. 25–6.

In the middle of Book ii. are placed five leaves (ff. 50–54) that properly belong to Book iii. At the end of Book ii. is the Colophon: "Cy finit le second liure." f. 55 b, col. 2. Book iii. then begins: "[O]r escoutes tres doulce gent." There are 15 more lines upon this leaf (f. 55 b, col. 2); and then occurs the gap of five leaves (mentioned above). They ought to be in the following order (according to the present pagination), ff. 51, 52, 53, 54, 50. The last line of f. 50 b, col. 2, is: "Combien que soit ou droit ou tort," and the couplet is completed by the first line of f. 56, "De ma langue faire deport." This couplet forms part of a speech of Avarice (see the printed edition, f. lxii, col. 2, lines 1–2). There is no colophon to Book iii., nor any heading to Book iv. The latter Book begins: "Or vous dirai seigneur comment En ma voie Je eux empechement" (f. 63). On the next page (f. 63 b) is the description of Satan, which corresponds to that in the printed edition at f. lxv; but that part of the poem has been much enlarged and altered in the second recension. At the end of Book iv. the Pilgrim has been sinking, and Grace-Dieu has been speaking to him, when the last paragraph begins:

"Or vous di que se ie eusse
Peu parler moult lui eusse

Fait de demandes donc (*for* dont) auoie
Doubte . et que pas ne sauoie
Folie est de attendre au besoing
Quant on cuyde que bien soit loing
La mort elle attent au postis
Je le sen bien Je suis soubspris
La mort laissa sa faulz courir
Et fist mame du corps partir." f. 74 b.

In the copy in Additional MS. 25,594 (f. 59 b) these 10 lines conclude the poem; but in the present copy they are followed by 48 more. Guillaume says that at this point of his Vision he heard the Convent Bell, and that he arose and went to Matins. He says that he has thought over his Vision, and believes it to represent the pilgrimage of life very fairly; but if his readers do not think so, he begs them to dream something better.

He concludes:—

"Nulle erreur ie ne voulroie
Maintenir par nulle voie
Mais bien vouldroie et ai voulu
Que par le songe quai veu
Tous pelerins se radressassent
Et de foruoier se gardassent
Bien ce dit on il se chastie
Qui par aultrui si se chastie
Lerreur et le foruoiement
Daultrui doit estre auisement
Que chascun preigne tel chemin
Quil puist venir a bonne fin
Celle fin est le guerredon
Et la remuneracion
De la ioie de paradis
Que doint dieux aux mors et aux vifz.
Amen." f. 74 b, col. 2.

This answers to "Le premier pelerinaige, De l'homme durant quest en vie," which (in its second recension, and further corrected by a Monk of Clairvaux) was printed by "Maistre Barthole et Jehan petit" at Paris (about 1500), in the volume entitled *Le romant des trois Pelerinaiges*. The last paragraph begins there

(at f. xcii) with 10 lines very similar to those quoted above; but Guillaume then says that he tried to rise, but could not; and the rest is quite different. The text of the first recension (the same as that in the present copy) has not yet been printed. It was most literally translated into English prose in the 15th century; and this translation, called *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode*, has been edited by William Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club (1869).

A French prose version of the Vie humaine (we are not sure of which recension) was made by Jean Galloppes, in 1464, for Jeanne de Laval, second wife of René of Anjou, and hence styled "Royne de Jherusalem et de Sicille": see Aldis Wright's note, added after p. xii of his Introduction to the *Lyf of the Manhode* mentioned above; and see also A. Lecoy de la Marche, in his *Le Roi René* (1875), tome ii. p. 189. This French prose version was published by Mathieu Huss at Lyon, in 1499. Jean Gallopes is called a clerk of Angers by De Visch, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* (2nd edition, 1656), p. 135. He had previously styled himself a Chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (who died 1435); and he had dedicated to the Duke a prose version of the second poem, L'Ame.

Many extracts from the French poem (second recension), and also from Lydgate's metrical translation (see the description of Cotton MS., Vitellius C. xiii.), are given in the volume called *The ancient poem of Guillaume de Guileville entitled Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme compared with the Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan, edited* [by Miss Katherine Isabella Cust] *from notes collected by the late Mr. Nathaniel Hill* (London, 1858). Miss Cust soon afterwards published *A modern prose translation* of portions of the French poem (London, 1859).

2. PÈLERINAGE DE L'AME.—A poem relating how the Soul was called to Judgment; how it had visions of Hell, and suffered in Purgatory; and how it was taken up to Heaven. In about 11,000 lines. *French.* ff. 75–132.

The poem begins:—

"[A]pres que ie fus eueilles
Et que assez me fus merueillies
De mon songe et que riens ne vi
Ou aussi comme vng bon espi

Eust grain qui bien le queroit
Se au langaige ne tenoit
De lui raconter ou dire
Ou dordener ou descripre
Qui premier ou derrenier aler
Doit sans quelque riens transposer." f. 75.

It goes on to say that the author suddenly fell asleep again, and continued his dream. His Soul springs into the air, and looks down upon its Body lying below it. Lines 35–40 are as follows:—

"Aduis me fut que quant la mort
Mot feru sans faire deport
En lair me trouuai desseure
De mon vil corps et separe
Vil me sembla puant et ort
Sans mouuement gisant tout mort."
f. 75, col. 2.

Lines 37–40, given above, are the same as lines 1–4 in the copy in Additional 25,594 (f. 59 b).

The first set of acrostics, in the present volume, is in this poem. It is formed by 24 eight-line stanzas, the first initials of which spell the name "Gvillermvs de Degvilevilla." ff. 84–85. See the printed edition, ff. ci–ci b.

The poem ends with eleven twelve-line moral stanzas, the last of which is as follows:—

"Aultre chose se puis faire
Bien me seroit neccessaire
Pour gecter en la balance
Pourquoi doiseus retraire
Et aucunement atraire
A amour de penitence
Toutesuoies par greuance
Et ennuy et destourbance
Quai aux romans bien pourtraire
En latin qui mieulx mauance
Ai mise mon ordonnance
Plaise a qui quelle peut plaire." f. 132.

This copy agrees with that printed in *Le romant des trois Pelerinaiges* (ff. xciii–cxlviii b). In our other MS. copy, Additional

25,594, there is a passage of 1156 lines (between ff. 111 b and 118), which does not occur here (f. 123, col. 2), nor yet in the printed edition (f. cxxxix b). A translation of this poem, in English prose (with many seven-line stanzas), made in 1413, was published by Caxton in 1483, as *The pylgremage of the sowle.* It does not end, like the French poem, with eleven moral stanzas. Portions of it have been reprinted, under the editorship of Miss K. I. Cust (see above, p. 563). It has often been conjectured that Lydgate made this translation; but see the remarks of Schick, in *Lydgate's Temple of Glas*, Early English Text Society, Extra Series LX., *Introduction*, pp. ci–ciii. A French prose version was published by Antoine Verard (Paris, 1499). There seems to have also been a version in Latin prose. Brit. Mus. Addit. Charter 104 contains a claim for 12 Livres Tournois, made upon John, Duke of Bedford, when Regent of France, by Jehan Thomas, a clerk of Paris, for making a copy of "vng liure en latin . Intitule le pelerinaige de lame en prose . lequel contient xii. cayers de parchemin," followed by another claim for copying a work in French; and ending with a receipt given by Jehan Thomas, dated 7 Aug., 1427. This bill has been published by Léon Emmanuel de Laborde, in his *Ducs de Bourgogne*, tome iii. (Paris, 1852), pp. 488–9.

3. PÈLERINAGE DE JÉSUS CHRIST.—Described, in a MS. belonging to Henry Huth (see the quotation given by Furnivall in his *Trial-Forewords*, Chaucer Society, 1871, p. 103), as being "en forme de monotessaron, c'est a sauoir les quatre Euangelistes mis en vn." In about 11,400 lines. *French.* ff. 132 b–191, col. 2.

On f. 132 is the Rubric (intended to describe an illumination, which has never been inserted): "Cy apres est comment le pelerin est entre en vng jardin ou auoit plusieurs arbres portant fruit et plusieurs oiseaulz qui chantoient Et estoit couchie soubz vng arbre et sendormit et vit vng viel homme qui estoit sus vng arbre qui cuelloit et mengoit des pommes lequel chut a terre et la terre se ouurit et chut dedens en abisme. La quelle chose signifie quant adam picha en mordant la pomme oultre le commendement de dieu."

The poem begins:—

"[E]ntre pluseurs paraboles
Quant ihesus en ses escoles
A ses disciples enseignoit

Et qui oyr les vouloit
Il dist que vng homs fut jadis
Qui ala hors de son payz
En pelerinaige loingtain
Ou par long temps il fut remain
Et de ce saint george (*for* Gregoire) dist
En lomelie quil fist
Que de lui mesme ce disoit
Jhesus qui pelerin estoit
Que la chair humaine qui prist
Hault ou ciel peleriner fist
Quant de lui elle fut montee
Comme en estrange contree
Or vous di que ad ce pensant

(A rubric, "lacteur," added here)

Vne volunte me vint grant
De regarder quel veaige
Il fist ou pelerinaige
Meismement quant vne nuyt
Lan mil . ccc. l. et viii.
Songie mestoie pelerin
Ou auoie fait grant chemin
Et point ne lauoie veu
En ce chemin ne apparceu
Si men alai ad ce pensant
Dedens vng jardin assez grant." f. 132 b.

He then has the vision of Adam eating the apples.

The set of Acrostics (the second set in the present volume) is here imperfect, owing to the errors of the scribe, who has three times run two stanzas together, and mixed two stanzas in complete confusion, and miswritten "Droit" (for Vray), and "Ne leur" (for Valeur). If these mistakes are corrected, the set will be found to consist of 24 twelve-line stanzas, of which the first initials spell "Gvillermvs de Degvilevilla" (ff. 151 b–152 b, col. 2). Compare the printed edition, ff. clxvii b–clxix.

The poem concludes with an Address to Christ. The last twelve lines are as follows:—

"Si te requier pour abregier
Mon voiaige dont ai mestier

Poir les grans meschiez qui y sont
Et qui grans destourbiers y font
Et pour la grant desirance
Que iai quen moi sauance
Ta grace pour moi adrecier
Par le chemin et le sentier
Par ou ie te doie suyr
Pour a cellui terme venir
Ou apres grans labours . ale
Es . et en ton lieu retourne. Amen."

f. 191, col. 2.

This copy agrees (upon the whole) with the text published (about 1500) in *Le romant des trois Pelerinaiges*, ff. cxlix–ccvi b, col. 2.

Additional 25,594.

Vellum: xivth cent. Folio; ff. 118, in double columns of 49 lines. With 55 drawings of figures, and also of single objects (*e.g.* bellows at f. 27, a bugle at f. 27 b, spurs at f. 28, etc.), executed in Indian ink. There are also more than 100 spaces left unfilled, from f. 47 onwards. At f. 55 is inserted: "Faict par moy maurice marnette religieulx de labbaye de nostre dame a beaulieu lez le mans Lan 1561 y ayant apposse son chyrograf pour plus grande aseuraunce Faict de la main de ma cousine ambroyse breton 1561."

PÈLERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE, and PÈLERINAGE DE L'AME. Written in 1330–1 by Guillaume de Deguileville (or Digulleville). *French.*

Both poems imperfect, the first containing only about 10,580 lines, and the other about 10,780 lines.

1. PÈLERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE. A text of the first recension. Imperfect, about 2920 lines being lost at the beginning. ff. 1–59 b.

The copy begins in a passage, where Charity determines to ask Sapience to make the Bread of Life. The first remaining lines are:—

"Que par semblance petit fust
Et qua touz souffire peust

Que dun bien poi fut saoulez
Chascun : et bien rasaziez
Quant ot ce charite pense
Pour acomplir sa volente
A sapience sen ala," etc. f. 1.

See Add. 22,937, f. 17 b; and see printed edition, f. xvii b. Books ii., iii., and iv. begin at ff. 12, col. 2; 34 b, l. 12; 47, col. 2, l. 35. The couplet addressed by Reason to the Author, "Ne cuidez pas que soies filz A thomas de guilleuille," is at f. 17, col. 2.

The first poem ends :—

"Or vous di que se ie peusse
Auoir parle . moult li eusse
Fait de demandes dont iauoie
Doubte . et que pas ne sauoie
Folie est datendre au besoign
Quant len cuide que bien soit loign
La mort . elle atent au postis
Ie la sens bien . ie sui sourpris
La mort lessa sa faulx courir
Et fist mame dou corps partir." ff. 59, col. 2–59 b.

In Add. 22,937 (f. 74 b) these 10 lines are followed by 48 more (see above, p. 562). In the printed edition (f. xcii, col. 2) they are followed by only 32 more.

2. PÈLERINAGE DE L'AME. Imperfect, about 1500 lines being lost at the end. ff. 59 b–118 b, col. 2.

Heading :—"Ci finist le pelerinage du corps Et si commence celuy de lame." f. 59 b.

The poem begins :—

"En lair me trouuai desseure
De mon vil corps et separe
Vil me sembloit puant et ort
Sans mouuement gesant tout mort," etc. f. 59 b.

In Add. 22,937 (f. 75, col. 2), and also in the printed edition (f. xciii), these lines are preceded by 36 others. The set of acrostics is formed by 24 eight-lined stanzas, the first initials of which spell the name "Gvillermvs de Degvilevilla." ff. 68–9. Between the line "Ouir parler nul esbahis" (f. 111 b, l. 30) and

the line "Ne doit estre qui le pouair" (f. 118, l. 9), which are consecutive lines in Add. 22,937 (f. 123, col. 2, ll. 28, 29) and also in the printed edition (f. cxxxix b, col. 2, ll. 29, 30), there are here 1156 additional lines. After 176 more lines, the poem breaks off in the middle of the discourse of the angel.

The last 12 lines are :—

"Lautre cieul que voiz estelle
De crisolites est seme
Et celui des sains hermites
Que en dit achorites
Ceulx que en nomme confessours
Et qui sont sains religious
Le hermite qui primier
Poul nomme en est habitier
Grans alees et venues
La endroit sont et tenues
Ils font grant festre sans cessier
Et sans point james definer." f. 118 b, col. 2.

See Add. 22,937 (f. 124, cols. 1–2) and the printed edition, f. cxl b.

Harley 4399.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 88, in double columns of 39 to 43 lines. With initials in red, and 103 miniatures in red, green, purple and brown. Lettered as "Songe de Cordelier du Chemin de Paradis."

PÈLERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE. By Guillaume de Deguileville (or de Digulleville). The first recension. In 4 Books, with a Prologue of 34 lines: amounting to about 13,300 lines altogether. *French.*

In the other copies the author's father is called Thomas de Guilleville (not de Deguileville). A third name is indicated in the present Copy, where Reason says to the author:—"Dieux est ton pere et tu son fil Ne quides pas que soies fil A thumas de longe ville," etc. (f. 39, col. 2.)

The Prologue begins:—

"A chiaus de ceste region
Qui point ny ont de mansion

A moy sont tout che dist sains pol
Riche poure sage et li fol
Soient Roy ou soient Roines
Pelerins ou pelerines
Vne vision voel nunchier
Qui en dormant mauint lautier (*for* lautrier)
En veillant auoie leu
Considere et bien veu
Le tres biel Romanch de la rose
Et bien croy que che fu la cose
Qui plus mesmeut a chou songier
Que chi apres vous voel nunchier," etc. f. 1.

It ends:—

"Ore entendes la vision
Qui mavint en religion
En labye de calig (*for* labbaye de chaalis)
Ensi comme estoie en me lit." f. 1, cols. 1-2.

Book i. begins:—

"Avis mestoit si comme dormoie
Que Iou vns pelerins estoie
Qui daler estoie excite
En iherusalem la cite
En vn miror che me sambloit
Qui sans mesure grans estoit
Celle citet aperchewe
Auoie de lonc et veuwe," etc. f. 1, col. 2.

The first date is correctly given; namely, what is stated as the age of Grace-Dieu's house (*i.e.* the Church), "xiij^{c}. et xxx. ans auoit." f. 3 b, col 2.

Book i. ends with 10 lines, of which the first two are:—

"Or vous ai dit tout sans menchongne
Vne partie de mon songe." f. 33, col. 2.

Book ii. begins:—

"Apries chou que iai dit deuant." f. 33, col. 2.

The second date (that closes the Epistle of Grace-Dieu) is wrong, being "mil et cc. iiij^{xx}. et vii." instead of 1331. f. 34 b.

Book iii. begins:—

"Or escoutes tres douche gent," etc. f. 59, col. 2.

Book iii. ends:—

"A chemin asses tos me mis
Mais pas me journee ne fis
Que ie trouuay empeichement
Se vous voles oir comment
Reuenes vne aultre journee
Car chi feray vne pausee." f. 74.

Book iv. begins:—

"Or vous diray signeur comment
En ma voie eut empeichement." f. 74, col. 2.

The last paragraph of the poem begins:—

"Or vous di que se ie eusse." f. 88, col. 2.

And the 9th and 10th lines of this paragraph are—

"La mort laissa sa faus courir
Et fist mame dou corps partir."

The poem ends:—

"Lerreur et le fouruoyement
Daultrui doibt iestre auisement
Que cascuns prenge tel chemin
Quil puist venir a bonne fin
Celle fin est le guerdon
Et le remuneration
De la joie de paradis
Que dieux doinst as mors et as vis.
Amen." f. 88 b.

Cotton, Vitellius C. xiii.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 307, each full page containing 36 lines, together with 2 lines on f. 309. With spaces left for miniatures. Injured at the top by fire.

PILGRIMAGE OF THE LIFE OF MAN: an allegorical poem by John Lydgate. Translated in 1426 from the 2nd Recension of the Pèlerinage de la Vie humaine, at the request of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. The present copy, which is imperfect (the largest gaps being after ff. 253 b and 286 b), contains about 21,600 lines.

Headed:—

"[Q]vi peregrinaris hunc per librum docearis
Que bona uel dubia sit fugienda (?) via." f. 2.

The Translator's Prologue begins:—

"[Y]e worldly folk avyse you betymes
Wych in thys lyff ben . . . . . .
Lyk straungerys far (?) fro yovre contre
Vnfraunchysed and voyde of libertie (?) *
For shortly here yovre poscessyon
Ys yove to yow but for a schort sesoun." f. 2.

It continues thus:—

"No man ys sur hym syluen to diffend
Wherfor I rede lat euery whyht a mend
Hys lyff be tyme whil he hath liberte
And that folk may the ryhte weye se
Best assuryd to ward ther passage
Lat hem be holde in the pylgrymage
Wh[i]ch callyd ys pylgrymage de movnde." f. 3.

Again:—

"And thys book the wych I spake off to fforn
I mene the book pylgrymage de movnde
Morall of vertu of materys ful profovnde
Maad and compylyd in the frenche tonge
Full notable to be rad and songe
To every pylgryme vertuous of lyff
The mater ys so contemplatyff
In all the book ys not lost a word
Thys consydred full wysly of my lord
Of salysbury the noble manly knyht
Wych in fravnce for the kyngys ryht
In the werre hath meny day contunyd
Whom God and grace hau ful well fortunyd." f. 3 b.

See *The Ancient Poem of G. de Guileville* (London, 1858), where this passage is printed (p. 7).

---

* Voyde of libertie: so read in *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville* (London, 1858), p. 10; but the last word is now quite illegible.

Again:—

"And of the tyme playnly and of the date
Whan I be gan thys book to translate
Yt was a thovsand by computacion
Affter crystys incarnacion
Four hundryd ouer nouther fer ne nere
The surples ouer syxe and twenty yere
My lord that tyme beyng at parys." f. 4.

See *op. cit.*, p. 8.

The Translator's Prologue ends:—

"But to my labour now I woll me spede
Prayng ech reder me to reconforte
Benignely my rudenesse to supporte
For wherso be my thonk I lese or wynne
Wyth yowre grace thus I wyll be gynne." f. 4 b.

Colophon: "Here endyth the prologe of the translatour." f. 4 b.

After the Heading: "Her be gynneth the prologue of the auctour," the 2nd Prologue begins:—

"Ful ofte hyt happeth in certeyn
Off dremys the wych that men ha sayn
I nyhtys after whan they wake
Ful lytel hede ther of thay take." f. 4 b.

The Translator has mistaken the date given by the Author, who had stated that he dreamed this dream in 1330: see the printed edition, f. i b:—

"Pourtant le dy / car vne foiz
Lan mil troys cens dix par trois foiz
Ung songe vy bien merueilleux," etc.

The words here are:—

"And on a tyme hyt happyd so
Fro crystys berth a thousand yer
Thre hondryd by a covntys cler
And over Ten as I toke kepe
Vp on a nyht I lay and sclepe
Drempte yf ye lyst to lere
A wonder dreme in tyme of fere
The wych a noon as I a wook
Vp on the morow a penne I took," etc. f. 5.

The Author's Prologue ends:—

". . . . . in ther pylgrymage
To take (?) myn aventure cler
How passyd syx and twenty yer
Tel vn to on and alle
How that yt ys me ffalle
In the abbey off chalys
Whylom ffoundyd off seynt lewyys." f. 6 b.

That is to say, that this, the second Recension, was written 26 years after the first. See the French edition, f. ii.

After the Heading: "Here begynneth the pylgrym," the Poem begins:—

"The seyde yer ho lyst take kep
I was avysed in my slep
Excyted eke and that a noon
To Ierusalem for to goon
Gretly meved in my corage
For to do my pylgrymage." f. 6 b.

The passage in which the French author names his father is thus translated:—

"God ys thy ffader tak hed herto
And thow art hys sone also
Most excellynge off kynrede
That euere was with oute drede
Most noble and off grettest style
For off Thomas de guillevyle
Thow art nat sone," etc. f. 147.

The first considerable gap occurs after the line "I holde thys false pardownerys," to which are added the catchwords of the page that ought to follow next, "I wyl nat spekyn" (f. 253 b).

This particular line and those immediately preceding it do not correspond with any in the French original; but the passage to which they belong, from "Thys dyssh that I holde in myn hond" (f. 252 b, last line) down to "Somme axe bred somme axe chese" (f. 253 b), answers to a passage in the printed Fr. ed., f. lx b, cols. 1–2. The next page (f. 254) begins with the line "And make her Joye go to wrak," and goes on:—

"And fro my whel whan they ar falle
Infortune they me calle," etc. f. 254.

See the printed French ed., f. lxvii, col. 2.

The lines here lost belonged to the end of the dialogue with Avarice, to the adventures with Necromancy and Satan, and to the beginning of the dialogue with Fortune. A large portion of these missing lines is supplied by the fragment in Tiberius A. vii. (see ff. 39–60).

In the original French poem there is an acrostic Hymn, in 25 twelve-line stanzas, of which the first 23 begin with different letters from A to Z, and the last 2 with 2 contractions. (See Add. 22,937, ff. 60–61 b, and Add. 25,594, ff. 44 b–46, and see the printed Fr. ed., ff. lxviii–lxix b.)

An English version of this by Chaucer is commonly known as "Chaucer's A. B. C." The present Translator has intended to insert Chaucer's version in the poem, with the following Preface :—

"And touchynge the translacioun
Off thys noble Orysoun
Whylom yiff I shal not feyne
The noble poete of Breteyne
My mayster Chaucer in hys tyme
Affter the ffrenche he dyde yt ryme
Word by word as in substaunce
Ryght as yt ys ymad in fraunce
Ful devoutly in sentence
In worshepe and in reuerence
Off that noble hevenly quene
Bothe moder and a mayde clene
And sythe he dyde yt vndertake
For to translate yt ffor hyr sake
I pray thys that ys the beste
For to brynge hys soule at reste
That he may thorgh thys prayere
Aboue the starrys bryht and c[lere?]
Off hyr mercy and hyr grace
Apere afforn hyr sonys ff[ace]
Wyth seyntys euere for a memorye
Eternally to regene in glorye
And ffor memoyre off that poete
Wyth al hys rethorykes swete
That was the ffyrste in any age

That amendede our langage
Therfore as I am bounde off dette
In thys book I wyl hym sette
And ympen thys Orysoun
Affter hys translacioun
My purpos to determyne
That yt shall enlwmyne
Thys lytyl book rud off makyng
Wyth som clause off hys wrytyng
And as he made thys Orysoun
Off ful devout entencioun
And by maner off a prayere
Ryht so I wyl yt settyn here
That men may knowe and pleynly se
Off Our lady the a. b. c." f. 256 b–257.

See *The Ancient Poem of G. de Guileville*, pp. 8–9.

This is followed by a blank page (f. 257 b), left for Chaucer's poem.

The next page begins:—

"Whan I wyth good deuocion
Hadde sayd thys Orysoun," etc. f. 258.

The second considerable gap is after the line "Ma dame thanne a noon quod I," together with the catchwords "Haueth on me" (f. 286 b): see the printed French ed., f. lxxviii. The next page begins with the line "How everych dede in his degre" (f. 287): Fr. ed., f. lxxxv b. The lines here lost described the Pilgrim's visit to a Monastery, and his seeing Charity, Lesson, and other allegorical Figures, ending with "Latrya" and Obedience (almost all of which is supplied by the end of the fragment in Tiberius A. vii., ff. 85 b–104 b); the rest related to a reappearance of Scilla, etc., and included what in the original is an acrostic poem, in 24 eight-lined stanzas, the first initials of which form the name of "Gvillermvs De Degvilevilla": see Fr. ed., ff. lxxxiiii–lxxxv.

The Poem ends:—

"And as I coude ek wel discerne
Deth abood at the posterne
And gan to lete goon his sythe
His cruel myght on me to kythe

And gan so streytly me coharte
That the soule mot departe
And such a feer anoon me took
Out of my slep thar I a wook." ff. 308 b–9.

In Thomas Speght's edition of *Chaucer* (1598) there is a list of Lydgate's Works at the end (f. 394), which seems to have been drawn up by Speght in conjunction with John Stow the antiquary, who had himself edited Chaucer in 1561. The list is headed: "A catalogue of translations and Poeticall deuises, in English mitre or verse, done by Iohn Lidgate Monke of Bury, whereof some are extant in Print, the residue in the custodie of him that first caused this Siege of Thebes to be added to these works of G. Chaucer" (the allusion here is to Stow, who had appended Lydgate's Siege of Thebes to his edition of *Chaucer*). The third entry in this Catalogue is "Pilgrimage of the world, by commandement of the Earle of Salisbury, 1426" (f. 394, col. 1). These words, it will be seen, exactly agree with those of the Translator's Prologue in the present volume (ff. 3 b–4). The allusions to Chaucer moreover, in this translation (ff. 256 b–257), are entirely in the style of Lydgate.*

Many passages from this MS. have been printed in a volume called *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville, entitled Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme, compared with the Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan, edited* [by Miss Katherine Isabella Cust, and others] *from notes collected by the late Mr. Nathaniel Hill* (London, 1858). At pp. 7–8 of this volume are portions of the Translator's Prologue, at pp. 8–9 the passage on Chaucer's A.B.C., and at p. 10 the Latin heading, with the first 4 lines of the Translator's Prologue. To these are added long extracts, in the Appendix, pp. i–xxxiii.

* Since writing the above, we are pleased to find a confirmation of our remarks in J. Schick's Introduction to *Lydgate's Temple of Glas* (Early English Text Soc., 1891), pp. cv–cvi.

Tiberius A. vii. ff. 39–106 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 68, each full page containing 36 lines, but very much broken by Headings as well as by illustrations. With 53 lightly tinted drawings, and with initials in blue, flourished with red. Bound up with *Latin* Chronicles and Poems, of various dates.

PILGRIMAGE OF THE LIFE OF MAN. Fragments of the allegorical poem by John Lydgate, as above (p. 571), containing rather less than 4000 lines. Injured by fire and by the use of galls.

The first passage begins near the end of the discourse of Avarice. She is explaining the meaning of the hump on her back. The first lines, as far as they are legible, are as follows:—

"May in to heue[n] . . . . . .
But euene . . . . . .
Als camel may hymsilffe applye
To passen thorough a nedelys eye," etc. f. 39.

See the printed French edition (about 1500), last line of f. lxii., col. 2, and 1st line of f. lxii b. See also *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode* (Roxburghe Club, 1869), p. 153.

The first thousand and odd lines here remaining are not in Vitellius C. xiii.; but the last line of f. 60, "And make her Ioye go to wrak," answers to the first line of f. 254 in Vit. C. xiii. After the line "How schal I mysilffe excuse" (f. 62 b) there is a gap of eight leaves, answering to a passage from f. 256 to f. 263 b of Vit. C. xiii. This lost passage would have contained the copy of Chaucer's A.B.C. (or at least the preface to it). After the line "And in this world bothe ffer and ner" (f. 64 b) there is a gap of four leaves, answering to a passage from f. 265 b to f. 269 of Vit. C. xiii. After this the two MSS. run together, down to the lines, "Madame thanne anoon quod I Hath on me," at f. 85 b (see Fr. ed., f. lxxviii); but here, in Vitellius C. xiii., f. 286 b, there is a considerable gap. In the present copy there are only seven leaves in the quire between ff. 90, 98, but there does not seem to be

any passage missing (see Fr. ed., ff. lxxix., col. 2–lxxxi). This portion breaks off with the line (spoken by "Obedyence") "T[a]ke (?) heder thý feet and thýne hond[ ]," f. 105 b (see Fr. ed., "Baille ca tes mains et tes piedz," f. lxxxiii). The last leaf begins with the line "I pray you telle on a noon ryght" (see Vitellius C. xiii., f. 290 b, and Fr. ed., f. lxxxvi b), and ends (in the middle of Grace-Dieu's description of the evils caused by Abusion) with the line "And the fatte away they pulle" (see Vit. C. xiii., f. 291 b, and Fr. ed., f. lxxxvi b, col. 2).

The drawings are as follows:—

1. Avarice and Death, displaying their strong boxes. (Fr. ed., f. lxii b). f. 40.
2. St. Laurence on the gridiron. f. 40 b.
3. Avarice and Youth. f. 41 b.
4. Messenger of Necromancy. f. 42.
5. Tent of Necromancy. f. 43.
6. Messenger teaching the Pilgrim the black art. f. 44.
7. Duke of Friseland with one foot just drawn out of the font. f. 47 b.
8. Messenger arresting Pilgrim. f. 49.
9. Heresy calling after Pilgrim. f. 50.
10. Heresy taking Pilgrim's scrip, to cut it after a different pattern. f. 50.
11. Satan and his daughter Heresy trying to catch Pilgrim in nets. f. 51.
12. Satan and Heresy putting nets into the "se." f. 51 b.
13. Satan fishing for pilgrims with a hook. f. 52 b.
14. Hermit, deceived by Satan in guise of an Angel, kills his own father. f. 56.
15. Satan roaring to see Pilgrim escape him. f. 57.
16. Pilgrim swimming the "see." f. 58.
17. Pilgrim on the Wheel of Fortune. f. 58 b.
18. Fortune on her Wheel. f. 59 b.
19. House of Idolatry. f. 65 b.
20. Worshippers of Christ and the Saints. f. 68.
21. Pilgrim caught by Sorcery. f. 69.
22. Witches instructed by Satan in brewing a child. f. 70.
23. Pilgrim on an island surrounded by dogs of Scylla. f. 74.
24. False Knights surrendering to a King, the rival of their Master. f. 75.
25. Pilgrim lying on the island, left with his clothes torn by the dogs. f. 76.
26. Pilgrim standing before the flaming tower, that keeps turning on the sea. f. 76 b.
27. Pilgrim and the Siren (Worldly Gladness). f. 77.
28. Worldly joys, in two divisions, one of love and the other of gambling. f. 78 b.
29. Youth and Siren embracing, whilst Pilgrim is cast into the sea. f. 79 b.
30. Pilgrim sitting alone on the island. f. 80.
31. Pilgrim visited by a ship, with towers on board of it. f. 81.
32. Gracedieu landing from the ship. f. 81 b.
33. Pilgrim kneeling before Gracedieu. f. 82.

34. Gracedieu showing Pilgrim the bath filled with tears from the eye of the rock. f. 83.
35. Pilgrim in the bath, with Gracedieu smiting the rock on its eye. f. 84 b.
36. Gracedieu showing Pilgrim four monasteries. f. 88.
37. Pilgrim at the gate of Cisteaux. f. 89.
38. Pilgrim at Cisteaux, served by Charity. f. 90.
39. Pilgrim meeting Lesson. f. 90 b.
40. Hagiograph showing Pilgrim her books. f. 91 b.
41. Hagiograph showing Pilgrim her mirrors. f. 93.
42. King on his throne, with Flatterers on each side. f. 95.
43. Pilgrim looking at one of the mirrors. f. 95 b.
44. Pilgrim addressing Obedience and Discipline. f. 97.
45. Abstinence showing to Pilgrim some nuns in a refectory, served by two skeletons. f. 97 b.
46. Chastity making beds, and Wilful Poverty singing. f. 99.
47. Pilgrim addressing Wilful Poverty. f. 99 b.
48. Pilgrim between Wilful Poverty and Impatient Poverty. f. 100.
49. Pilgrim addressing Chastity. f. 101 b.
50. Pilgrim beholding Prayer. f. 102.
51. Pilgrim meeting Prayer with two skeletons behind her. f. 102 b.
52. Pilgrim entering where Latreia is playing the organ (see Fr. ed. f. lxxxii b). f. 104 b.
53. Abusion at a table (see Fr. ed. f. lxxxvi b). f. 106.

Several extracts from these Fragments have been published in *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville*, etc., (London, 1858), App., pp. xxxiv, xxxv, and xl–lii. In the same Appendix coloured lithographs have been printed from nine of the drawings, *viz.* Nos. 41, 3, 8, 11, 10, 13, 17, 26, and 31.

Egerton 615.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 103, having 34 lines to a page. With 23 miniatures, and illuminated initials and borders.

PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOUL. A Version of the Pèlerinage de l'Ame, which is the second of the Trois Pèlerinages of Guillaume de Deguileville (or de Digulleville). Written in prose, with the exception of 14 passages, which are turned into seven-line stanzas. Translated in 1413, and sometimes ascribed to Lydgate. In 5 Parts. Preceded by a Table of Contents, on 3 leaves. Imperfect, a leaf being lost after f. 3 and another after f. 27. Warton, in his *History of Poetry* (ed. 1840, vol. i. p. clxxxvii, and ed. 1871, vol. iii. p. 67) says that the 34th chapter of Lydgate's metrical Life of the Virgin Mary is literally

repeated in the 34th chapter of this Translation. But Warton's assertion, which has been repeated by others, is a mistake (see the remarks, below, on Poem No. 3, ff. 26–27 b).

The Table of Contents is headed: "This is the kalendere of the book caled Grace de dieu wich book is diuided in thre partes of wich partes this said euidently schewith the chapitres." It begins: "Capitula prime partis—Off the departyng of the sowle from the bodi—capitulum primum. How the fend assailed the sowle departyng from the body—ca^{m}. ii. How the aungille wardeigne of the soule defendith it from the fendis malice —cap^{m}. iii," etc. f. 1.

Though the Heading mentions only 3 Parts, still the Table of Contents indicates all the 5 Parts into which the Work is actually divided.

This copy begins in the middle of the 2nd Chapter, with the words (addressed by Satan to the Guardian Angel of the Soul): ". . . welle thi selffe . ne neuere be leuyd the of no thing ne dede be thi counceille . but alwey enforced him selffe to do that was to thi pleasyng sithe tyme þat thu first took the charge of his gouernaunce that was the tyme whan thu sey him first passe the watere for to come in to the hous of Grace de dieu," etc. f. 4.

In Caxton's edition (1483) the above passage begins (f. ii. b): "Wherfor it must nedes come to that ende / that no pylgrym escape, that he ne shal be snarlyd in my trappe / and al they must passe by me / And namely they / that wylfully forruoyen, as this hath done / whiche that I clayme, as for my prysoner. For he ne couthe euer gone other than wrong wey / this wotest thow wel thy self ne neuer byleuyd the of no thyng . ne dyde by thy conseyl But alwey enforcyd hym for to do / that was to thy dysplesyng," etc., continuing as above.

Ch. iii. is headed: "How the aungille," etc. (see the Table of Contents as quoted above). f. 4.

Another gap occurs after f. 27, the end of Ch. xxxiii. being lost, the whole of Ch. xxxiv., and the beginning of Ch. xxxv. Ch. xxxvi. (ff. 28–28 b) concludes the 1st Part. The Poems here are not considered as distinct Chapters, as they are in Caxton's edition.

Part ii. (28 chapters). f. 28 b. Part iii. (11 chapters). f. 47. Part iv. (40 chapters). f. 56 b. Part v. (27 chapters and an Epilogue). ff. 86 b–106.

The Poems are arranged and headed as follows:—

1. "The pietous complainte of the Soule" (52 Stanzas), beg.: "Blisful lord on heigh what schall I do." ff. 8–13 b.

2. "The epistil of grace sent to the seek man . littera" (26 Stanzas), beg.: "I Grace quene and heuenly princesse." ff. 17 b–20.

3. "The chartre of pardone" (14 Stanzas), beg.: "Jhesu kyng of hie heuene a bove." ff. 26–27 b.

This, the third poem, is the one to which Warton alludes as being identical with the 34th chapter in Lydgate's *Lyf of oure lady* (Caxton). This poem, in Caxton's edition of the present work (1483), is numbered as ch. 34; but neither this, nor any other chapter here, contains any mention of Chaucer, who forms the principal subject of the 34th chapter in the *Lyf of oure Lady*.*

4. "Cantus peregrinorum" (5 Stanzas), beg.: "Honowred be thu blissed lord on hye." ff. 29–29 b.

5. "Cantus angelorum" (5 Stanzas), beg.: "Alle mygheti lord oure blisful lord Jhesu." ff. 29 b–30.

6. "The aungelys song withein" (7 Stanzas), beg.: "Al worshippe wisdam . welthe . and worthinesse." ff. 30–31.

7. Song of Angels, bringing another Pilgrim's Soul to heaven (5 Stanzas), beg.: "Honured be thu blisful lord Jhesu." ff. 31–31 b.

8. (Entered as a separate chapter.) "A lamentacioun of the grene tree complaynyng of the losyng of hire appille . Capitulum xxi^{m}." (Ch. 21 of Part iv., in 40 Stanzas), beg.: "O fader god how fers and how cruel." ff. 63–67 b.

9. (Entered as nearly the whole of a separate chapter.) "The recordyng of aungeles song of the Natiuite of oure lady ca^{m}. xiii." (Ch. 13 of Part v., in 7 Stanzas), beg.: "Honured be thu blisseful lord benigne." ff. 95 b–96.

10. "The aungeles song," at the Purification of the Virgin (in 2 Stanzas), beg.: "Honured be thu blisful heuene queene. ff. 97–97 b.

11. (Entered as a separate chapter.) "The aungeles songe

* We have been pleased, once more, to notice a confirmation of our remarks, given by J. Schick in his introduction to *Lydgate's Temple of Glas* (E. E. Text Soc., 1891), pp. ci–cii.

in the feste of the Epiphanie of oure lord. ca^m. xvii." (Ch. 17 of Part. v., in 4 Stanzas), beg.: "Honured be this blissed holy feste day." ff. 99–99 b.

12. (Entered as a separate chapter.) "the aungelis song on pask day ca^m. xviii." (Ch. 18 of Part v., in 5 Stanzas), beg.: "Honured be thu Jhesu saueoure." ff. 100–100 b.

13. (Entered as a separate chapter.) "The song of graces of alle seintes upon Paske day ca^m. xxi^um." (Ch. 21 of Part v., in 4 Stanzas) beg.: "Honured be thu blisfulle lord a bove." f. 101.

14. (Entered as a separate chapter.) "The aungeles song and alle othire seintes in the feste of Pentecost ca^m. xxiiii." (Ch. 24 of Part v., in 3 Stanzas), beg.: "Honured be thu holy gost in hie." ff. 102–102 b.

The Translation ends: "Be this tyme the oriloge had fully parformed half his nyghtis cours: schewyng þat the sonne was come to the angule of the"—(a line is here omitted; in Add. 34,193, f. 98 b, it is—"erthe and hastede him vpe to þe est orizonte to bringe agayne þe day"—and so also in Caxton; the present copy continues) "and so duely the belle began to sowne the oure of mydnyght. and so I remembred. þat I had noght slepte fully thre oures. Now Jhesu gife me grace to come to the trowthe of this blisse. which as me thought I had be inne. be semyng of my dreem. so þat I may here deserue to haue it parfightly withowt ende: and so he do alle tho þat benyngly expowne myn auentures dreem. and goodly correcte it. where þat it nedith owght to amende or withdrawe. For þer may no thing be approchid ne affermed: but if it be founde in the feith. be aduysement of kunnyng clerkes. Wherfore if owt in this processe. be founde vntrewe: wite it my swevene. and so be seke I alle that schal rede it or here." To this is added the Colophon: "Here endith the dreem of the pilgrimage of the soule translated owt of frensche in to Englysche, The yeer of oure lord m^lccccxiii^mo., etc." ff. 105 b–106.

The Epilogue is as follows:

"Verba translatoris. And I the symple and vnsuffisaunt translatoure of this litel book pray and beseke as lowely as I kann to the redere or herere of this processe to for geue it me þat I haue not translated worde for word as it was in the frensche, somwhat be cause of ille writynge of myne examplere. somwhat be cause of hard frensche. specially sithe I am but litel expert in

þat langage somwhat also be cause of somme thinges þat were diffuse . and in som place ouerderk. Wherfore I haue in dyuers places added and withe drawe litel what as me semed needful: no thing chaunging of the processe ne substaunce of the matiere . but as it myghte be most lusti to the redere or herere of the matiere. Also I must excuse me to the redere or herere of the matiere in som place thei it be ouer fantastyk noughte grounded nor foundable in holy scripture ne in doctoures wordes for I myghte not go fro myne auctor. Also in myne addicioun specially in pletyng of mercy and in the sermone of doctrine of nature of the soule. And here at the ende in the matiere of the Trinite, if I haue said owt othir than autentik: I beseche you alle to amende it . whiche that haue kunnyng in þat matiere more than haue I: ffor myn is simple and of litel value, / This is the mark at the begynnyng of myne addiciones A k and this at the ende, R. W." f. 106.

This Translation, but without the above Epilogue, was published by Caxton in 1483. The differences between this copy and the printed edition are only slight. The epilogue has been added by Miss Cust to her partial reprint of Caxton (1859), p. 82.

Additional 34,193. ff. 5–98 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Folio; ff. 94, in double columns of 31 to 38 lines. With 20 rude coloured drawings, chiefly representing the tortures of Hell. For a description of the rest of the MS. see above, p. 487.

PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOUL. A prose translation of the second poem of Guillaume de Deguileville (or de Digulleville); with 14 passages turned into seven-line stanzas. In five Books.

This is the same work as that in Egerton 615, only without the colophon (which there gives 1413 as the year of the translation), and without the Epilogue of the Translator. The five Books begin at the following places; ff. 5, 31, 47 b, 57, 82–98 b. The fourteen poems are at ff. 11 b, 19 b, 28, 31, 31 b, 32, 32 b, 63 b, 90 b, 91 b, 93, 93 b, 94, 95.

The work begins: "Als I lay on Saynte laurence nyghte

slepeynge in my bedde me befell a full meruelous dreme whiche I shall reherson. Me thoughte that I hade longe traueilede towarde ierusalem and that I hade made fully an ende of my pilgrimage fleschely. So that I myghte no farther trauaile opon my fote. Botte nedes moste I leue behynde me my fleschely carien than come cruel dethe and smote me whithe his venemous darte thoro whiche stroke body and saule were departede atwyn. And so anon I felyde my selue lifte vpe in to the aiere seynge my selue departede fro my foule body whiche when I behelde lying dede whithe oute any meueynge semyde me so foule and horrible that hade I notte righte late þer beforne goo there fro wolde haue saide not that euer it hade bene myne." f. 5. It ends: "and soudanly þe bell began to sowne þe houre of middenyghte and I remembrede þat I hade not ȝit slepte fully þre houres. Now ihesu giffe me grace for to come to þe truth of þis blis were of I haue dremede so þat I may here deseruen for to haue itte perfitely with outen ende and so he do to all þo þat goodely and benignely expounde myn auentorouse dreme and goodely coriecte where it nedeþ ought to adden or with drawen. Amen." f. 98 b.

The text of Caxton's edition (1483) is very close to that of the present copy.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE great Collections of Mary-legends that were formed in various parts of Europe in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries were partly derived from each other, or from common stocks. The legends are often strung together at random; but there are a few that generally recur in the same order. By comparing these together in their various forms of treatment, and by noting the local traditions added from time to time, something like a history of the Collections may be made. Adolfo Mussafia has already contributed largely to such a history by the learned and interesting Papers ("Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden") which he has read, during the last five years, to the Academy of Sciences at Vienna.* We have endeavoured to adapt our own descriptions so as to be in accordance with his classification; and we cannot do better than introduce them by a brief abstract of his opening remarks, together with a statement of some of his results.

Mussafia enumerates (Heft i. pp. 7–21) 15 works (down to the early part of the 13th cent.) that contain several Mary-legends, and that, in some cases indeed, are the actual sources from which the collectors drew. We will mention these works, but will only specify those legends that are described here from our own MSS.

(1.) Gregory of Tours (d. 594), Libri Miraculorum (Migne, vol. lxxi). Out of 8 Mary-legends, 4 are in our MSS. These are:—
a. (Lib. i. cap. 9), Three Schoolboys raise pillars in Constantine's

* Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, *Sitzungsberichte* (Philosophisch-Historische Classe); Band cxiii. Heft 2, p. 917; Band cxv. Heft i. p. 5; Band cxix. Abhandlung 9; Band cxxiii. Abhandlung 8. The papers are here quoted from the separate reprints: Heft i. (1887); Heft ii. (1888); Heft iii. (1889); and Heft iv. (1891).

Basilica (see Add. 15,723, coll. ii. No. 1);—*b.* (Lib. i. cap. 10), Jew of Bourges (see Cotton, Cleop. C. x., No. 1);—*c.* (Lib. i. cap. 11), Abbey-barns at Jerusalem filled with corn (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 28);—*d.* (Lib. i., cap. 22), Jew pierces Christ-image (see John de Garland's No. 53, in Roy. 8 C. iv.).

(2). Paschasius Radbertus (d. 865), De corpore et sanguine Domini (Migne, vol. cxx.). One legend, Jew of Bourges; version in which he is a glassblower (see Gautier de Coincy, Harley 4401, No. 3).

(3). Petrus Damianus (d. 1072), Works (Migne, vols. cxliv.–v.). Out of 8 legends, 3 are here:—*a.* (Epistolæ, Book vi. No. 32), Hours of Virgin sung daily (*cf.* Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 16);—*b.* (De bono suffragiorum, cap. 3), Priest of only one Mass (see Cleop. C. x., No. 15);—*c.* (De variis apparitionibus, cap. 4), Five Gaudes (see Cleop. C. x., No. 10).

(4). Radbod II., Bishop of Noyon (d. 1098), Sermo de Annunciatione (Migne, vol. cl.). Girl with thread glued to lip (see the Provençal version in Add. 17,920, No. 12).

(5). Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), Oratio xlix. (Migne, vol. clviii. col. 946), Mater misericordiæ (see Cleop. C. x., No. 25).

(6.) Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1112), Chronica (Migne, vol. clx.), under year 765, Jews pierce Christ-image (see John de Garland, Roy. 8 C. iv., No. 21).

(7). Guibert de Nogent (d. 1124), Works (Migne, vol. clvi.). Six Mary-legends:—*a.* (De laude S. Mariæ, cap. 10), Mother-in-law and Son-in-law (see Arund. 406, No. 12);—*b.* (*ibid.* cap. 11), Lost leg restored (see Herolt, Add. 19,909, No. 35);—*c.* (*ibid.* cap. 12), Wife and Mistress (see Arund. 346, No. 30);—*d.* (De pignoribus Sanctorum, Lib. i. cap. 2), Bread offered to Child-Christ by a chorister (a variant of the common version, described under Add. 15,723, Collection i. No. 2);—*e.* (De vitâ suâ, Lib. iii. cap. 18), Thread attached to tongue (slightly differing from the version given by Radbod);—*f.* (*ibid.* cap. 19), Pilgrim of St. James (see Cleop. C. x., No. 14).

(8). Gautier of Cluny (or of Compiègne), De miraculis B.V.M. (Migne, vol. clxxiii). Out of 4 Mary-legends, the last 3 are described here:—*a.* Wife and Mistress (see above, under Guibert de Nogent);—*b.* Bread offered to Child-Christ: by a child in arms (the usual version, see Add. 15,723, Coll. i., No. 2);—*c.* Drowned Sacristan (see Cleop. C. x., No. 8).

(9). Honorius of Autun (d. after 1130), Speculum ecclesiæ (Migne, vol. clxxii.). *a.* Jew of Bourges (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1);—*b.* Nativity: angel-music (see Add. 15,723, Coll. ii., No. 32);—*c.* Mater misericordiæ (see Cleop. C. x., No. 25).

(10). Pseudo-Anselmus: "Tractatus" and "Sermo de Conceptione B.V.M." (Migne, vol. clix). *a.* Abbot Elsinus (see Cleop. C. x., No. 36);—*b.* Clerk of Hungary (see Clerk of Pisa, Cleop. C. x., No. 22);—*c.* Drowned Monk (see Cleop. C. x., No. 8).

(11). Second Pseudo-Anselmus (Migne, vol. clix., col. 337). Pilgrim of St. James: usual version, in which he is called Giraldus (see Cleop. C. x., No. 14).

(12). Petrus Venerabilis (d. 1156), De Miraculis. Mussafia gives three Legends which are not in our Collections; but he omits one which is in Add. 15,723, Coll. ii., No. 26. This is Demon-Swine (see De Miraculis, Lib. ii., cap. 29, in Migne, vol. clxxxix., col. 946).

(13). "Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis" (Migne, vol. clxxxv.). Out of five Mary-legends four are here:—*a.* (Distinctio iii. cap. 11), Virgin seen refreshing monk-mowers (see Add. 15,723, Coll. ii., No. 21);—*b.* (cap. 19), Virgin's syrup (see Add. 15,723, Coll. ii., No. 22);—*c.* (Dist. v. cap. 5), Woman revived for confession (see Add. 15,723, Coll. ii., No. 31);—*d.* (cap. 15), Persecuted Monk visited by Virgin (see Add. 15,723, Coll. ii., No. 23)

(14). Herbert, Archbishop of Torres, who, as a Monk at Clairvaux, wrote (in 1178) a work De Miraculis (Migne, vol. clxxxv.). Two Mary-legends:—*a.* (Lib. i. cap. 1), Monk-mowers;—*b.* (Lib. iii. cap. 14), Virgin's syrup. See both mentioned above ("Exordium" *a* and *b*).

(15). Helinand (d. after 1229), Chronicon (Migne, vol. ccxii.). This Chronicle is mentioned by Mussafia for the sake of a Mary-legend which is not in our Collections. It occurs in the first portion of the Vision of Gunthelm, the second portion of which has been noticed above (p. 510) in the description of the Vision of Thurkill.

To these 15 writers mentioned by Mussafia we are inclined to add three more:—

(i.) Gregory the Great (d. 604), Dialogi, Lib. iv. (Migne, vol. lxxvii.): *a.* (cap. 17), Musa (see Arund. 346, No. 24);—*b.* (cap. 36), Peter and Stephen (see Cleop. C. x., No. 16).

(ii.) Adamnan, Abbot of Iona (d. 704), De locis sanctis (Migne, vol. lxxxviii.), Lib. iii. cap. 5. Mary-Image insulted (see Cleop. C. x., No. 28).

(iii.) Heito (or Hatto), Abbot of Reichenau, afterwards Bishop of Basle (d. 836), Vision of Wettin (Migne, vol. cv. cols. 771–780). This was abridged by William of Malmesbury for his Collection (preserved in a MS. at Salisbury); and his abridgment was turned into verse by Adgar, an Anglo-Norman writer of the end of the 12th century (see Egerton 612, No. 23), and again by a later Anglo-Norman versifier (see Royal, 20 B. xiv., No. 43). Mussafia has compared the three texts, in parallel columns (Heft iv. pp. 34–50).

In the 11th and 12th centuries distinct Collections of Mary-legends began to be formed in France. Mussafia (Heft i. pp. 4–5) notices six local Collections, (1) Coutances; (2) Laon; (3) Soissons; (4) Roc-Amador, in Guienne; (5) Chartres; and (6) Pierre-sur-Dive, in Normandy.* Many of the local legends re-appear in the general collections. Thus, Gautier de Coincy has versified several of the Miracles of Laon, and those of Soissons (see Harley 4401, No. 42, and Nos. 47–50). The former series relates the Miracles performed in England (in 1113), while the shrine of Our Lady of Laon was being carried about in that country, to collect money for the purpose of rebuilding the burnt cathedral at Laon. The latter series begins with an account of the terrible outbreak of the *Mal des ardents*, a virulent epidemic of the nature of erysipelas, which attacked Soissons, and many other towns in the North of France, in 1128; and the work (which is by Hugo Farsit, a Canon Regular of Soissons) then relates several miraculous cures of this and of other maladies.†

The general Collections seem likewise to have begun before the 12th century. One of these, not the oldest, but very important for the purposes of Mussafia, is that which he designates PEZ (see his description in Heft i. pp. 22–30). Bernhard Pez printed the Collection (in 44 numbers) under the name of Potho,

* Four of these Collections (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6) have been either edited or noticed in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* (Series ii. tome iv. p. 339; Ser. iv. tome iii. pp. 21, 228; tome xlii. p. 505; and Ser. v. tome i. p. 113). The other two (Nos. 2, 3) are in Migne (vols. clvi. and clxxix.).

† See L. V. Pécheur, *Annales du diocèse de Soissons*, tome ii. (1868), p. 293.

a monk of Priefling near Ratisbon, about 1150.* But in this attribution he was clearly wrong. He relied entirely upon No. 37 of his MS., which says: "Ego scilicet Boto, qui hanc visionem jam senex de S. Maria vidi, et quasi de alieno scripsi, plura de ipsa Matre Misericordiæ, et de ejus beneficiis, quæ ante annos quadraginta circa me gerebantur, referre dignum duxi" (p. 405). Out of many copies of the Collection examined by Mussafia and his correspondents, the Austrian MS. used by Pez is the only one that contains No. 37; and it could hardly have been intended for anything more than the Prologue to a Collection of Miracles that had happened in the writer's neighbourhood (Bavaria or thereabouts) within his own lifetime (for more than 40 years, as he puts it). But the scenes of these Miracles are in France, England, Rome, and Constantinople, only one was in Germany, and that at Cologne; and the dates range from the time of the Apostles to that of the Norman Conquest, with only two or three later. Mussafia makes some further critical remarks in Heft iii. (pp. 53–5); and he comes to the almost certain conclusion that No. 37 was inserted by one scribe, and No. 44 added by another scribe, and that the original Collection (PEZ) contained only 42 numbers. The Museum does not possess a complete copy of it; but Add. 18,346 contains it in 41 numbers (No. 9, "Priest of one Mass," being omitted), with 5 added at the end from other sources.

The first 17 numbers of PEZ represent a separate Collection, formed (according to Mussafia) in the 11th century (Heft iii. p. 55). The Collector gathered his chief materials from Lives of Saints; and sometimes from legends in which originally the Virgin played no part. Thus the disorderly monk of St. Peter's at Cologne (No. 7) probably owed everything (in the earlier legend) to St. Peter, the Pilgrim Giraldus (No. 8) everything to St. James; until it was decided to exalt the Virgin at the expense of these two Saints. Another source was found in cloister-records; the "Fire in Mont Saint Michel" (No. 15) is one instance, and the "Stained Corporale" at Chiusa (No. 14) is another. Mussafia designates the collection as HM (No. 1 being "Hildefonsus," and No. 17 being "Murieldis"). It will be here described under Cotton, Cleopatra C. x., Nos. 7–23, where it occupies a separate position

* For the title, see below, p. 594.

as Book ii. It is found in nearly all the large Collections; though in many it is imperfect, and in some the arrangement is disordered.

Next, in point of age, Mussafia places the little series of the Four Elements: (1) Jew of Bourges (Fire); (2) Theophilus (Air); (3) Childbirth in the sea (Water); and (4) Julian the Apostate (Earth). The series appears, with those fantastic attributes, as Nos. 1–4 of Cleopatra C. x.

Thirdly, Mussafia would place as the next oldest group a series of 17 numbers, which he calls TS (Toledo-Saturday). This series originally formed Book iii. *a* of Cleopatra C. x.; but a couple of leaves have been lost after "Toledo," carrying away the whole of two numbers, and portions of two more. These can be supplied out of another copy of the same text, contained in the Toulouse MS. 482. In these two MSS. the series ends with "Saturday" and "Abbot Leofric"; but Mussafia says (Heft iii. p. 58) that, by comparing PEZ, SV (a Paris MS., named, in Heft i. p. 39, after St. Victor), and other MSS. together, he has come to the conclusion that the series originally ended with (No. 16) "Abbot Leofric" and (No. 17) "Saturday." Hence he designates it TS (Toledo-Saturday).

Our Arundel MS. 346 is connected by Mussafia with two MSS., one at Paris and the other at Montpellier (Heft ii. pp. 10–11); and the Collection is therefore designated APM. It consists of two sections: Part i. (Nos. 1–17) is HM; Part ii. (Nos. 18–31, with two additional numbers in the Montpellier MS.) is a branch of TS. See the comparative Tables of PEZ², APM², and two other MSS., drawn up in order to mark the original arrangement of TS, in Heft iii. p. 59.

Cotton, Cleopatra C. x. contains: Book i. Four Elements and two additional legends; Book ii. a complete HM; Book iii. *a* an imperfect TS. This is followed by No. 1 of iii. *b* (Priest summoned by Devil), and by a small fragment of a Rhapsody on the subject of Theophilus. It then breaks off. But the Toulouse MS. 482 has the whole of Book iii. *b* in 4 numbers, and of Book iii. *c* in 28 numbers (see Heft ii. pp. 23–9). These two divisions introduce us to the old subjects in a new text, and to a few new subjects, most of which are English. With Cleopatra C. x. and the Toulouse MS. a group is formed, by adding the Oxford MS. (Balliol 240) and the Cambridge MS. (Mm. 6. 15). The subjects of the Oxford MS. (56 in number) are the same (with three ex-

ceptions), and in the same order, as the first 57 of the Anglo-Norman metrical versions in Royal MS. 20 B. xiv. The Cambridge MS. was described by Mussafia in 1888 (Heft. ii. pp. 35–38), as having 14 beginnings that were quite peculiar to itself. But two years later, when the first description of Salisbury MS. 97 was sent to us (from Salisbury to the British Museum), in order to be transmitted to Mussafia, we observed that at least 13 of these beginnings were identically the same in both MSS. The Salisbury collection (copied in the 13th century) is called the "Liber miraculorum sancte Dei genitricis semperque virginis quem edidit dominus Willelmus monachus et precentor ecclesie Meldunensis"; and the quasi-classical style of the text confirms its attribution to William of Malmesbury. Mussafia has since received more copious extracts (direct from Salisbury), and he has devoted a large portion of his Heft iv. (1891) to an examination of the use made of Malmesbury's work by the compilers of the Oxford and the Cambridge MSS., and by "Mestre Albri" (the writer whose Latin Collection was turned into Anglo-Norman verse by Adgar, from a copy in the "almarie" at St. Paul's, London: see Egerton 612), as well as by the Anglo-Norman versifier of the Oxford Collection (Royal 20 B. xiv.): see Heft iv. pp. 12–82. In the course of this Heft Mussafia has printed two Nos. of the Salisbury MS. entire (No. 37, Vision of Wettin, and No. 42, Love through Black Arts) with the two Anglo-Norman versions in parallel columns (pp. 34–50, and pp. 53–79). Another indication is given of the connection between Malmesbury's Collection and that of the Oxford MS. by the fact that the Salisbury copy is preceded by a brief abstract (in elegiacs) of a Collection in 59 Nos., the first 56 of which correspond exactly to those of the Oxford MS.

Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) in his Speculum Historiale (Lib. vii. capp. 81–120) has given a collection headed "ex Mariali magno." The scribe of our MS. Add. 15,723 (2nd Collection) has drawn from the same source. He was evidently a Cistercian Monk, and he has added a Cistercian story in the middle, and nine legends (mostly Cistercian) at the end.

Single instances of legends turned into Latin metre, such as those of Theophilus and of Maria Ægyptiaca, some as old as the 10th and 11th centuries, are to be found in the prose Collections, often placed together at the end. But we do not know of any

entire Collection in Latin verse earlier than that (in elegiacs) by "Nigellus de Longo Campo" (probably the same as the so-called "Nigel Wireker," author of the Speculum Stultorum). It was apparently written by him about 1190. A copy of it (early 13th cent.) in Cotton, Vespasian D. xix. is described further on. Here we need only remark that, when we sent a description of it to Mussafia (see his Heft iii. pp. 1-6), he was unwilling to believe that the Jew who threw his own son into the furnace, generally known as the Jew of Bourges, could have been called by Nigel (No. 10) a Jew of Pisa. But, when the Salisbury MS. was examined, we found that there also (No. 11) the locality was Piss.

Nigel arranged his Collection, apparently, according to his own fancy. And the same seems to have been the case with the authors of our other two Latin verse Collections. The first of these, in Add. 32,248 (13th cent.), is in hexameters (often Leonines). It is the same as the Metz MS. described by Mussafia in Heft iii. pp. 7–13. The second (in Royal 8 C. iv.) is by Johannes de Garlandia. It is in strophes of six lines (rhyming *aab, ccb*). It was probably written about 1250.

We have already noticed our three Collections in French verse (in Harley 4401, Egerton 612, and Royal 20 B. xiv), and their connections with the Latin prose Collections. The fragmentary Collection in Provençal (in Add. 17,920) is shown by Mussafia (*Romania*, tome ix. p. 300) to be a close translation from Vincent of Beauvais. The only Collection, so far as we know, of Mary-legends in English verse is the group of seven tales, headed by Theophilus, which is in Harley 2277 and some other copies of the great South-English Legendary. These tales are probably derived from various sources; one of them (the vision of the two Oxford scholars) does not occur in the general Collections.

It may be found convenient if we here mention a few of the most important printed editions of Mary-legends. (1) Vincent of Beauvais. His *Speculum Historiale* was printed (at Strasburg) in 1473, and (at Augsburg) in 1474. The whole of the Speculum Majus was reprinted at Douay in 1624 (with the title *Bibliotheca Mundi*) in four volumes, the Speculum Historiale forming vol. iv. (2) Joannes Herolt, a German Dominican, who wrote, in the 15th century, a "Promptuarium de Miraculis B.M.V." This

compilation was printed, in the same volume with his sermons and his "Promptuarium Exemplorum secundum ordinem Alphabeti," several times in the 15th century; and also (with title *Discipulus Redivivus*) at Augsburg in 1728: see description, below, of Add. 19,909. (3) The Collection which Pez ascribed (but almost certainly in error, as observed above, p. 590), to Potho was printed by him (Vienna, 1731) under the title "Pothonis Liber de Miraculis," etc., as an appendix (pp. 305–456) to *Ven. Agnetis Blannbekin . . . vita et revelationes.* (4) Adgar's Collection was printed (from Egerton 612) by Carl Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden*, forming Bd. 9 of Wendelin Foerster's Altfranzösische Bibliothek (Heilbronn, 1886); and (5) Neuhaus also printed a great part of the Collection in Cleopatra C. x., under the title *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-fr. Adgar'schen Marienlegenden* (Aschersleben, 1886). (6) Gautier de Coincy's Collection was edited by the Abbé Poquet, with title *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge* (Paris, 1857). (7) We shall frequently have occasion to refer in these descriptions to the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Jean Mielot, secretary to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; this collection was edited by G. F. Warner for the Roxburghe Club, 1885. The following works should also be mentioned:— (8) Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* (ed. Strange, Cologne, 1851): written about 1220 in 12 "distinctiones." Distinctio vii., "De S. Maria," contains several miracles of the Virgin, a few of which occur frequently in these Collections. (9) Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques* (ed. Lecoy de La Marche, Soc. de l'Hist. de France, 1877). Under this title is printed his "Tractatus de diversis materiis prædicabilibus," written about the middle of the 13th cent. Part ii. tit. vi., "De B. Maria" (pp. 93–120), contains many of the familiar Mary-legends. The same may be said of (10) the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse, 1846) of Jacobus a Voragine (compiled in the latter half of the 13th cent.), under the several Feasts of the Virgin.

It should be remarked that many miracles of the Virgin are found, singly or in small groups, in the vast Collections of miscellaneous tales, which will be noticed in a later volume of this Catalogue.

Harley 3020. ff. 113–132.

Vellum: about A.D. 1000. Octavo; ff. 20, each full page containing 17 lines. With a large initial of Anglo-Saxon design, coloured red, blue and green.

The whole MS. contains:—(1) "Sermo beati Bede" in commemoration of Benedict Biscop (see *Bedæ Opera*, ed. J. Stevenson, Eng. Hist. Soc. 1841, vol. ii. p. 335). f. 1. (2) Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, by Bede (*ibid.* ii. p. 139). f. 7. (3) Lives of Pope Calixtus I. and other martyrs, ending with that of St. Juliana. ff. 37–112. (4) The present article. f. 113.

On the margin of f. 91 b the name "Willyan Fox" is written in a hand of the 16th cent.

THEOPHILUS. Legend how Theophilus, Vicedominus (or Oeconomus) of the Church of Adana (near Tarsus), in Cilicia, was deposed from his office; how he signed a compact with the Devil; and how he repented, and regained possession of the compact by the help of the Virgin. The event is supposed to have occurred about the year 538 (see *Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Feb.). Originally written in Greek (in the 6th cent.) and ascribed to Eutychianus, one of the Household of Theophilus; and translated (in the 9th cent.) by Paul the Deacon, of Naples. *Latin.*

Surius, *Sancti*, vol. i. (1570), p. 823, gives a version of the Legend (taken from the Collection of Symeon Metaphrastes), at the end of which the original author is named thus: "Ego autem Eutychianus humilis et peccator, qui fui natus in ædibus huius beatissimi Theophili, et deindè clericus huius catholicæ ecclesiæ, . . . quæ vidi oculis meis et auribus audiui a beata eius lingua, securè et certò scripsi, quæ ei contigerant," etc. (p. 829). In vol. ii. pp. 598–609, Surius gives the Life of St. Maria Ægyptiaca by Paulus Diaconus, with the latter's dedicatory letter, "Domino gloriosissimo ac præstantissimo regi Carolo," saying that he had formerly sent him a copy of the Life of Maria, together "cum Tomulo de cuiusdam Vicedomini pœnitentia." Surius remarks in the margin (p. 598), "Theophilus is est: Habeturque tomo i. Februarii 4 die, sed alio interprete." This letter is given again in the *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. i. (1675), p. 75, with the

remark that the MS. containing it must be more than eight hundred years old.

Heading: "Actus Theophili qui Christum negauit et recuperauit: ii. kal. Martii."

Begins: "Factvm est autem priusquam incursio fieret in romanam rempuplicam exsecrande persarum gentis fuisse in una ciuitate nomine [Adana] ciliciorum in secunda regione persarum quendam uicedominum sancte dei ecclesie nomine theophilum ⁊ moribus et conuersationibus precipuum ⁊" f. 113.

Ends: "Et post triduum osculans fratres ⁊ tradidit beatam animam in manu filii dei ⁊ et inmaculate semper virginis Marie ⁊ omnia sua egenis distribuens et optime disponens ⁊ talique confessione glorificans deum ⁊ migrauit ad dominum ⁊ Cui est gloria Nunc et semper ⁊ et per omnia secula seculorum. Amen." f. 132.

Printed from this MS. by Carl Neuhaus, *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-fr. Adgar'schen Marien-Legenden* (Aschersleben, 1886), p. 12. This version is also printed (divided into three chapters) in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Feb., p. 489. The Greek text is published by A. Jubinal in his *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. ii. (Paris, 1839), pp. 332, 342, according to two versions, the first from the MS. Coislin, No. 283 (11th cent.), the second from a MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, No. xi. of the Greek MSS. on Church History, described by Lambecius as "codex pervetustus" (*Comment. de Bibl. Cæs. Vind.* ed. Kollar, lib. viii., Vienna, 1782, col. 151).

A Latin metrical version by Roswitha or Hrotsuitha, nun of Gandersheim (lived about 980), is in Migne, *Patrologia*, cxxxvii. col. 1101; another by Radewin (12th cent.), together with a third from a 14th cent. MS. at Paris (No. 2333, A), has been published by Wilhelm Meyer in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos. philol. und hist. Classe der k. bayr. Akad. der Wissensch.* (München, 1873), p. 49; and a fourth, attributed to Marbodus, Bishop of Rennes, 1096–1123, is in the *Acta SS.*, p. 493. A version is in the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, under date 537 (Migne, clx. col. 102); and a longer one in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (vol. iv. of *Bibliotheca Mundi*, Douay, 1624), lib. xxi. capp. 69, 70 (from "Sigebertus ex Mariali"). Other Latin versions are in the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse, 1846), cap. 131, p. 593; and in the Additions to the *Legenda*, cap. 189, p. 871.

For French versions see Jubinal, *Rutebeuf*, vol. ii. (1839), pp. 79, 260, or in the later edition (1874–5), vol. ii. p. 231, vol. iii. p. 234. The tale forms No. 24 of the "Milagros de Nuestra Sennora" (in verse) of Gonzalo de Berceo (13th cent.), published by T. A. Sanchez, *Coleccion de poesias castellanas anteriores al siglo xv.*, vol. ii. (Madrid, 1780), and reprinted in Aribau's *Biblioteca de Autores Espagñoles*, vol. lvii. (Madrid, 1864), pp. 103–131. For German and other versions, see F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer* (Stuttgart, 1850), iii. p. 540, and introd. pp. cxxv, clxvi; and Sir George Dasent's *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and other tongues* (London, 1845).

Other versions will be noticed below, in the descriptions of the Collections of Mary-legends in which they occur.

Cotton, Nero E. I. Part i. ff. 157–160.

Vellum; xith cent. Large Folio; ff. 4, in double columns of 43 lines. With an initial in red. In a Collection of Lives of the Saints, and immediately preceded by the Life of St. Juliana.

THEOPHILUS. *Latin.*

Heading:—"Actus theophili qui christum negauit. et recuperauit. ii. Kal. Martii."

Beg.:—"Factum est autem prius quam incursio fieret in romanam rempuplicam execrande persarum gentis. fuisse in una ciuitate nomine [adana] ciliciorum secunda regione persarum. quendam uicedominum sancte dei ęcclesię nomine theophilum. moribus et conuersationibus precipuum." f. 157, col. 2.

Ends:—"Et post triduum osculans fratres. tradidit beatam animam. in manu filii dei. et inmaculate semper uirginis marię. omnia sua egenis distribuit et obtime disponens talique confessione glorificans deum. migrauit ad dominum. cui est gloria nunc et semper per omnia secula seculorum. Amen." f. 160, col. 2.

Colophon:—"Explicit actus Sancti theophili."

Harley 4719. ff. 122 b–125.

Vellum; early xiith cent. Folio; ff. 4, in double columns of 50 lines. With heading in red, and with a large initial, red, blue and green.

The volume is composed of six books, five of which contain Lives of Saints and Sayings of the Fathers. The present article forms the 7th and last chapter of "Liber v. qui est visionum" (see list of contents, f. 2 b), where it is immediately preceded by the tale of the courtier who neglected penance till too late, from Bede, Hist. Eccl., v. 13.

Bought by Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, on 22 June, 1726, from John Gibson, among MSS. which Gibson had received from Italy (see Wanley's Diary, Lansdowne MS. 772, ff. 43, 44, 72).

THEOPHILUS. *Latin.*

Heading: "Incipit conuersio atque penitentia ad dominum ihesum christum . facta a quodam uicedomino nomine theophilo . orientalis regionis."

Beg.: "Factum est in tempore illo priusquam incursio fieret in romana republica execrandorum persarum . fuit in una ciuitatum adaniciorum secunda regione . quidam uicedominus sanctę dei genitricis ęcclesię nomine theophilus . moribus et conuersatione precipuus." f. 122 b.

Ends: "Et post triduum osculans omnes fratres . tradidit beatam animam in manu filii dei . et inmaculatę semper uirginis marię. Sed et omnia sua egenis distribuens . et optime disponens . talique confessione glorificans deum . migrauit ad dominum. Cui est honor et gloria . et potestas et imperium . nunc et semper . et per infinita secula seculorum. Amen." f. 125.

Additional 10,050. ff. 84 b–90.

Vellum; late XIIth cent. Quarto; ff. 7, each full page containing 28 lines, except f. 89, which has only 25. With a large initial in red.

The volume contains: (1) "Roberti Tuitiensis Abbatis super cantica canticorum" (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.* clxviii. col. 837). f. 2 b. (2) Lives of Saints, including St. Thomas of Canterbury (f. 107), with some rhyming verses on his martyrdom. ff. 71–165. The present article is preceded by the Life of St. Basil, and followed by that of St. Abraham the Hermit.

THEOPHILUS. *Latin.*

Heading: "Qualiter gloriosa ac beatissima virgo maria theophilum a seruitute diaboli liberauit."

Beg.: "Factum est priusquam incursio fieret in romanam rempublicam execrande persarum gentis . fuisse in una ciuitatum cilitiorum secunda regione quendam uicedominum sancte dei ecclesie nomine theophilum. moribus et uita precipuum." f. 84 b.

Ends: "Et post triduum osculans fratres . tradidit beatam animam in sinum filii dei et immaculatę semper uirginis Marię . omnia sua egenis distribuit . et optime disposuit. Talique confessione glorificans deum migrauit ad dominum . cui est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen." f. 90.

Additional 18,365. ff. 73–80.

Vellum; XIIIth–XIVth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 8, each full page containing 26 lines, except f. 79 b, which has only 25. With an initial in blue, flourished with red. Preceded by Lives of Apostles (ff. 2–72). In a stamped leather binding (16th cent.), with brass bosses and a portion of a clasp, engraved "Ma[ria]." On a fragment of an old fly-leaf, "Bibliothecæ montis S. Georgij" (S. Georgenberg in Tyrol), with the dates 1647, 1652.

THEOPHILUS. *Latin.*

Heading: "De Theophylo."

Beg.: "F[a]ctum est tempore illo priusquam incursio fieret in romana re publica execrandorum persarum . in una ciuitate alexandrinorum fuit quidam uice dominus sancte dei genitricis

ecclesie nomine theophylus . moribus et conuersacione precipuus." f. 73.

Ends: "Omnes amirati clerici simul et layci mulierem (*sic*) et infantes . postulant ut in presencia coram omnibus legeretur iniquissimum illud horribile cyrogra[p]hum . cognouitque omnis populus que ei contigerant et qualiter ei reddita fuerat cartula negacionis. Vnde clamauit episcopus et dixit . Venite omnes fideles. glorificamus dominum nostrum uerum Venite omnes uidete stupenda miracula Venite ."— (left unfinished). f. 80.

The last words here occur in the edition of Neuhaus (see the description of Harley 3020), in his *Vorlagen*, Heft i. p. 19; and see *Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Feb., at the end of p. 492, col. 2.

Cotton, Cleopatra C. x. ff. 101–144 b.

Vellum; late XIIth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 44, having 27 lines to a page. With initials in red and green.

Bound up with various other works, *viz.* the Chronicles of Radulphus Niger (down to the release of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, etc.), the Prophecies of Merlin, etc.; but the only other article that probably belonged to the same MS. is a Sermon of St. Anselm on Luke x. 38 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clviii. col. 644). This sermon immediately follows the present work at f. 145; and it is to be noted that amongst the works formerly attributed to Anselm is a Sermon on the Conception of the Virgin, which contains the same legend about Elsinus (or Egelsinus), Abbot of Ramsey, as that given here (see No. 36).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN MARY. A Collection made from various local Collections; together with some additions by the compiler, in one of which he describes himself as having stayed at Amfreville-sur-Iton in Normandy (f. 136), and in another as having heard a certain tale from the mouth of Ædric, Prior of Chertsey (f. 142). Imperfect, breaking off in the middle of the third book. *Latin.*

This Collection, as found in the present MS. and in a more complete copy at Toulouse, is analysed, under the title of "Cl. Toul.", and compared with very similar Collections at Oxford and Cambridge, by Mussafia, in his *Studien*, Heft ii. (1888) pp. 17–42. See also above, p. 591.

The whole work is headed: "Incipit prologus in textu miraculorum Sanctæ dei genitricis et perpetuæ virginis Mariæ."

The Prologue begins: "Scriptvri uirtutes et miracula intemeratæ uirginis dei genitricis Mariæ. priusquam ad materiam accedamus: uultum demissi simplices potius quam doctas aures adhiberi flagitamus. quatinus liceat nobis magis christiano quam ciceroniano ore loqui. et exemplum matris domini cuius prodigia sumpsimus describenda. etiam humili stilo imitari." f. 101.

After saying that these Miracles have been brought together from various codices, the Prologue ends: "Ac primum Christi iuuante gratia paucis absoluamus. quod in infideli gente iudeorum eodem modo factum audiuimus: sicuti in sequenti declarabimus." Colophon: "Explicit Prologvs." f. 101 b.

Printed from this MS., together with the first Miracle, by Eugen Wolter, *Der Judenknabe* (Halle, 1879, forming No. 2 of Hermann Suchier's *Bibliotheca Normannica*), p. 46. The text of the Prologue, and of several of the Miracles, has also been printed from this MS. by Carl Neuhaus, in *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgar'schen Marien-Legenden* (Heilbronn, 1886), pp. 9, etc.

General title: "Incipit liber miraculorum Sanctæ dei Genitricis et perpetue virginis Mariæ." f. 101 b.

It will be seen that the first four Miracles are supposed to denote the sovereignty of the Virgin over the four Elements, in the following order: Fire, Air, Water, and Earth.

1. (Book i., Mir. 1). Jew of Bourges. How a child of Jewish parents told them that he had gone into a church and received the Eucharist; and how he was thrown by his father into an oven, but was preserved alive by the Virgin. f. 101 b.

Beg.: "Postqvam infidelissima gens iudeorum."

Ends: "sic nos famulos suos in die tremendi examinis a gehennalibus flammis liberare dignetur. per unicum filium suum dominum nostrum ihesum christum. qui cum patre," etc. f. 104.

Printed from this MS. by Wolter, as above, together with 13 other Latin texts, 5 Greek and 8 French; with a full discussion of the tale in its various forms. The earlier writers—including Paschasius Radbertus, "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini," cap. 9 (Migne, cxx. col. 1298), whom Wolter has omitted—lay the scene (if any place at all is named) in the East, frequently in

Constantinople, but from the 12th cent. onwards it is generally laid in Bourges. Nigel Wireker indeed, apparently following William of Malmesbury, tells it as a legend of Pisa (see above, p. 593).

2. (Book i. Mir. 2). THEOPHILUS. f. 104.

Beg.: "Igitvr descripto miraculo quod."

Ends: "eripiens nos ab aeriis potestatibus et earum accusationibus hic et in futuro," etc. f. 109.

3. (Book i. Mir. 3). CHILDBIRTH IN THE SEA. How a woman on a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel in Normandy was overtaken by the tide, but was protected by the Virgin, who kept off the waves with her sleeve; and how she was safely delivered of a child. f. 109.

Beg.: "Piissimo sancte dei genitricis miraculo in ipsis aereis spiritibus patrato."

Ends: "sed tua misericordissima pietate et sanctissima adiuti et confortati . seruiamus uero regi," etc. f. 110 b.

One of the versions of this Legend forms No. 30 of the Miracles collected (soon after 1450) by Jean Mielot (Roxburghe Club, 1885), and the editor (G. F. Warner), in his Introduction (p. xxi), makes the following remark upon the Legend:—"In a slightly different form, it is recorded in Guillaume de St. Paur's *Roman du Mont St. Michel*, ed. F. Michel, 1856, p. 114, the miracle being attributed, not to the Virgin, but to St. Michael. It is also said to have happened 'Quant Hildebert abés esteit.' According to Dom Hugues (*Hist. Gén. de l'abbaye du Mont St. Michel*, ed. E. de Robillard, 1872, vol. i. p. 86), this was Abbot Hildebert I., the exact date being A.D. 1011."

4. (Book i. Mir. 4). JULIAN THE APOSTATE. How the Emperor Julian, on his march against the Persians, passed through Cæsarea in Cappadocia; how he met the Archbishop St. Basil there, and insulted him, and threatened to destroy the town on his return; and how he fell in the war by the hand of St. Mercurius, at the command of the Virgin. f. 110 b.

Beg.: "Expeditis tribus miraculis . dulcissimam sanctæ dei genitricis pietatem in igneo . aereo et aquoso elemento mirifice demonstrantibus: iam cætera quæ restant in terreo elemento multipliciter eius magnificentiam predicant."

Ends: "Benedictus itaque per omnia deus . qui et impium apostatam perdidit . et populum suum de manu eius per inter-

cessionem beatissime uirginis et matris domini nostri ihesu christi liberauit . qui," etc. f. 112 b.

The story occurs in cap. ii. of the Life of St. Basil, attributed to Amphilochius, Bp. of Iconium (elected 375, died *circ.* 400): see *Acta Sanctorum*, 14 June, p. 423.

5. (Book i. Mir. 5). CHARTRES SAVED BY THE VIRGIN'S SHIFT. How Rollo the Norman, when besieging Chartres, was encountered by the Bishop, "Walchelinus," with the Virgin's shift displayed as a banner; and how he and his men were struck with blindness; but how, when the Christians behaved cruelly, the shift disappeared, and the Normans recovered their sight. f. 112 b.

Beg.: "Anno dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo · xc°viij° · Rollo primus dux normannorum." This date has been changed by some writers, perhaps rightly, into 911.

Ends: "quod a nobis omnipotens deus sanctæ dei genitricis meritis auertat . qui," etc. f. 113 b.

Dudo of St. Quentin and other early chroniclers relate how the Bishop of Chartres used the Virgin's shift as a banner; but they do not speak of any miracle. Wace alludes to it, towards the end of his narrative of the battle, saying:—

> "Out Rou si grant pour e si s'en esbai
> N'i osa arester, vers ses nes s'en fui
> E cume plusur(s) distrent, la veue perdi
> Mais tost la recuura e asez tost gari." (lines 888–891).

See *Roman de Rou*, edited by Andresen, vol. i. (Heilbronn, 1877), p. 71. The development of the Miracle has been traced in the Introduction to the Roxburghe edition of Jean Mielot (1885), p. viii. Andresen has a note upon the name of the Bishop, which he decides to have been "Waldhelm" (vol. i. p. 224). Mussafia prints the name "Anselmus," in an abstract of the Paris MS. 12, 593 (which he calls SG): see his *Studien*, Heft i. p. 50. But here the name is plainly "Walchelinus."

6. (Book i. Mir. 6). ST. ODO AND THE THIEF-MONK. How a thief was admitted as a monk by St. Odo, Abbot of Cluny; and how he was visited just before his death by the Virgin, calling herself "Mater misericordiæ." f. 113 b.

Beg.: "Nvnc ad illud piissimum et omni nectare dulcius dictum stilus uertatur."

Ends: "quatinus post obitum nos ad eadem cœli gaudia introducas. Amen. Explicit liber 1." f. 115.

This Legend is found in two biographies of Odo (Abbot 926, died 943); the one (apparently the source of the present narrative) by his disciple John; and the other (much shorter) by Nalgodus, a Monk of Cluny in the 12th century (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxxxiii. cols. 71, 101).

Book ii. now begins. It contains 17 Miracles, which Mussafia regards as perhaps the oldest Collection still in its original order, and which he designates as HM (from Hildefonsus and Murieldis). He describes them in his Heft i. p. 22, as the first 17 articles of PEZ. The Toulouse MS. mentioned above, pp. 591, 600, is imperfect in Book i., wanting the prologue and the greater part of Mir. 1, while 3, 4 and 5 are inserted between nos. 7 and 8 of Book ii. In the Oxford MS., Book i. contains the foregoing six Miracles, followed by seven others not in the present volume, but included in Book iii. of the Toulouse MS.

The Introduction of Book ii. (in 8 lines) begins: "Ad omnipotentis dei laudem cum sepe recitentur sanctorum miracula." It ends: "largiente domino recitare studeamus." f. 115 b. In the Toulouse Catalogue, vol. vii. of the *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements* (Paris, 1885), p. 288, this Introduction is described as "celle du recueil attribué à S. Ildefonse de Tolède."

7. (Book ii. Mir. 1). HILDEFONSUS OF TOLEDO. How he used to wear an alb that had been given him by the Virgin; and how his successor, Siagrius, died when venturing to put it on. f. 115 b.

Beg.: "Fvit in toletana urbe quidam archiepiscopus qui uocabatur hildefonsus religiosus ualde . et bonis moribus ornatus."

Ends: "Sic sancta dei genitrix beatum hildefonsum qui ei deuote seruierat honorauit: siagrium uero pro sua presumptione morte multauit . ostendens quia quisquis eam honorauerit: gratiam dei suamquæ (*sic*) habebit." f. 116 b.

In the Life of St. Ildefonso by Cixila, Bp. of Toledo (d. *circ.* 783): see Migne, xcvi. col. 48.

8. (Book ii. Mir. 2). THE DROWNED SACRISTAN. How a Sacristan was drowned on his way to visit his mistress; and how his soul was restored to his body by the intercession of the Virgin. f. 116 b.

Beg.: "In quodam cœnobio erat quidam monachus . secretarii officio functus. Hic ergo ualde erat lubricus."

Ends: "in pace animam reddidit." f. 117 b.

A very similar version of the same story is in the small Collection reprinted (after Labbe) by Migne (vol. clxxiii. col. 1384), and attributed to Gautier, a Monk of Cluny, to whose name the date of 1141 is added. But this Collection has been ascribed to Gautier of Compiègne in the *Histoire Littéraire*, tome xii. p. 491. The different versions are noticed in the Roxburghe edition of Mielot, pp. xxiii–xxv.

9. (Book ii. Mir. 3). CLERK OF CHARTRES. How, on account of his dissolute habits, he was buried outside the cemetery; how the Virgin appeared to one of his fellow-clerks and complained of the treatment of "her Chancellor"; and how, when they opened his grave to remove his body to a more worthy place, a beautiful flower was found in his mouth. f. 117 b.

Beg.: "Qvidam clericus in carnotensi ciuitate degebat: qui erat leuis moribus."

Ends: "quatinus omnes hæc audientes accendantur in dei et eius amorem." f. 118.

In the *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (in French verse, dated 1262), by Jehan Le Marchant, this Miracle is No. 29. The clerk is there called a "Chancelier de Chartres." See the edition, by G. Duplessis (Chartres, 1855), p. 184.

10. (Book ii. Mir. 4). FIVE GAUDES. How a clerk, who used frequently to sing an anthem to the Virgin containing five "Gaudes," was visited by her on his deathbed, and promised a share of the joy he had so often wished her. f. 118.

Beg.: "Alter quoque quidam clericus in quodam loco commorabatur."

Ends: "quæ sibi seruientibus non desinit auxiliari." f. 118 b. Given briefly by Petrus Damianus (b. 988, d 1072) in his disputation "De Variis Apparitionibus et Miraculis," cap. 4 (Migne, cxlv. col. 588).

11. (Book ii. Mir. 5). THE CHARITABLE ALMSMAN. How a poor man for love of the Virgin gave away part of the alms bestowed on him; and how she appeared to him on his deathbed and called him to Paradise. f. 118 b.

Begins: "Vir quidam pauper degebat in quadam uilla."

Ends: "ubi sicut promiserat sancta dei genitrix letabitur cum iustis sine fine." ff. 118 b, 119.

See the Roxburghe edition of Mielot (Mir. 52), p. xxxi.

12. (Book ii. Mir. 6). EBBO THE THIEF. How he was sustained for two days on the gallows by the Virgin. f. 119.

Beg.: "Sicut exponit beatus gregorius papa de septem stellis pliadibus."

Ends: "Qui abiens factus est monachus . et postea quoad uixit seruiuit domino et sanctissimæ matri eius." f. 119 b.

Found in nearly all the Collections. It is printed in Thomas Wright's *Latin Stories* (Percy Society, London, 1842), No. 109, from Sloane 2478, f. 3 b.

13. (Book ii. Mir. 7). MONK OF ST. PETER'S AT COLOGNE. How he died unconfessed; how St. Peter appealed to the Virgin; and how, at her intercession, the Monk's soul was restored to the body. f. 119 b.

Beg.: "In monasterio sancti petri."

Ends: "Veruntamen deo nichil est impossibile . cui gloria," etc. f. 120 b.

This is one of the instances given by Mussafia (Heft iii. 1889, p. 56), to show how the acts of various Saints were transferred to the Virgin.

14. (Book ii. Mir. 8). THE PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES. How Girardus, when about to start on a pilgrimage to Compostella, visited his mistress the night before; how he was met on the road by the Devil in the form of St. James; how he was persuaded to mutilate and to kill himself; and how he was restored to life by the judgment of the Virgin. Told on the authority of St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny (1049–1109). f. 120 b.

Beg.: "Neque hoc debemus silere . quod beatæ memoriæ domnus Hugo abbas cluniacensis solet narrare de quodam monasterij sui fratre."

End: "multis diebus uixit deuotus in seruitio dei." f. 121 b.

This is Chapter 5 of the Miracles of St. James, ascribed to Calixtus II. (d. 1124): see *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 July, p. 54. See also Guibert de Nogent (d. 1124), De Vita Sua, lib. iii. cap. 19 (Migne, clvi. col. 955). A version of the story is among the works wrongly ascribed to St. Anselm, entitled "Miraculum Grande S. Jacobi" (Migne, clix. col. 337).

15. (Book ii. Mir. 9). THE PRIEST WHO ONLY KNEW ONE MASS. How he was deposed by the Bishop, because he only knew the Mass of the Virgin, beginning, "Salve sancta parens"; and how he was re-instated at the command of the Virgin, who styled him "my chancellor." f. 121 b.

Beg.: "Sacerdos quidam erat parochiæ cuiusdam æcclesiæ seruiens."

Ends: "et postea defunctum ad uitam æternam suis meritis . introduxit." f. 122.

This story is versified by Jehan Le Marchant, as No. 31 of his *Miracles de N.D. de Chartres*, p. 204. The same story (except that the priest is a man of dissolute life) is in Petrus Damianus, De bono suffragiorum, cap. 3 (Migne, cxlv. col. 564).

16. (Book ii. Mir. 10). TWO BROTHERS AT ROME. How Peter, Archdeacon of St. Peter's, was sent to purgatory for avarice; and how his brother Stephen, a Roman Lawyer, was damned for wrongs done against St. Laurence and St. Agnes; how St. Prix ("Prejectus") appealed to Mary; and how Stephen was rescued out of hell itself, and restored to life, for thirty days' penance. f. 121.

Beg.: "Erant duo fratres in urbe roma . quorum unus uocabatur petrus."

Ends: "xxx. die feliciter migrauit a seculo." f. 123.

Perhaps based on the vision of a knight who saw Peter in torment and Stephen crossing the Bridge of Dread, as related by Gregory the Great, Dialogi, lib. iv., cap. 36 (Migne, lxxvii., col. 384).

17. (Book ii. Mir. 11). THE RUSTIC WHO REMOVED LANDMARKS. How Devils and Angels disputed for his soul; and how the angels won, because of his devotion to the Virgin. f. 123.

Beg.: "Erat uir quidam secularis rurali operi deditus."

Ends: "largiente deo per suæ sanctæ genitricis merita . quæ cum eo sit benedicta." f. 123 b.

18. (Book ii. Mir. 12). THE PRIOR OF ST. SAVIOUR'S, PAVIA. How, a year after his death, he appeared to the Sacristan, calling out to him, "Frater Hucberte"; and how he said that, till now, he had been suffering in a region, the Prince of which was called "Smirna"; but that the Virgin, whose Hours he had always chanted, had passed by the place, and seen him there, and led him to a place of happiness. f. 123 b.

Beg.: "Apvd ciuitatem quæ uocatur papia."

Ends: "intra paucos dies defunctus ex hoc mundo discessit." f. 124.

The prince of the place of torment is called by Gautier de Coincy "Simyrna" (in Poquet's ed., col. 490; but "Mirra" in Harl. 4401, f. 57); by Etienne de Bourbon, p, 100, "Sevirna" (which he interprets "consummacio amaritudinis vel amaritudo consummata"); by Adgar "Siront"; and by Berceo, no. 12, "Smerna."

19. (Book ii. Mir. 13). HIERONYMUS MADE BISHOP OF PAVIA. How the Clergy and Elders of Pavia were in doubt as to the election of their Bishop; how the Virgin appeared to one of them, and said "Choose my Chancellor"; and how at his request she added the name of her Elect, Hieronymus. f. 124.

Beg.: "In supranominata ciuitate papia fuit quidam clericus qui dicebatur ieronimus."

Ends: "et post hæc feliciter obiens ad cœlica regna migrauit." f. 124 b.

St. Hieronymus was elected Bishop of Pavia, 778, died 787: see *Acta Sanctorum*, 22 July, pp. 321–3, where this story is given on the authority of Gasparius.

20. (Book ii. Mir. 14). THE STAINED CORPORALE. How a young monk named Anselmus spilt the sacramental wine over the corporale in the monastery of St. Michael at Clusa (now Chiusa San Michele) in Piedmont; and how the stain was removed by the Virgin. f. 124 b.

Beg.: "Sancti Michaelis archangeli nomine consecrata quædam est æcclesia quæ clusa ab incolis est nominata."

Ends: "et ei deinceps deuotius seruierunt." f. 125 b.

There are two copies of this Legend in the Salisbury MS. 97 (13th cent.), in the Collection made by William of Malmesbury (Miracles 5 and 40); but the monk is not named, Malmesbury adding expressly, "cujus nomen, quia adhuc superesse dicitur, supprimo." See Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 21.

21. (Book ii. Mir. 15). FIRE AT MONT ST. MICHEL. How a wooden image of the Virgin, in the Church at Mont St. Michel, escaped unhurt when the church was burnt by lightning. f. 125 b.

Beg.: "Est et alia quædam ecclesia in honore sancti Michaelis in monte qui dicitur tumba . in periculo maris."

Ends: "ostendens quod sibi seruientes ab igne auerni liberare facillime possit." f. 125 b.

In one of the Annales du Mont-Saint-Michel, appended to the *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, as edited by Léopold Delisle for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, tome ii. (Rouen, 1873), p. 225, it is related that the church was struck by lightning, when the monks were chanting Matins, and burned to the ground, on 25 April, 1112.

22. (Book ii. Mir. 16). THE CLERK OF PISA. How, though devoted to the Virgin, he was persuaded by his friends to marry; and how he left his bride on their wedding day, to give himself up to the service of the Virgin. f. 125 b.

Beg.: "In territorio ciuitatis quæ dicitur pisa."

Ends: "pro qua se hortante totum mundum studuit relinquere . deo opitulante cui gloria sine fine amen." f. 126 b.

This tale, which belongs to the large class of legends denoted "Marienbräutigam" by Mussafia, is found in the "Sermo de Conceptione B. M." wrongly ascribed to Anselm (Migne, clix. col. 320), where the clerk is a brother of the King of Hungary, "tempore Caroli regis Francorum illustrissimi," and is said to have afterwards become Bishop of Aquileja. For an account of other versions, see the Roxburghe edition of Mielot (Mir. 9), p. xi.

23. (Book ii. Mir. 17). MURIELDIS; a woman of Fécamp, and wife of a Knight named Roger Fitz-Wimund. How she was taken from church to church, in order to cure her madness; and how she was finally cured in a lonely church in a wood, dedicated to the Virgin. f. 126 b.

Beg.: "Miraculum me referre non piget."

Ends: "et in die iudicij contra omnes aduersariorum impetus potentissima defensatrix . prestante unigenito eius filio domino nostro ihesu christo : qui cum patre," etc. "Explicit liber secundus." f. 127 b.

Book iii. is imperfect; one or more leaves are missing after f. 127, and probably several at the end (after f. 144). As it now stands, Book iii. contains 16 miracles, two of them (Miracles 1 and 2) imperfect, besides the imperfect "De theophilo brevis enarratio" at the end. The Toulouse MS. contains all these 16 (with two more intervening between our 1 and 2), followed by 31 additional miracles: see the Toulouse *Catalogue*,

in which all the headings are quoted. The article "De Theophilo brevis enarratio" occurs there in the middle of the 2nd Book. The Oxford MS. is less complete in Book iii. than that of Toulouse, and the order is different; it contains 26 miracles, of which only two agree with those of the present collection (our Miracles 1 and 10). The imperfections in the first four miracles here are also supplied by Arundel 346, described below.

The first 15 miracles, together with the two which have been lost in the present copy, answer to the first 17 in Book iii. of the Toulouse MS. Mussafia accordingly numbers the set iii. *a*. He believes that it represents another early Collection. The last two miracles here are Saturday (No. 37) and Leofric (No. 38). Mussafia, however, holds that the order of these two has been changed; and he designates the old form of the Collection TS (*i.e.* Toledo-Saturday).

Book iii. begins with a short prologue: "Incipit liber iii. Ad excitanda corda humilium . . . . prelibata sunt nostris auribus." f. 127 b.

This prologue, together with the titles of all the miracles, and the text of all but Nos. 34, 37–40, is printed in Neuhaus, *Vorlagen*, pp. 51–70.

24. (Book iii. Mir. 1). TOLEDO. How the Virgin's voice was heard in the Cathedral at Toledo on the Feast of the Assumption, complaining that the Jews were still allowed to insult her Son; and how, on a search being made, Jews were found outraging a waxen image of Christ, and were put to death. Imperfect (but the rest is supplied in Arundel 346, f. 67). f. 127 b.

Beg.: "In urbe toletana cum ab archiepiscopo in die assumptionis beatæ Mariæ uirginis missæ solennia agerentur."

It breaks off at the foot of the same page with the words: "Hæc cum intentione sedula cordis" . . .

See the Introduction to the Roxburghe edition of Mielot (Mir. 14), p. xiii. The leaf or leaves missing here appear to have contained two miracles (Foot cut off, and Musa), besides the end of the preceding article and beginning of the following: see Arundel 346, Nos. 22–25.

25. (Book iii. Mir. 2). MATER MISERICORDIÆ. How the Virgin claimed this title, when revealing herself at a deathbed. Imperfect at the beginning. f. 128.

Begins with the words: "mater uidelicet misericordiæ et pietatis. Et si ipse misericordiam filii sui et suam fideliter requireret . sine dubio illam inueniret . Ex his itaque uerbis matris misericordie ille infirmus consolatus."

Ends: "nisi ut misericordiam faciant miseris et peccatoribus." f. 128 b.

The conversation between the Virgin and the dying man, in this legend, is very similar to that in the latter part of the tale of St. Odo and the Thief-Monk: see above, No. 6.

26. (Book iii. Mir. 3). LIBIA (a mistake for Lydda). How the Jews complained to the Emperor of the Apostles' having turned a synagogue into a church near Diospolis (Lydda, near Jerusalem); how he ordered the building to be closed for forty days, for a manifestation of God's will; and how at the end of that time a portrait of the Virgin (who was then living at Mount Sion) appeared upon the wall. Also how, in later times, the Emperor Julian ordered the Jews to remove the portrait, but they dared not touch it. f. 128 b.

Beg.: "In libia ciuitate quæ proxima est ciuitati quæ uocatur diospolis."

Ends: "Et dimissa usque in hodiernam ibi uenerabiliter perseuerat." f. 129.

The town is called "Lidda" in Pez, cap. 20. The Introduction to the Roxburghe edition of Mielot (Mir. 27*), p. xix, shows that this story is evidently founded on a legend told by John of Damascus (died about 760) in his "Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem" (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xcv. col. 350): how a portrait of the Virgin appeared on the wall, at the opening of a church dedicated to her (in her lifetime) by the Apostles Peter and John; and how, in the time of Julian, the efforts of the Jews to remove it only made its colours brighter.

27. (Book iii. Mir. 4). GETHSEMANE. How a portrait of the Virgin and Child was painted, by no human hand, upon one of four columns which stood above the Virgin's grave. f. 129.

Beg.: "In sancta Gethsemani quæ est inter ierusalem et montem oliueti."

Ends: "et ualde ibidem pro amore Mariæ ueneratur." f. 129 b.

28. (Book iii. Mir. 5). THE VIRGIN'S IMAGE INSULTED.

How a Jew of Constantinople tried to defile an image of the Virgin; and how he disappeared altogether. f. 129 b.

Beg.: "De illa autem uere incontaminata uirgine Maria."

Ends: "imaginemque sanctam requisiuit et inter sordes absconditam repperit." f. 130.

Told, from the information of Arculfus, a French Pilgrim, by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona (d. 704), in his work "De Locis Sanctis," iii. 5 (Migne, lxxxviii. col. 813); with the addition, that the image used ever afterwards to emit a miraculous oil (a wonder which Arculfus had seen himself). A translation of Adamnan's work has been published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society under the title of *Arculfus* (London, 1889). Gautier de Coincy (col. 423) has a version similar to the present one, and he gives St. Jerome as his authority, but the story is not to be found in the printed works of the latter. The Salisbury MS. (Mir. 53), the Toulouse MS. (Mir. 67), and other versions derived from them, add that the Image used to unveil itself miraculously every Friday evening, and remain unveiled till Nones on Saturday. This additional feature is described (with some slight modification) further on in the present MS.: see No. 37 ("Saturday"), f. 139 b.

29. (Book iii. Mir. 6). AVE ON THE TONGUE. How a clerk was drowned on his way from his mistress; and how he was restored to life, because his last words, found imprinted on his tongue, were "Ave Maria." f. 130.

Beg.: "Erat igitur quidam clericus."

Ends: "uitam suam de reliquo emendare curauit." Followed by a hymn, beg.: "Ave gloriosa domina," and ending: "dulcioribus melle amplexibus iunge. Amen." f. 132.

This is a variation of No. 8, "The drowned Sacristan."

30. (Book iii. Mir. 7). DEVIL IN THREE BEAST-SHAPES. How the Devil frightened a drunken Monk three times, in the form of a bull, a dog, and a lion; and how each time the Monk was rescued by the Virgin. f. 132.

Beg.: "Olim fuit quidam monachus."

Ends: "Et hoc nobis indignis per ipsius Mariæ uirginis merita sine fine proueniat. hic et in æterna uita amen." f. 133 b.

31. (Book iii. Mir. 8). COMPLINES. How the Virgin taught a priest to chant her complines. f. 133 b.

Beg.: "Quidam religiosus uir erat."

Ends: "Collectam. Deus qui de beatæ uirginis Mariæ utero." f. 134.

32. (Book iii. Mir. 9). MILK: MONK LAID OUT AS DEAD. How the Virgin healed the ulcered mouth and throat of a Monk with her milk. f. 134.

Beg.: "Frater quidam."

It concludes with a hymn, ending: "Eius ope . eius antidoto . mundo salus rediit perdito . ipsi laus una cum suo glorioso filio honor uirtus atque iubilatio. amen amen quisquis es dicito." f. 135 b.

L. d'Achery, in his Notes on Guibert de Nogent's "De Pignoribus Sanctorum" (Migne, clvi. col. 1044), gives the same story as "factum lib. membranaceo De miraculis B. Mariæ, anno circiter 1100 scriptis mandatum, cap. 76."

33. (Book iii. Mir. 10). THE THREE SOLDIERS. How they killed a man in a church dedicated to the Virgin; how they were afflicted by internal fire (probably the "mal des ardents"); how they were enjoined, as a penance, to wear their weapons bound tight to their bodies; and how the writer of this tale, when he was staying at the house of one Emma, at Amfreville-sur-Iton (between Rouen and Evreux), met with one of these Soldiers, whose sword had grown into his flesh, and who said that he expected to complete his penance at a certain Church of St. Laurence. f. 135 b.

Beg.: "Sicut ex tam (*for* jam) relatis de sancta dei genitrice pluribus miraculis intelligere possunt legentes . cuique eandem sanctam Mariam magnæ pietatis esse."

The passage in which the author mentions himself is as follows (f. 136):—

"E quibus unus cum uenisset ad quandam nuncupatam ansfridi uillam secus fluuium itonam sitam . accessit ad cuiusdam mulieris quæ emma uocatur domum . ubi tunc forte eramus causa petendi elemosinam."

The last three words may perhaps refer merely to the soldier, for the passage ends thus:—"His dictis et accepta elemosina protinus discessit ab eadem uilla."

The rest of the article is a dissertation on the question why the Virgin permitted the murder to be done at all; the article concluding thus:—"Quam etiam nos oremus ut nobis a domino

filio dei et suo optineat ueniam ⁊ cui cum deo patre in æternum sit gloria amen." f. 136 b.

34. (Book iii. Mir. 11). EULALIA. How Eulalia, a nun of St. Edward's at Shaftesbury, was enjoined by the Virgin to say her Ave Maria more slowly. f. 136 b.

Beg.: "Fertur fuisse apud sanctum eaduuardum sceftoniæ quædam sanctimonialis femina."

Ends: "Quod ille quem ipsa genuit uirgo castissima nobis peccatoribus concedat per infinita secula amen." f. 137 b.

In Pez, cap. 32, the nunnery is miscalled "apud S. Cadowardum Cestione," and in Add. 18,346, f. 56 b, it is "apud sanctum Codowardum cestonie."

35. (Book iii. Mir. 12). MEAD. How a Lady in England received sudden notice of the King's coming to dine with her; how she found scarcely any mead in her cellar; and how she prayed to the Virgin and obtained an abundance. f. 137 b.

Beg.: "Asserunt antiqui relatores britanniam dictam maiorem."

Ends: "Pro hoc ita facto ⁊ reddidit illa deo sancteque matri eius laudes . quæ cum eodem filio suo uiuit," etc. f. 138 b.

In the biographies of Dunstan by "B," Osbern, Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury (Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls series, pp. 17, 86, 176, 266), this miracle is said to have occurred on the occasion of King Athelstan's visit to the Lady Æthelfleda (or Elfgifu) at Glastonbury.

The Salisbury MS. (containing Malmesbury's Miracles of the Virgin) has the names of Athelstan and Glastonbury in No. 47; and so has the Cambridge MS. (derived from it) in No. 52: see Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 22, and Heft ii. p. 38. In the Toulouse MS. the story is told twice over, once (as here) without names (No. 37), and the second time with the names of king and place (No. 70): see Mussafia, Heft ii. pp. 18, 28. In the present copy, the writer not only leaves the king unnamed, but of the place he says: "erat quidam uicus nomen cuius a cordis memoria excidit." f. 138. Our two Anglo-Norman poems, *Adgar* (ed. Neuhaus, p. 206), and Roy. 20 B. xiv. (f. 161 b) have names of both king and place.

36. (Book iii. Mir. 13). ABBOT ELSINUS. How, shortly after the Norman Conquest, Elsinus, Abbot of St. Augustine's

Canterbury, was sent by William the Conqueror on a mission to Denmark; how his ship was in imminent danger, when returning home; how he was addressed by a Man wearing a bishop's mitre, and enjoined by him to celebrate the Conception of the Virgin on the 8th of December; and how he inaugurated this festival at Ramsey Abbey, which was under his government. f. 138 b.

Beg.: "Tempore quo normanni angliam inuaserunt . erat quidam abbas elsinus nomine . constitutus in æcclesia sancti augustini anglorum apostoli . in qua ipse requiescit cæterique successores sui."

Ends: "statuitque in ramesiensi æcclesia cui ipse preerat . ut hoc festum omni anno solenniter . vi^{to} . idus decembris celebraretur. Ipse uero quoad uixit . solenniter ac deuote celebrauit. Celebratoribus huius solennitatis diē (divinæ?) . detur a filio ipsius uirginis pax et longa salus . et post transitum uitæ æterna requies concedatur. In qua ipse regnat in secula amen." ff. 139, 139 b.

Probably derived from the "Sermo de Conceptione B.M." and the "Miraculum de Conceptione S.M." which used to be ascribed to Anselm (see Migne, clix. cols. 319, 323). From the same source it has been copied in the Additions to the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 189, p. 869. William of Malmesbury introduces the Abbot as Abbot of Ramsey (see Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 19, compared with Heft ii. p. 30); we are not sure whether he mentions St. Augustine's in the course of the Tale. Only Ramsey is mentioned by Wace, in his poem on *La Conception Nostre Dame* (ed. by G. Mancel and G. S. Trebutien, Cáen, 1842). The same is also the case in the English poem *Cursor Mundi*, ed. by Richard Morris for the Early English Text Society: see Part v. (1878), p. 1416.

In the Historia Ramesiensis (*Chronicon Abbatiæ Ramesiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray, Rolls series, 1886, p. 177) we are told that Edward the Confessor appointed Ailsy—then Abbot of St. Augustine's—to take charge of Ramsey as Alfwin's deputy; and Ailsy appears again (*ib.* p. 179) as encouraging Harold to encounter Tostig and Harald of Norway; again (p. 204) he acknowledges, as Abbot, the "Privilegium" granted by William I. to Ramsey in 1077; and he occurs in deeds of about 1080 and 1087 (pp. 232, 205–7). In the list of abbots in the Exchequer

Chartulary (*ib.* p. 340) we read: "*Aielsinus abbas.* Suscepit abbatiam anno MLXXX.* Et fuit abbas per viii. annos; et eidem revelatum fuit in mari quod festum Conceptionis Sanctæ Mariæ celebraretur, et per ipsum primo fuit inventum"; and in a 14th century list of abbots (p. 347) is "Eylsinus abbas. Ipse constituit celebrari Conceptionem beatæ Mariæ Virginis."

The two chroniclers of St. Augustine's, on the other hand, *viz.*, William Thorne (Twysden, *Scriptores Decem*, 1652, cols. 1785–7) and Thomas of Elmham (ed. C. Hardwick, Rolls series, 1858, pp. 27, 28, 101), agree in stating that Egelsine became Abbot in 1059, and that after the Conquest he *fled* to Denmark (in 1070 or 1071) to escape William's wrath, and Thorne adds "nec usquam comparuit"; neither writer mentions him in connection with Ramsey Abbey, or with the institution of the Feast of the Conception.

On the probable confusion between two Abbots of the same name, see Migne, clviii. cols. 42–5. Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. vii. cap. 7, alludes to the miracle, but with the qualification "quod tamen non est authenticum." The Feast of the Conception was observed in the Eastern Church at least as early as the seventh century; but it seems not to have been introduced into Western Europe until nearly the middle of the twelfth century: see Bourassé, *Summa Aurea de Laudibus B.V.M.*, vol. viii. (Paris, 1862), cols. 291–324.

37. (Book iii. Mir. 14). SATURDAY. Rhapsody on the dedication of Saturday to the Virgin, containing allusions to some of her legends; followed by the tale how an image of the Virgin, in a church at Constantinople called "Lucerna," unveils itself miraculously every Friday at sunset, and veils itself again at vespers on Saturday. f. 139 b.

Beg.: "Solennem memoriam sancte Mariæ uirginis matris domini decet filios æcclesiæ solenni officio celebrare."

The tale of the image beg.: "est opere precium referre quid operetur deus in constantinopolitana urbe." f. 141.

Ends: "Quid longius ? Mariæ memoriam diligentibus sit ab ea pax et longa salus . ipso prestante qui cum patre," etc. f. 141 b.

---

* Macray says in a footnote that this date is "apparently by mistake for MLXX."

In the Salisbury MS. and others the church is given the more correct name of "Blackerna," * and the legend is attached to that of the Image insulted by a Jew: see the description of No. 28 of the present MS.

38. (Book iii. Mir. 15). ABBOT LEOFRIC. Story told to the author by Ædric, Prior of Chertsey; how Lefricus, a monk of Westminster, was made Abbot of Chertsey; how, at the desire of the Chertsey monks, he was removed by the king to Holm; how he returned to Chertsey, and was soon afterwards attacked by a fatal illness; and how the grace of the Virgin restored him sufficiently to receive the sacrament before he died. f. 142.

Beg.: "Qvam dulcis et quam pia sit sancta Maria."

Ends: "et ad æternæ felicitatis gaudia perducat . cum presentis uite finem fecerimus amen." f. 143 b.

In Pez, cap. 39, Ædric and Lefricus both become "Leuricus," Chertsey becomes "Certosia," and Holm is simply called "alia abbatia." There is no record of any Abbot Leofric of Chertsey. On a leaf prefixed to the Chronicle of John of Oxenede (Cotton, Nero D. ii. f. 217 b), written about the end of the 13th cent., Hugh, nephew of King Stephen, is said to have become Abbot of St. Bennet of Hulm (in Norfolk) in 1134, and afterwards of Chertsey (see Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii., 1821, pp. 63, 64). Hugh occurs as Abbot of Chertsey in one charter of Henry I. (1121–1128) and in three of Stephen (see Cotton, Vitellius A. xiii. ff. 55–57 b). See also Dugdale, vol. i. pp. 422, 423, where Abbot William is said to have been succeeded at Chertsey by Hugh in 1107.

This is the end of what Mussafia calls Book iii. *a*, consisting (in the present defective copy) of Nos. 24–38. Of the second division, Book iii. *b*, only two miracles remain.

39. (Book iii. Mir. 16). PRIEST SUMMONED BY THE DEVIL. How the Devil appeared at the sick-bed of an incontinent

---

* See the following note in the Introduction (p. xiv) of the Roxburghe edition of Mielot: "Blachernæ was a suburb of Constantinople, in which a church was built by the Emperor Leo the Great for the reception of a garment of the Virgin brought from Palestine, Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. xv. cap. 24. Baronius, in his *Annales*, following the chroniclers Curopala' and Cedrenus, records under A.D. 1031 the discovery in Blachernæ of ancient picture of the Virgin, which had remained concealed since th of the iconoclast Emperor Constantine Copronymus." f. 69. 69 b.

Priest, and showed him the chains prepared to drag him to hell; and how the Devil was driven away by the Virgin, and the Priest spared for repentance. f. 143 b.

Beg.: "Miraculum quoddam in laudem sanctissimæ dei genitricis."

Ends: "pœnitentiæ reseruatus presbiter mansit." f. 144 b.

40. (Book iii. Mir. 17). "De theophilo breuis enarratio." Rhapsody in praise of the Virgin, especially noting her rescue of Theophilus. Imperfect. f. 144 b.

Beg.: "Illa olim in auxilio magni patris basilij misit sanctum angelum et mortuum suscitauit."

It breaks off at the foot of the same page with the words: "Postea uero facti penitens. multumque se in animo angens." ...

As mentioned above (p. 610), this article occurs in the Toulouse MS. in Book ii., between Miracles 7 and 8. It appears to have been misplaced in the MS. copied by the Toulouse scribe: see the remarks of Mussafia, Heft ii. p. 17, note 3.

Arundel 346. ff. 60–73.

Vellum; about A.D. 1200. Quarto; ff. 14, in double columns of 30 lines.

The volume, which formerly belonged to Rievaulx Abbey, contains various explanations of Church services and festivals, and other theological treatises, besides a few verses (f. 30 b) on the meanings of words.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Thirty-one Miracles, belonging to a collection closely allied to that in Cotton, Cleopatra C. x., and supplying some which are missing there. With the text in some parts abridged; and with the last four Miracles in rhymed verse. *Latin.*

The present Collection is identical with that in a 12th cent. MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and almost identical with that in a Montpellier MS. (12th–13th cent.): see Mussafia, *Studien*, Heft ii. pp. 10, 11. He designates the Collection as APM. See above, p. 591.

At the beginning (f. 60) is a table of contents, containing 31 headings; but that of Mir. 5 is omitted, and the Miracle corresponding to the 26th heading ("De alia ymagine"; apparently for MLXme narrative as that in Cleop. C. x., No. 27) has been

omitted by the scribe. The first 17 are the same as Cleopatra C. x., Nos. 7–23, forming Book ii. of that MS., and designated HM by Mussafia. The subjects are:—

1. Hildefonsus. f. 60, col. 2.
2. Drowned Sacristan. f. 60 b.
3. Clerk of Chartres. f. 61.
4. Five Gaudes. f. 61, col. 2.
5. Charitable Almsman. f. 61 b.
6. Ebbo the Thief. f. 61 b.
7. Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne. f. 61 b, col. 2.
8. Pilgrim of St. James. f. 62, col. 2.
9. Priest of one Mass only. f. 62 b, col. 2.
10. Two Brothers at Rome. f. 63
11. Remover of Landmarks. f. 63 b.
12. Prior of St. Saviour's, Pavia. f. 63 b.
13. Hieronymus made Bishop of Pavia. f. 63 b, col. 2.
14. Stained Corporale. f. 64.
15. Fire at Mont St. Michel. f. 64, col. 2.
16. Clerk of Pisa. f. 64 b.
17. Murieldis. f. 65.

The second half of this Collection, APM[2] (Mussafia, Heft ii. pp. 10–11), is an offshoot of TS (that is, Book iii. *a* of Cleop. Toul.). The sequence is altered here; and one or two extraneous Tales are added:—

18. Jew of Bourges (Cleop. C. x. No. 1). f. 65, col. 2.
19. Three Soldiers (*ib.*, No. 33). f. 65 b.
20. Mead (Cleop. C. x., No. 35). f. 66.
21. Abbot Elsinus (*ib.*, No. 36). f. 66 b.

22. TOLEDO. f. 67. This copy supplies the defects in Cleop. C. x., No. 24 (Book iii. 1). It begins with the Prologue to TS (= Cleop. Toul. Book iii. *a*): "Ad excitandum humilium corda," etc. The Miracle itself begins: "In urbe teletona" (*sic*); and ends: "et a perpetuo gehenne infernalium incendio liberauit." f. 67.

Printed by Neuhaus, *Vorlagen*, p. 52, from this MS.

23. THE LOST FOOT RESTORED. How a Man "in urbe inuaria" (a mistake for *uiuaria*, meaning Viviers) was attacked by the *mal des ardents*, and was forced to cut off his own foot in despair; and how he recovered it again by the aid of the Virgin. f. 67, col. 2.

Beg.: "Sacrosancta sancte marie dei matris preconia."

Ends: "saluatorem eiusque matrem benedixit e f. 69. f. 67 b. 69 b.

Printed by Neuhaus, p. 53, from the present copy, the Tale having been lost out of Cleop. C. x. In Mielot, No. 65, the scene is Nevers.

The *mal des ardents*, also known as the *ignis sacer* or *feu sacré*, was an epidemic, apparently of the nature of erysipelas, which ravaged the north of France in 1128 and 1129; it is described by Anselm of Gembloux (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clx. col. 251), Hugo Farsitus (Migne, clxxix. col. 1777), and other contemporary writers (above, p. 589).

24. MUSA. How the Virgin appeared to a girl named Musa, and promised to receive her into her company within thirty days; and how on the thirtieth day the girl died. f. 67 b.

Beg.: "Non est silendum quod probus dei famulus de sorore sua nomine musa puella parua narrare consueuit."

Ends: "fruitura gaudia perpetua cum Christo uirginis fama." f. 67 b, col. 2.

Printed by Neuhaus, p. 54, from the present MS., the Tale being lost out of Cleop. C. x. It is derived from Gregory the Great, Dialogi, iv. 17 (Migne, lxxvii. col. 348): see Mielot, No. 21.

25. MATER MISERICORDIÆ. A brief version, supplying the first part of Cleop. C. x., No. 25, but ending without the rhapsody which is there attached to it. f. 67 b, col. 2.

Beg.: "Sicut iterum audiui."

Ends: "Quod cum matre Christi matre misericordie et pietatis existat." f. 68.

Printed from this MS., together with the imperfect version of Cleop C. x., by Neuhaus, pp. 54, 55.

26. LIBIA (*i.e.* Lydda). On the Image of the Virgin there (=Cleop. C. x., No. 26). f. 68.

In the List of headings (f. 60) this article (which is there numbered 25) is said to be followed by another, entered as "XXVI. De alia ymagine," doubtless referring to the tale in Cleop. C. x., No. 27; but the tale itself is not here.

27. MILK. How a Monk with ulcered mouth was supposed to be dead, but was healed by the Virgin (=Cleop. C. x., No. 32). Partly in rhyme. f. 68, col. 2.

28. SUDDEN DEATH. How a monk in Burgundy died suddenly, the other monks debated whether he might be buried in the [illegible]ry, as he had died without receiving the viaticum; and for [illegible] spirit appeared to each of them, and told them that the

Virgin had rescued him from the clutches of the devil. In rhymed verse. f. 69.

Beg.: "Cvm erat cognitus | alter quidam monachus
in illa prouincia | que fertur burgundia."

Ends: "cui cum suo filio | sit laus et iubilatio
per infinita secula | donans nobis remedia. Amen."
f. 70, col. 2.

29. A NUN'S PENANCE LEFT UNCOMPLETED. How a Nun, who had died before she could do the penance set her, appeared to her Abbess, and told her that she was still undergoing torment, but that the Virgin had promised to release her after a time. In rhymed verse. f. 70, col. 2.

Beg.: "Qvedam sanctimon[i]alis | sicut fertur fuit talis
in conuentu feminarum | Christo famulantium."

Ends with the opening words of a hymn to the Virgin, which the nun had been in the habit of repeating: "Sancta perpetua uirgo. Gaude dei genitrix." f. 71.

The same version (with a few slight variations) of this and the next article is printed by Duplessis, in the introduction to Le Marchant's *Miracles de N.D. de Chartres* (Chartres, 1855), pp. xxi–xxvii. It is also (printed as prose) in Pez, cap. 42.

30. WIFE AND MISTRESS. How an injured Wife prayed the Virgin to avenge her on her husband's Mistress; how the Virgin said in a vision that she could not punish one who always saluted her with an "Ave"; how the Wife told this to her rival; and how the latter was struck with remorse, and they were reconciled. In rhymed verse. f. 71.

Beg.: "Fratres operamini | ne seducamini."

Ends: "tibi lux et gloria | per eterna secula· | amen dicant omnia." f. 71 b, col. 2.

Printed, as above, by Duplessis. The story is told, on the authority of a Bishop of Arras, by Guibert de Nogent, "De Laude S. Mariæ," cap. 12 (Migne, clvi. col. 572). Also in Gautier de Cluny (*al.* G. de Compiègne), "De Miraculis B.V.M.", cap. 2 (Migne, clxxiii. col. 1382).

31. LOVE GAINED BY BLACK ARTS. How a Clerk won t[1] love of a Girl by magic; how the Virgin claimed him on wedding-day; how he obtained permission from his Bishop ' f. 69. away his bride, and give himself up to the service of the 69 b.

and how the latter, at his death, led his soul to heaven. In rhymed verse. f. 71 b, col. 2.

Beg.: "Nvnc audite et uenite omnes serui domini:
uolo namque rem narrare quam a quodam didici."

Ends: "Ergo ipsa benedicta sit per omne seculum:
et det sine fine nobis sempiternum gaudium.
una secum et cum nato qui uiuos et mortuos
iudicabit ad extremum ad perhenne seculum. Amen."
f. 73.

Another of the "Marienbräutigam" stories: compare Cleop. C. x., No. 22. It is in Pez, cap. 35 (printed in prose, but practically the same text as the present). This story has some points of resemblance with that of Proterius in the Life of St. Basil (see Vitæ Patrum, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, lxxiii. col. 302).

Additional 15,723. ff. 64 b–69 b, 70–92.

Vellum; late XIIth, and XIIIth, centt. Small Quarto; ff. 6 and 23, having respectively 25, and 28 to 32, lines to a page. The volume consists of two MSS., each imperfect at the end; the first (ff. 1–69 b) is in a late 12th century hand, and contains:—(1) An abridgment of the Life of St. Elizabeth of Schönau (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxcv. col. 119). f. 1. (2) The present article, Collection i. f. 64 b. The second MS. (ff. 70–117) is in a 13th century hand, and contains:—(1) The present article, Collection ii. f. 70. (2) Herbert, Archbishop of Torres, De Miraculis, libb. i., ii. (the latter imperfect). f. 92.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. *Latin.* Two Collections.

I. Eight miracles; the first in verse, the rest prose. The last six are the same as Cleopatra C. x., Book ii. 1–6. Imperfect at the end.

1. ST. BON AND HIS VESTMENT. How St. Bon, Bishop of Clermont (689–699), performed Mass one night before the Virgin and a choir of angels, and was rewarded by her with the gift of a vestment; and how his successor, being incredulous, went to the same church alone at night, but fell asleep, and was transported to his own bed. In rhymed verse. f. 64 b.

Beg.: "Presul erat deo gratus. | ex francorum gente natus.
Bonus erat huic nomen. | quod designat bonum omen."

for MLXIIII

Ends: "Ergo ne obliuiscaris | stellæ maris salutaris
Cuius dono non priuatur. | quisquis ei famulatur:
Ipsi atque nato eius: | salus . honor . atque uirtus.
Amen." ff. 65 b, 66.

The writer states that the vestment is still preserved at Clermont, and that it has been seen there by Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich (1091–1119).

"Domnus presul hoc herbertus: | norwicensis est expertus.
Qui dicebat se uidisse | hanc . et manu contigisse." f. 65 b.

The same version is printed in Pez, cap. 38, and also ("ex MS. Carthus. Colon.") in *Acta Sanctorum*, 15 Jan., p. 359.

2. BREAD OFFERED TO THE CHILD-CHRIST.—How a Boy, while his mother was praying before an image of the Virgin and Child, offered a piece of bread to the Child, saying: "Puppe papa: puppe papa"; how, finding that the image made no sign, he began to cry, whereupon a voice came from it: "Puppe noli flere: post triduum papabis mecum"; and how after three days the child died. f. 66.

Beg.: "Epiris locus est famosus."
Ends: "O felix emptio: sub tanto largitore regni celestis." f. 66.

In Gautier de Cluny (*al.* G. de Compiègne), "De Miraculis B.V.M.", cap. 3 (Migne, clxxiii. col. 1383), this is said to have happened "in Galliis, vico qui dicitur Dormientum" (*i.e.* Dormans, on the Marne). The present version agrees with that in V. de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. vii. cap. 99 (see below, Coll. ii. No. 13), except that there the place is "Spiris supra renum," *i.e.* Spires or Speier, for which "Epiris" here is evidently a blunder. A very similar story is related, of an acolyte at St. Quentin, by Guibert de Nogent, "De Pignoribus Sanctorum," lib. i. cap. ii. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clvi. col. 617).

The other Miracles of the first Collection answer to the first six of HM. (see the description of Cotton, Cleopatra C. x., Book ii.). The subjects are:—

3. Hildefonsus. f. 66 b.
4. Drowned Sacristan. f. 67 b.
5. Clerk of Chartres. f. 68 b.
6. Five Gaudes. f. 69.
7. Charitable Almsman. f. 69.
8. Ebbo the Thief. f. 69 b.

The last of the Miracles above breaks off with the words: "Fur erat . qui uocabatur ebbo. Hic multociens res alienas rapiebat⁊ ali" . . . f. 69 b. In Cleop. C. x. (f. 119) the sentence is thus completed: "aliorumque substantiis furtim ablatis⁊ tam se quam suos alebat."

II. Forty-three Miracles.

The Prologue and the first 32 miracles (except No. 20) are in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, lib. vii. capp. 81–119, arranged in the same order (but including some tales not contained in our MS.). Vincent prefixes the word "Author" (apparently meaning himself) to the Prologue; but he designates the source of the tales (as our MS. does also) as "Mariale magnum." In the middle of cap. 113 (between our Nos. 27 and 28) he uses the words "Explicit de mariali magno. Item alia"; but the close agreement between the two texts continues down to the end of cap. 119 (our No. 32), and cap. 114 and the first half of cap. 119 are quoted elsewhere by Vincent (see below, Nos. 29, 32), with the express statement that they are taken "ex Mariali." Most of these miracles are related, in an abridged form, by the Dominican Joannes Gobii Junior (*fl. circ.* 1350: see Quetif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.*, i. 633) in his *Scala Celi* (Lübeck, 1476), under the heading "Virgo dei genitrix Maria." Under this heading are 55 tales (some of them, however, mere repetitions), 32 of which are taken from the "Mariale magnum," though in the case of one of these (our No. 29) Gobii refers to Vincent, and does not mention the Mariale.

The scribe (probably of the present MS., certainly of one that did not long precede it), when making a copy of the Mariale, stopped in the middle of our No. 19 (Christ denied, but not the Virgin), in order to tell an anecdote of two youths from the neighbourhood of Clairvaux, when they were students at Paris. The same scribe has added eleven other tales (our Nos. 33–43), nearly all of them in honour of Cistercians.* One of them (No. 35, Hundred Aves), the tale of a knight who was weaned from carnal affection, is here told of an English knight; and it is said to have been related by Eustace II., Abbot of S. Germer

* No. 43, however, seems to have been taken from the "Mariale magnum," for it is in the *Scala Celi*, with reference to the same "Mariale," although it has been omitted by Vincent.

of Flaix (diocese of Beauvais), on his return from England. Eustace was Abbot in 1200–1211; and he came on a legatine mission to England in 1200–1 (see the Rolls edition of Roger de Hoveden, vol. iv. p. 123; and see *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ix. col. 793). These Cistercian additions therefore (made perhaps in Clairvaux itself) are later than 1200. The miracle in our No. 42 (Sequence *Missus Gabriel*) is told as having occurred in the time of King Louis "patris scilicet philippi regis" (the latter being Philip Augustus, who reigned 1180–1223). The expression here seems to intimate that King Philip was still alive. We may therefore date the additions as between 1200 and 1223. It may be noted that the collection is followed, in the same hand and without any break, by the work De Miraculis of Herbert, Archbishop of Torres, written by him when a monk at Clairvaux, in 1178: see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxxxv. col. 1271.

Heading: "Incipiunt miracula gloriose virginis Marie." Prologue: "Post assumptionem suam . . . . narrare cupio in hunc modum. Ex mariali magno." f. 70.

1. COLUMNS RAISED BY THREE SCHOOLBOYS. How the workmen who were building a basilica for the Emperor Constantine in honour of the Virgin could not raise the columns; and how they were assisted, according to the Virgin's instructions, by three school-children. f. 70.

Printed, with the Prologue, in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. vii. cap. 81; it is also the first of the tales from the "Mariale magnum" in J. Gobii, *Scala Celi*, f. clxi, where it is said to have happened in Constantinople, and Constantine is not mentioned. The miracle is recorded by Gregory of Tours, "Miraculorum lib. i." cap. 9 (Migne, lxxi. col. 713). Lenain de Tillemont, in his Life of Constantine, art. 68 (*Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. iv., Paris, 1704, p. 243), suggests that the church in question was the Cathedral at Ephesus, as he knew of no other dedicated to the Virgin before 431.

2. TOLEDO. (Cleop. C. x., No. 24.) f. 70.

Spec. Hist., vii. 81 (last paragraph); Gobii, f. clxi.

3. ARROW INTERCEPTED. How an Image of the Virgin, during the siege of "Auenon" near Orléans, intercepted an arrow aimed at one of the defenders. f. 70.

Spec. Hist., vii. 83 (cap. 82 contains a story not given here); Gobii, f. clxii. G. de Coincy, col. 275, describes the place as

"près d'Orliens,

. . . . . .

Cist Chastiaus a non *Avers non*,
Ou *Avenon*, ou *Avernon*,"

interpreted by Poquet "peut-être Averdon, dans l'Orléanais," a small town about six miles north of Blois.

4. MILK: tongue and lips of a Clerk healed. f. 70 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 84; Gobii, f. clxii.

5. CHILDBIRTH IN THE SEA. (Cleop. C. x., No. 3.) f. 71.

Spec. Hist., vii. 85; Gobii, f. clxiii (where it is said to have happened "in basconia").

6. ABBESS DELIVERED. How an Abbess, accused of inchastity, was helped by the Virgin; and how her child was carried by two Angels to a Hermit. f. 71 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 86; Gobii, f. clxiii b.

7. RING ON THE FINGER OF THE MARY-IMAGE. How a youth placed his ring on the finger of an image of the Virgin, and the hand of the image closed upon it; how, in spite of good advice, he married; how the Image with the ring seemed to intervene between him and his bride; and how he became a monk. f. 72 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 87; Gobii, f. clxiv. This story seems connected with the well-known tale of the ring given to Venus (in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Rolls ed., vol. i. p. 256). The tale "De celui qui espousa l'ymage de pierre" in Méon, ii. p. 293 (analysed by Legrand d'Aussy, v. p. 53), has some of the features of both. Compare Le Marchant, *Miracles de N.D. de Chartres* (ed. Duplessis, Chartres, 1855), p. 127 ("Dou valet anglais qui dona son fermail a liglise de Chartres fere").

8. PILGRIM IN THE SEA. How a Bishop was saved in a boat from the wreck of a ship laden with pilgrims for Jerusalem; how he saw the souls of the Drowned ascend to heaven, in the form of doves; and how the Virgin saved one of them alive, from the bottom of the sea, wrapping her cloak round him. f. 72 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 88; Gobii, f. clxiii. In Mielot, No. 33, this and the next miracle (our No. 9) form one article. The two are also found together in PEZ (Nos. 27, 28): see Mussafia, Heft i. p. 27, iii. p. 59.

9. LIGHT ON THE MASTHEAD. How an Abbot was caught in a tempest "in medio maris britannici"; how some invoked one

saint, some another; how the abbot exhorted all to invoke the Virgin, and himself began to chant the response "Felix namque"; and how a great light appeared above the mast, and the storm ceased. f. 73.

Spec. Hist., vii. 89 (1st paragraph; the 2nd containing a tale not in the present MS.).

10. INCEST BETWEEN MOTHER AND SON. How a Roman matron strangled a child which she had borne to her own son; how she was denounced to the Emperor by the Devil, disguised as a clerk; but how she made full confession to the Pope, and the Devil could not repeat his accusation. f. 73 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 93–5 (capp. 90–92 contain a tale not in the present MS.). The Pope is here called "Lucianus," in Vincent "Lucianus, vel Lucius"; intended (no doubt) for St. Lucius (Pope in 252–3). A somewhat similar tale, but with very considerable variations, is in the *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872), cap. 13, p. 291.

11. DEATHS OF THE RICH MAN AND THE POOR WIDOW. How a Priest, when summoned from the deathbed of a Rich Man to that of a Poor Widow, refused to go, but allowed his Deacon to go instead; how the latter saw the Widow attended by the Virgin and her choir; and how, on returning to his master, he saw the Rich Man's bed surrounded by black cats, and finally saw his soul torn out of him by the devil. f. 75.

Spec. Hist., vii. 96; Gobii, f. clxv.

12. ST. BON AND HIS VESTMENT. In prose (a Legend which, told in rhyme, forms No. 1 of the first Collection in this MS.: see above, p. 622). f. 76.

Spec. Hist., vii. 97 (1st paragraph; the 2nd paragraph narrates the experience of Bon's successor, which is not given here); Gobii, f. clxvi b.

13. BREAD OFFERED TO THE CHILD-CHRIST. (See the first Collection, No. 2.) Beg.: "Spiris locus est famosus supra renum" (*i.e.* Speier or Spires). The words used by the child are here "Pope papa: pope papa", and again "Pape . papa . popin papa." f. 76 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 99 (2nd paragraph; cap. 98 and cap. 99, par. 1, contain two tales not given here).

14. WIFE AND MISTRESS. (See Arundel 346, No. 30.) f. 76 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 100; Gobii, f. clxiv.

15. DEVIL IN SERVICE. How a Devil gained the confidence of a Rich Man, devoted to good works, and how he was forced by a Bishop to confess that twice he had tried to kill his Master, and had only been prevented by a prayer to the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, which his Master repeated daily. f. 77.

The story is here followed by an entire copy of the prayer, beg. :—"O intemerata et in eternum benedicta." This is reckoned as No. 53 of the Orationes of St. Anselm (see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clviii. col. 959).

The Legend is in *Spec. Hist.*, vii. 101 (but only giving the first two words of the prayer); Gobii, f. clxx. b. A much commoner form of the tale is that in which a robber-knight is served for a number of years by a devil intending to kill him, but prevented from doing so by his daily habit of saluting the Virgin. See Introduction to Mielot, No. 8, and *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. pp. cxxvi., 561.

16. GIRL NAMED MARY. How a knight, on his way to a tournament, bought a girl from her parents, but spared her virginity, because her name was Mary; how he was killed in the tournament; and how the Virgin told the girl in a vision that his soul was saved. f. 78.

Spec. Hist., vii. 102–3; Gobii, f. clxiv b (said to have happened "in armandia"). In Mielot, No. 46, we have a clerk instead of a knight, and after his death a letter from the Virgin is found in his hand, saying that he is saved. In Jubinal, *Contes*, etc., i. p. 173 ("Un Dist que on clamme Respon"), the scene is "Ripponle-Chastel" in England, and the hero is a canon, "frère au conte Nicole"; and the sequel is quite different. An old-German metrical version, agreeing substantially with the present, is in *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. p. 451 ("Unser Vrouwen ritter").

17. THE PAINTER AND THE DEVIL. How a painter had to adorn a church portico, and painted a beautiful Virgin trampling upon an ugly Devil; how the Devil blew down the scaffolding; and how the Virgin in the painter's picture stretched out her hand, and saved him. f. 79.

In *Spec. Hist.*, vii. 104, and Gobii, f. clxxii, the scene is laid in Flanders. For some variations of the Legend, see Introduction to Mielot, pp. xxxiv–v.

18. BLASPHEMER STRUCK DEAD. Miraculous death of a Dicer at Lausanne, for blaspheming God and the Virgin. f. 79 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 104 (2nd paragraph), said there to have occurred "in illis (*sc.* Flandriæ) partibus"; while in Gobii, f. clxxii, it is "in latana."

19. CHRIST DENIED, BUT NOT THE VIRGIN. How a young knight of Aquitaine, in great need, was presented by a Wizard to the Devil; and how he agreed to deny Christ, but not the Virgin. f. 79 b.

The story is continued after the next article (No. 20), *viz.*: How the young knight entered a church, and the Image of the Virgin bowed as he knelt before it; how this was seen by a rich knight, who had been his father's friend and his own guardian; and how the latter gave him the hand of his only daughter. f. 80 b.

In the *Spec. Hist.* this forms one uninterrupted story (vii. 105, 106); much abridged in Gobii, f. clxxi. Several other examples are given in the Introduction to No. 39 of Mielot.

20. REFUSAL TO DENY CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN. A tale introduced (in the middle of the preceding article) with these words: "Hvic miraculo concordat miraculum quod contigit parisiis." How two youths, of gentle birth, from the neighbourhood of Clairvaux—the one "filius domini herardi," and the other "de iani uilla"—were fellow-students at Paris; how the latter fell ill for love, and his friend consulted a wizard, who led them both to the Devil, as he was presiding at a feast "extra uillam ad cauernas quasdam ueterum murorum"; how the Devil demanded that the Lover should renounce Christ and His Mother, but his friend would not let him; how both youths crossed themselves, whereupon the Devil vanished, carrying off the wizard; and how the youths became novices at Clairvaux. f. 80 b.

21. MONKS AT THEIR FIELD-WORK. How a Knight, when feeble with age, became a Monk at Clairvaux; how he sat watching the younger monks reaping; and how he saw the Virgin and her maidens come and wipe the sweat from the brows of the reapers. f. 81.

Spec. Hist., vii. 107; Gobii, f. clxvi b. In Herbert of Torres, "De Miraculis," lib. i. cap. 1, and in the "Exordium Magnum Ordinis Cisterciensis," iii. cap. 11 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxxxv. cols. 1273, 1062), Rainaldus or Renaldus, a monk of Clairvaux, sees the Virgin, accompanied by SS. Elizabeth and Mary Magdalene, minister to the reapers. In the Chronicle of Helinandus,

lib. xlix. (Migne, ccxii. col. 1077), Petrus Monoculus (Abbot first of Val-Roi, then of Igny, lastly of Clairvaux, d. 1186) is said to have seen a similar vision, but with Maria Ægyptiaca in place of Elizabeth.

22. THE VIRGIN'S SYRUP. How a monk at Clairvaux, who was also a doctor, declined to eat the coarse food of the Brethren; how he saw the Virgin enter the church and give a syrup to the other monks; and how he promised amendment, and then received his portion of the syrup. f. 81 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 108. In Herbert of Torres, "De Miraculis," iii. cap. 14; and in the "Exordium Magnum Ord. Cist.", Dist. iii. cap. 19, (Migne, vol. clxxxv., cols. 1365, 1077). In Cæsarius, *Dial. Mirac.*, vii. cap. 47, the monk's offence is that he neglects his monastic duties for the sake of his medical practice.

23. DELIVERED FROM A PERSECUTOR. How a Cistercian, much afflicted with "rosea gutta" in the face, and terrified to death at the sound of thunder, was persecuted by a brother monk; how he had a vision of dead monks, complaining of negligence in the Services for the Dead; how he rose and entered the church, and saw the Virgin there; and how she told him that his persecutor was dead, and how she wiped away the disease with her sleeve. f. 82.

Spec. Hist., vii. 109; Gobii, f. clxv b. In *The myracles of our Lady*, printed by W. de Worde, 1514, "Howe many monkes were repreued and blamed for saynge neglygently goddes seruyce and theyr seruyce for the dede," told on the authority of "Dan Symon sometyme abbot of Loos" (*i.e.* Loz or Loo in the diocese of Tournai, of which Simon was abbot in 1197; he died 1204), the monk is described as suffering from "a sekenesse of lepre y^{t} is called guta rosia."

24. THE BLEEDING CHILD-CHRIST. How in 1187, during the war between Henry II. and Philip Augustus, two Brabantines blasphemed a stone figure of the Virgin and Child at Déols, or Bourg-Dieu, near Châteauroux, and one of them threw a stone at it, breaking an arm of the Child; how the statue bled, and the man died on the spot, and his companion the following day; and how the figure of the Virgin rent its clothes. f. 83.

The writer concludes: "Et ego qui hoc scripsi sanguinem illum uidi . et ymaginem nudatam ac uestimentum revulsum. Qui autem uiderant eam ante perpetratum miraculum testantur

quod erat prius rubicunda et bene colorata. Modo uero stat tanquam exsanguis et pallida. Ibi pro certo illuminantur ceci . claudi curantur . et multa miracula fiunt." f. 83.

Spec. Hist., vii. 110 (where the date is by a blunder put 1287); Gobii, f. clxxii b. This miracle is related by many of the chroniclers of the time, notably Rigord (Bouquet, *Recueil*, xvii. p. 24), Gervase of Canterbury (*ib.* p. 667, Rolls ed., vol. i. p. 369), and Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls ed., vols. ii. p. 104, viii. p. 233). The first-named, whose account is the fullest, states that the sacrilege was committed by one of the "Cotarelli" led by Richard I. (when Count of Poitou) to relieve Châteauroux, which was besieged by Philip Augustus. He also states that the broken arm was picked up and preserved as a relic by Richard's brother, John. The same version is given in the *Spec. Hist.*, lib. xxix. cap. 42, and (omitting the mention of Prince John) by E. de Bourbon, p. 111. Gervase says that the arm was carried off by "Vicecomes Lemovicensis."

25. VISION SEEN BY A JEW IN ENGLAND. How a Jew named Jacob was seized and bound by robbers on his way from London to Winchester; how the Virgin released him, and showed him a vision of Heaven and Hell; and how he became a Christian. f. 83.

In *Spec. Hist.*, vii. 111 (cap. 110, paragraph 2, contains a miracle not included here), the Jew is said to have been baptized "ad urbem, quæ Bacha dicitur"; in an English version in Harl. 2250, f. 87, he is waylaid between Bristol and Wilton, and is baptized at Bath. The tale is in Gobii, f. clxxvi b.

26. DEMON-SWINE. How a Carthusian brother was delivered by the Virgin from devils in the shape of swine, and from their leader in the shape of a gigantic man. f. 83 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 112; Gobii, f. clxxii. The miracle is narrated by Petrus Venerabilis, "De Miraculis," ii. cap. 29 (Migne, clxxxix. col. 946). In W. de Worde, it is said to have occurred "at theyr (*sc.* the Carthusians') hede hous in Fraunce."

27. ST. DUNSTAN AND THE VIRGIN'S CHOIR. How St. Dunstan, when at Canterbury, was led by the Virgin to her church, where he heard her choir of virgins sing a hymn of Sedulius, beg.: "Cantemus domino socie cantemus honorem." f. 84.

Spec. Hist., vii. 113. This story is in the biographies of Dunstan by "B.," Osbern, Eadmer, and William of Malmesbury

(Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls series, pp. 48, 118, 208, 316). In Pez, cap. 26, and Mielot, no. 32, as in the Life by Eadmer, it is preceded by the account of another vision seen by Dunstan, of white figures singing at night in the Lady-chapel of St. Augustine's Abbey, at Canterbury. The hymn is an Elegy, printed in Migne, xix. col. 753.

In the *Spec. Hist.* this tale, which occupies half of cap. 113, is followed by the words "Explicit de mariali magno. Item alia."

28. THE PRIEST OF ONLY ONE MASS. (Cleop. C. x., No. 15.) f. 84.

Spec. Hist., vii. 113, last paragraph.

29. THE BOY DEVOTED TO THE DEVIL. How a Woman, enraged with her Husband for breaking a vow of chastity on Easter-Eve, devoted their offspring to the Devil; how a Boy was born; and how, on his reaching his twelfth year, the Devil appeared to his Mother, and said he would claim him in three years; how the Boy, on learning the truth, went to the Pope, and thence to the Bishop of Jerusalem; how the latter sent him to a Hermit in the desert, whom he reached on the last day of the three years; how the Hermit placed him between himself and the altar, but yet the Devil carried him off; and how the Virgin restored him, in answer to the Hermit's prayers. f. 84 b.

Spec. Hist., vii. 115 (cap. 114 contains a vision of St. Hugh of Cluny, not given here, which occurs again in *Spec. Hist.*, xxvi. 7, headed "Ex Mariali"); Gobii, f. clxxv b, beg.: "Refert Vincencius," without reference to the Mariale. For other versions, see the Introduction to Mielot, No. 23.

30. FIVE PSALMS, WITH THE INITIALS MARIA. How an Archbishop, when staying at the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, on his way home from Rome, mentioned that it was the custom in the Holy Land to say daily five psalms, whose initials formed the word MARIA; how one of his hearers, Jocius by name, observed that custom for the rest of his life; and how, at his death, five roses were found growing out of his face, one having on it the word "Maria"; and how among those who saw his body was "Attrebatensis episcopus qui prius fuerat abbas Cisterciensis." f. 85.

Spec. Hist., vii. 116 (2nd paragraph; par. 1 contains the tale of Ebbo, see Cleop. C. x., No. 12). Vincent begins with the

words: "Quidam archiepiscopus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ." See also Gobii, f. clxvi b.

According to the version given "ex monumentis Bertinensium" by Molanus, *Natales Sanctorum Belgii*, vol. i. (Douay, 1616), p. 265, the Archbishop who suggested the pious custom was Theobald of Canterbury (1139–1161), the monk was "beatus Joscio," who died about 30 Nov. 1163, and the Bishop of Arras who saw his corpse was Andrew (1161–1173, having been previously Abbot of the Cistercian house of Vaux-de-Sernay). Substantially the same version is in the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, ii. p. 278, with a note stating that the miracle is commemorated "in tabella affixa basi ex aduerso Sacelli B. Mariæ virginis." See also H. de Laplane, *Les Abbés de St. Bertin* (Soc. des Antiquaires de la Morinie, 1854–6), vol. i. pp. 221, 355, vol. ii. p. 242. In Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum Universale de Apibus* (Douay, 1627), lib. ii. cap. 29, p. 289, the story is told of Josbertus, a monk at Déols, and the date of his death is given as 30 Nov. 1186, and a detailed account is given of the treatment of the body and the roses.

This tale is followed, without any separate heading, by an account how the Virgin taught a novice in Calabria a new collect, beg.: "omnipotens sempiterne deus qui gloriose uirginis et matris marie corpus et animam .... mirabiliter preparasti," etc. f. 85 b.

Not in the *Spec. Hist.*

31. WOMAN REVIVED FOR CONFESSION. How a Woman, in the diocese of Langres, died without confessing a sin of her youth; and how, at the Virgin's intercession, she was revived in order to confess. f. 85 b.

In the *Spec. Hist.*, vii. 117, it is "in territorio Linconensi." Told much more fully in the "Exordium Magnum Ordinis Cisterciensis," v. cap. 5 (Migne, clxxxv. col. 1129), beg.: "Dominus Arnoldus abbas Belliloci, vir fidelis ac religiosus, narravit nobis miraculum gloriosum, quod sibi a quodam Calacensis monasterii priore, viro sancto, relatum esse dicebat, quo præsente res ipsa contigerat. Erat in territorio Lemovicensi" (Limousin).

32. NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN (Angel-music heard). How a Hermit used for many years to hear Angel-music on the night of the 8th September; and how he was told by one of the Angels that it was their celebration of the Virgin's Nativity. f. 86.

Spec. Hist., vii. 119 (cap. 118 contains a tale not given here); also vi. 65, where it is headed, "Ex Mariali." In Honorius of Autun it occurs three times, *viz.*, "Gemma Animæ," iii. cap. 166, "Sacramentarium," cap. 45, and "Speculum Ecclesiæ" (Migne, vol. clxxii. cols. 689, 769, 1001). In the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* of Joannes Beleth, cap. 149; and in the work by Durandus with the same title, lib. vii. cap. 28 (see pp. 561, 449 of ed. of the two works in one volume, Antwerp, 1614). The Festival is said to have been established by Sergius I. (Pope 687–701): see Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his Lives of the Popes (Migne, cxxviii. col. 898); see also R. T. Hampson, *Medii ævi Kalendarium*, vol. ii. (London, 1847), p. 289. But there seems to have been some diversity as to the day of celebration in early times: see note by A. Lesley in his *Missale Mixtum* (1755), p. 373 (reprinted by Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, lxxxv. col. 843).

Here the agreement with the *Spec. Hist.* ceases.

33. Dream of a Harlot and her Horses. A tale told by Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Cluny (1122–1156), while visiting the abbey of Orcamp (in the diocese of Noyon):—how a schoolmaster in Germany, lying asleep after being bled, seemed to see a well-known harlot enter his room with her horses, intending to stable them there; and how he protested, and she touched the puncture in his arm, and he awoke with a painful inflammation. To this is added how (before he had recovered) the Virgin delivered him from a monster. f. 86.

34. The Nun who could not unlock the Convent-door. How a Nun tried twice, in vain, to unlock the door at night; and how, on the third night, she found that the Virgin's hand was upon the lock. Said to have been told in confession to Magister Serlo, a Cistercian abbot, while on a visit to England. f. 86 b.

Probably Serlo, Abbot of L'Aumône, dioc. Blois, who was entertained by Baldwin when Bishop of Worcester (1180–1184). See Giraldus Cambrensis, "Speculum Ecclesiæ," Dist. ii. cap. 33 (*Opera*, Rolls Series, iv., 1873, p. 104); and *Notices et Extraits*, xxix. pt. ii., 1880, pp. 233–8.

35. A Hundred Aves a Day. How an English knight, in love with a lady who spurned his suit, consulted a Cistercian abbot; how the abbot advised him to spend a year in prayer and abstinence, saying a hundred Aves every day; how, at the end of

the year, the knight entered a deserted chapel; how the Virgin appeared to him, and at sight of her he forgot his old love; how he devoted himself to the Virgin's service for a year, and then died, seeing a vision of her on his deathbed. The writer cites as a witness Eustace, "abbas flauiaci," *i.e.* of St. Germer de Flaix, in the diocese of Beauvais. f. 87.

Eustace II., abbot 1200–1211, was sent into England in 1200–1 by Innocent III.: see above, p. 625. A version of this Legend is in Cæsarius, vii. 32. See also the Introduction to Mielot, No. 38.

36. THE VIRGIN BARES HER BREAST. How a Clerk entered a Cistercian house in England, but, finding the rule too strict for him, joined the Benedictines; how he was made abbot, and indulged himself freely; how he fell sick, and had a Vision of Judgment, and crept upon his knees towards Christ, who told him that the time for mercy was past; how he appealed to the Virgin, and she prayed her Son for mercy, baring her breast; and how the Abbot awoke, and died repentant three days after. f. 87 b.

37. SOULS OF CISTERCIANS RELEASED EVERY NIGHT. How a Monk of Wardon (a Cistercian abbey in Bedfordshire) saw the Virgin, accompanied by St. Benedict and another in an abbot's dress, releasing the souls of dead Cistercians from torment according to her nightly custom; the souls being in the form of boys. f. 88 b.

38. CISTERCIANS BENEATH THE VIRGIN'S CLOAK. How a Premonstratensian canon, who thought of becoming a Cistercian, saw a Vision of Judgment; and how he was surprised to see no Cistercians there, until the Virgin raised her cloak and showed crowds of them sheltered beneath it. Told to the writer by "Dominus Raynaldus abbas de briotel" (*i.e.* Briostel, or Lannoy, in the diocese of Beauvais). Renaldus occurs as abbot in 1199 and 1201 (*Gallia Christiana*, ix. col. 839). f. 89.

In Cæsarius, *Dial. Mirac.*, vii. 59. According to the Dominican T. de Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, ii. cap. 10, p. 170, the Virgin first pleads with Christ for the Cistercians, and then shows *Dominicans* under her cloak.

39. CISTERCIANS HONOURED. How a Dean in Normandy saw a Vision of Judgment, in which the Virgin pleaded the cause of each of the Cistercians, and they were received with great honour into heaven; and how he afterwards joined the order "in

monasterio Singuiacensi" (*sic*, probably for "Signiacensi," *i.e.* Signy in the diocese of Reims). f. 89 b.

40. TWO DEVILS EXULTING OVER A SIN. How a Cistercian monk, who had concealed a sin, and now lay on his death-bed, saw two devils, and heard them exulting; how he appealed to the Virgin, who drove them away; and how he confessed to the Prior, the Abbot being absent, and died happily next day. The writer concludes: "Non multo post abbati reuertenti prior que audierat intimauit et ipse abbas abbati de ualle beate Marie (*i.e.* Vallis S. Mariæ, now Le Val, a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Paris) qui hec mihi narrauit eadem declarauit." f. 90.

41. THE CISTERCIAN PERSUADED TO STAY FOR FORTY YEARS. How a Convert remained twenty years in a Cistercian abbey, meaning every day to make his escape; how he was then persuaded to say three services daily to the Virgin, and how he stayed for twenty years more; how he made his escape at last, but entered a church to say his daily services; how he there saw a vision of the Virgin, who promised him rest, if he would serve her for forty days more; how he returned to the abbey, and died after forty days. f. 90 b.

42. THE SEQUENCE CALLED MISSUS GABRIEL. How in the time of King Louis, "qui cognominatus est pius . patris . scilicet . philippi regis" (Louis VII., also surnamed Le Jeune, 1137–1180, father to Philip Augustus, 1180–1223), a hermit named Robert lived at a place—from which he took the surname Dulay—about ten miles from Paris "ultra scilicet ysaram fluuium non longe a bello monte" (*i.e.* Le Lay, near Beaumont on the Oise); how Berengarius, a monk, afterwards prior, of the abbey of Mortemer, came to visit him, and wrote down at his dictation the Sequence "Missus Gabriel de Celis," which Robert had learnt from the Virgin herself. f. 91.

This well-known Sequence is printed in Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. ii. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1854), p. 55.

43. CLERK OF CHARTRES. (See Cleop. C. x., No. 9). ff. 91 b –92.

Gobii, f. clxvi.

Royal 6 B. xiv. ff. 82 b, col. 2–99.

Vellum; about A.D. 1200. Quarto; ff. 18, in double columns of 41 or 42 lines. With initials in red, blue, and green.

Besides the present article, the volume contains the Latin versions by Rufinus of two works ascribed to St. Clement of Rome, *viz.* the "Recognitiones" (f. 2) and "Epistola ad Jacobum" (f. 79 b, col. 2): see Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, i. col. 1205; ii. col. 31.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Twenty-eight Tales. *Latin.*

The subjects of the first ten Tales are the same, and in the same order, as those in the Cambridge MS. (Nos. 5–14), described by Mussafia in his *Studien*, Heft ii. (1888), p. 35.

Heading: "Incipiunt quedam de miraculis dulcissimę dominę Sanctę Marię."

1. MILK: TWENTY-THREE PLANTS IN FLOWER. How a pious Monk "in superioribus partibus europe," afflicted with cancer in the lips, was led by an angel in a vision to a field, in which were twenty-three flowering plants, representing, as the angel told him, the twenty-two divisions of the 119th Psalm ("Beati immaculati"), and the 54th Psalm ("Deus in nomine tuo") respectively, which psalms he used to sing constantly; and how he entered a temple, where the Virgin cured him with her milk. f. 82 b, col. 2.

The same version as that in the Toulouse MS. (see Mussafia, ii. p. 29). In a 12th cent. MS. at Paris (the SV of Mussafia) the miracle is recorded of an inhabitant of Nevers, named Gregory (Heft i. p. 44).

2. MILK: FULBERT. How Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres (1007–1029), was visited on his sick-bed by the Virgin, and cured with three drops of her milk, which he afterwards preserved in a silver vessel. f. 84.

This miracle is mentioned by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Reg.*, lib. iii. (ed. Stubbs, Rolls series, vol. ii. 1889, p. 341), and by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon* (ed. Leibnitz, Leipzig, 1698), p. 54 (at the year 1022).

3. NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN. (See Add. 15,723, Collection ii., No. 32.) f. 84, col. 2.

4. CONSTANTINE AND THE LAMP OF BALSAM. How the Emperor Constantine founded the church of St. John Lateran, and set aside part of the imperial revenue to keep a lamp of balm always burning on the altar there, in honour of St. Peter; how one of his successors, grudging the expenditure, bribed the Pope to allow the custom to lapse; how the Pope was punished by being unable to enter the church on a great Festival of St. Peter; how the Virgin reconciled him with the offended saint; and how he decreed (in gratitude) that the Hours of the Virgin should be chanted daily, and that Saturdays should be devoted to her service. f. 84 b.

The same version as that in the Toulouse and Oxford MSS. (Mussafia, ii. pp. 24, 29).

5. PURIFICATION. How in the time of Justinian Constantinople was afflicted with famine and plague; and how it was relieved, after an image of the Virgin had been carried in a procession through the streets; and how the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin (2 Feb.) was established for a memorial. f. 85, col. 2.

In many versions, as for instance the Oxford and Toulouse MSS. (see preceding No.) and Adgar, p. 220, the plague is said to have been provoked by the heresies of Justinian. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (d. 886), in his "Historia Ecclesia ex Theophane," records under the 15th year of Justinian (541–2) a great mortality at Constantinople, and the institution of Candlemas (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, cviii. col. 1262); but he does not connect the two events. In Asia, at any rate, the Feast was observed long before the time of Justinian: see *Acta Sanctorum*, 2 Feb., pp. 270–6.

6. PRAYERS OF A FRIEND. How a Priest who had debauched a Nun confessed the sin on his deathbed to a brother-Priest, and asked for his prayers; how the latter said a Mass for him daily; and how a year after his death he appeared to his friend at the altar, being brought by the Virgin to receive the sacrament at his hands. f. 85 b.

In Toul., No. 64.

7. SATURDAY. (Cleopatra C. x., No. 37). f. 85 b, col. 2.

8. CHILDBIRTH IN THE SEA. (Cleop. C. x., No. 3). f. 86 b, col. 2.

9. ABBESS. (Add. 15,723, ii. 6). f. 87, col 2.

10. JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN. How Theodore, a merchant of

Constantinople, borrowed money of a Jew named Abraham, and gave the Virgin as his surety; how, being at Alexandria on the eve of the day appointed for repayment, he placed the money in a casket, and committed it to the waves, with a prayer to the Virgin; how it floated to the Jew's feet next day, and he secured it, but nevertheless claimed payment when the merchant returned; how Theodore brought him before the figure of Christ in St. Sophia's, and a voice from the figure declared that the debt had been paid; and how from that time both the church and the service held there in commemoration of this miracle were called "martirium, id est testimonium." f. 87 b, col 2.

The Rev. S. Baring Gould, in his *Historic Oddities*, 1st series (London, 1889), p. 103, gives this story (with title "Abram the Usurer") as found by him in a sermon preached at Constantinople, the composition of which he assigns to the 10th cent.; this sermon is in Combefis, *Novum Auctarium*, vol. ii. (Paris, 1648), col. 611. In the sermon, however, the surety was not the Virgin, but the crucifix from which the miraculous voice afterwards issued. For many other versions, see the Introduction to Mielot, No. 34.

In the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ* (Eng. transl. by F. M. Nichols, London, 1889), p. 143, "the image of the Crucifix that nodded his head to bear witness between a Jew and a Christian of the money received" is described as being (in the 14th century) in "the cloister of the holy Gregory" on the Palatine.

11. SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. How, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, Constantinople was besieged by a Saracen host under "Musilimin"; how the Virgin was seen by the Pagan leader coming down from heaven with a host of angels, and shielding the city with her mantle; and how Musilimin then retired, after entering the city to adore the Virgin. Followed by an account of the banishment of St. Germanus by the Emperor Leo. f. 88, col 2.

According to Theophanes and Paulus Diaconus, the Saracen leader Masalmas came up against Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius III. (*i.e.* 716), but retired in the same year. He attacked it again in 717, in the reign of Leo the Isaurian, and did not raise the siege till July or Aug. 718. No such miracle as the above is mentioned by either of these writers, but they ascribe the success of the defenders to the Virgin (see Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, cviii.

cols. 783–806; *Patr. Lat.*, xcv. cols. 1072–1080). Bede, in his "De Sex Ætatibus," mentions a three years' siege of Constantinople in the reign of Leo, but no miracle in connection therewith (see Stevenson's ed. of Bede, Eng. Hist. Soc., 1841, vol. ii. p. 204).

12. SHIPWRECK: PILGRIM SAVED. How Stephen, a French clerk, while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was miraculously saved by the Virgin from drowning when his ship foundered. f. 88 b, col. 2.

This is perhaps a unique version of a portion of that in No. 14. The present story is continued in the next article.

13. PILGRIM-HERMIT DELIVERED FROM TEMPTATION. How Stephen returned from Jerusalem to France, and became a Regular Canon, and finally a Hermit; and how the Virgin delivered him from trials of the flesh. f. 89 b.

14. SHIPWRECK: SOULS LIKE WHITE DOVES: PILGRIM SAVED. (A fuller version of the same story as that in Add. 15,723, ii. 8.) f. 89 b, col 2.

15. LIGHT ON THE MAST-HEAD. (Add. 15,723, ii. 9). f. 90, col. 2.

16. HOURS SUNG DAILY. How a clerk, visiting a monastery near Cambrai, found that the Hours of the Virgin were sung there daily; and how one of the monks told him that it was in remembrance of a Vision of Judgment, in which he himself had seen the Virgin plead his cause; and how one of the other monks had been warned by her not to check the zeal of her devotees. f. 90 b, col. 2.

See Pez, cap. 34, described by Mussafia, Heft i. p. 29. See also the Introduction to Mielot, No. 35.

17. THE DROWNED SACRISTAN. How the Sacristan of a Burgundian Abbey was accused of inchastity; how he solemnly protested his innocence; how he was drowned one night, when returning from his mistress; how his body was left in the river, as unworthy of Christian burial; how a young monk prayed for him unceasingly, till he was visited by the Virgin and told that his prayers had saved the soul of his friend; and how the body was found uncorrupted in the river, with the water arching over it like a vault. f. 91 b, col 2.

This is a verbose copy of the version that was translated into French by Jean Mielot (No. 36). For other versions, see the

Introduction to Mielot, pp. xxiii–xxv. It differs very substantially from the version in Cleop. C. x., No. 8.

In the present copy the tale is introduced by an apologetic preface, beg.: "De piissima dei genitrice a multis multa narrantur," and ending (f. 92): "Sed proposita narratio ordiatur."

18. LIBIA. Miraculous Image of the Virgin at Lydda (Cleop. C. x., No. 26). f. 95.

19. GETHSEMANE. Another miraculous Image (Cleop. C. x., No. 27). f. 95, col. 2.

20. ABGARUS. How King Abgarus sent messengers to Christ; and how Christ gave them a napkin, which bore a miraculous impression of His face. f. 95 b.

For an account of the legends relating to Abgar, 15th King of Edessa, see the article (by W. A. Wright) on Abgar in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, vol. i. (1877), p. 5. The story that our Lord sent Abgar a portrait of himself is alluded to as apocryphal in the "Libri Carolini," lib. iv. cap. 10 (Migne, xcviii. cols. 1202–3). The present story is given by Cedrenus (Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, cxxi. col. 343), with some substantial differences.

21. AVE STAMPED ON THE DROWNED CLERK'S TONGUE (Cleop. C. x., No. 29). f. 95 b.

22. THE CLERK OF CHARTRES (Cleop. C. x., No. 9); the scene, however, being here laid at *Rouen*, with some other differences. f. 96 b.

The same version, in apparently the same words, is in a 14th cent. MS. at Toulouse, No. 478 (see Mussafia, ii. p. 16).

Next follows the prologue: "Ad omnipotentis dei laudem . . . . recitare studeamus," which introduces Book ii. of Cleop. C. x. (Mussafia's HM). f. 96 b, col. 2.

23. COMPLINES (Cleop. C. x., No. 31). f. 96 b, col. 2.

24. EULALIA (Cleop. C. x., No. 34). f. 97.

25. TOLEDO (Cleop. C. x., No. 24): introduced by the prologue: "Ad excitanda corda . . . . prelibatum est meis auribus," a slight modification of the prologue to Book iii. in the Cotton MS. f. 97 b.

26. FOOT CUT OFF; at Viviers (Arund. 346, No. 23). f. 97 b, col. 2.

27. BOOK OF ISAIAH. How the Virgin appeared in a dream to a sacristan, holding in her hand a copy of the prophecies of

Isaiah; and how, when he desired to kiss her feet, she gave him her cheek. f. 98.

In SV, No. 33 (see Mussafia, i. p. 41). In Mielot, No. 22, the book is not mentioned.

28. BARNS FILLED IN TIME OF FAMINE. How, when the monks in an abbey at Jerusalem were in great straits for lack of food, the barns were found miraculously filled with wheat; and how, in a second time of dearth, an angel laid gold on the altar. Both miracles are ascribed to the Virgin. f. 98 b, col. 2.

The same version as that of Gregory of Tours, Miraculorum Lib. i. cap. 11 (Migne, xxi. col. 715).

Royal 6 B. x. ff. 35 b–41 b.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Folio; ff. 7, having 46 or 47 lines to a page. With initials in blue and red.

The MS. contains the following articles: (1) The "Tractatus de Conceptione B.M.V.," wrongly attributed to Anselm (see Migne, clix. col. 301). f. 2. (2) Three works ascribed to Jerome, on the Nativity, the Perpetual Virginity, and the Assumption, of the Virgin (see Migne, xxx. col. 297; xxiii. col. 183; xxx. col. 122). ff. 7, 9 b, 14 b. (3) The "Liber de Virginitate Perpetua S. Mariæ," by Hildefonse, preceded and followed by short treatises on the life and writings of Hildefonse (see Migne, xcvi. col. 53). f. 21 b. (4) The present article. Imperfect at the end. ff. 35 b–41 b. Bound up with three other works on theological and legal subjects (ff. 42–140 b). The volume formerly belonged to Bury St. Edmund's Abbey (see f. 1); and the fly-leaves (ff. 1, 141) are apparently fragments from one of its account-books. At f. 2 is the signature of John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Nine tales, the last imperfect. With a Prologue. *Latin.*

Nos. 1, 3–8 are the same as Nos. 71–77 of a 12th cent. MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is the SV of Mussafia (see Heft i. pp. 44–45); and they are there in the same order as here, and form, as they do here, a separate collection of themselves. The Fragment at the end (No. 9) contains an Introduction and the beginning of a Tale, which are also to be found in SV, No. 67. An abstract of the present MS. has been printed by Mussafia, in Heft iv. pp. 10–11.

The Prologue is in two paragraphs, of which the first begins:

"Celorum regine et terrarum imperatrici," and ends (f. 36): "Ipsa autem uirgo spiritus sancti sacrarium sic nobis indicendo adiciat efficatiam ne legentes materiam fastidiant onerosam." It contains (f. 35 b) the passage: "Scripserunt de illa quidam uisa . quidam autem audita . nos quedam a religiosis uiris audita quedam uisa scribimus."

The second paragraph beg.: "In dispersione filiorum dei" (f. 36), and ends: "Huius itaque relationis tale nobis occurrit exordium a uiro religioso Domno abbate theoderico ad beate uirginis gloriam salubriter inuestigatum." This "abbas theodericus" was Abbot of Capelle 1141–1149: see below, No. 3.

The prologue does not appear to be in the Paris MS., SV.

1. Hairs of the Virgin in the Abbey of Capelle. How Ida, Countess of Boulogne, and mother of Godfrey of Bouillon, received eleven hairs of the Virgin from King Alfonso ("hyberus rex ildefonsus"); how they remained unharmed in the midst of a fire; and how they were placed in the Abbey which Ida founded at Capelle. f. 36.

Beg.: "Ida bolonie comitissa mulier sapiens."

Ends: "Ex eius namque dulcedine . . . fragrantiam eternorum et angelis et hominibus aspirauit." f. 37.

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, 13 April, p. 148, Henschenius quotes passages from Lambert of Ardres (d. probably soon after 1206, see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xvi. p. 528) and from John of Ypres, Abbot of St. Bertin 1366–1383, stating that when the abbey of Capelle was founded the Countess Ida placed in it eleven hairs of the Virgin, which she had obtained "ab Hibero Rege." Henschenius seems to have thought that some Irish king was intended ("Haistulphus Hibernorum Rex"). But since in our version a service is performed before the departure of the hairs by the Bishop of Toledo ("pontifex toletane urbis"), the king must have been Alfonso VI. of Leon (1065–1109) and I. of Castile (1073–1109); and he seems to be so named in the Paris MS. (see Mussafia, i. p. 44). The abbey of Capelle was founded about 1090; the site is near Marck, in the Pas-de-Calais, and is described here as "castro veteri quod a mercurio constructum antiquitus dicitur . . . hic uero locus a prima sallaba nominis mercurii traxit uocabulum et merch dicitur sermone uulgari" (f. 36 b).

2. Three Days Fast required, to see the Hairs. How

Folkerannus, a devout monk of Capelle, secretly opened the vessel containing the Virgin's hairs, but could not see them; and how after three days' fasting he saw the hairs in a vision. f. 37.

Beg.: "Ad sollempnes epulas dei genitricis."

Not in the Paris MS. (Mussafia, i. p. 44).

3. ABBOT CURED BY THE HAIRS. How Abbot Theoderic, on his return from Reims, was attacked by fever and dysentery; and how he was cured by twining the sacred hair about his neck. f. 37 b.

Beg.: "Domnus abbas theodericus de quo superius mentionem fecimus"; being preceded by a short introduction, beg.: "Adhuc que supersunt."

Theoderic was fourth Abbot of Capelle; he held that office in 1141, became Abbot of Bergh St. Vinoc in the diocese of Ipres in 1149, and died in or soon after 1159 (*Gallia Christiana*, x. col. 1584, v. col. 335).

4. KING LOUIS WITNESSES THE CURES AT SOISSONS. How King Louis of France (probably Louis VII., b. 1119, succeeded his father Louis VI. in 1137, d. 1180) was brought to believe in miracles by seeing the wondrous cure, in the cathedral at Soissons, of victims of the *mal des ardents* ("igne inuisibili uisibiliter consumpti") f. 38.

Beg.: "Svscipiant filii dei . . . . Vnde etiam referenda est nobis hystoria per gloriosum regem francorum lodowicum celebriter diuulgata ut credatur sermonibus tam ingenui principis."

5. BISHOP OF SCARRA RELEASED FROM PRISON. How Guido, Bishop of "Sarra" (or "Scarra"), was taken prisoner by the Saracens at Fraga, where the King of Spain had left him as governor, and was made to spin in prison; how, in answer to his prayers, the Virgin appeared, and directed him to invoke not only herself, but also her mother, St. Anne; how he obeyed her, and was next day ransomed. f. 38 b.

Beg.: "In Hyspania contigit beata semper uirgine maria operante quod refero."

In the Paris MS. (Mussafia, i. p. 44) the king is called Petrus Sanctio, *i.e.* Pedro of Aragon * (1094–1104). Neither he nor his

* "Petrus Sanctio in regno princeps habebatur praelibato." The corresponding passage in our text runs as follows: "Quem enim paruum regem uocabant in regno principes habebatur prelibato," *paruum* being probably a corruption of *Petrum*, and *principes* of *princeps*.

successor, Alfonso I. (1104–1134), however, appears to have ever had possession of Fraga. The latter king defeated the Moors before its walls in 1133, but before he could capture the town he was in his turn routed by a second Moorish army (E. A. Schmidt, *Geschichte Arragonien's im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1828, p. 68). "Sarra" or "Scarra" is perhaps a corruption of Saragossa; but no Bishop Guido is to be found there. In 1096 Peter, Bishop of Jacca, changed his see to Huesca, which had been recently taken from the Moors by Pedro I. (Schmidt, p. 53, and Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 36).

6. SIGHT GIVEN TO A BLIND CHILD AT WESTMINSTER. How Stephen, Keeper of the Virgin's altar in St. Peter's Church in a Western suburb of London (*sc.* Westminster Abbey), was told by a woman with a blind child that the Virgin had sent her to him; how he was instructed to wash the feet of an image of the Virgin and Child, and to moisten the eyes of the child with the same water; and how the child gained his eyesight. f. 39.

Beg.: "Stella maris et regina glorie."

In Dart's *Westmonasterium*, ii. (London, 1742), p. 4, are the names of some holders of the above-named office; but Stephen is not among them.

7. KNIGHT RELEASED BY THE PRAYERS OF HIS SISTER. How a Nun prayed to the Virgin for the release of her Brother from captivity; and how the Virgin told her that her Brother would be set free, but that she herself would die because she had reminded the Virgin of her sorrows only, not of her joys. f. 40.

Beg.: "Vinea domini sabaoth."

8. LEPROUS WOMAN AT SOISSONS. How the Virgin cured a Woman of leprosy, by wiping the Woman's face with her sleeve. Told to the author by Nicholas, a monk of Noyon. f. 40 b.

Beg.: "Speciosior sole."

9. CLERK WHO SAW A GREAT LIGHT AT HIS WINDOW. A Fragment. The introductory passage (of 8 lines) begins: "Svspirat ad atria immortalis uite" . . . The Tale itself begins: "Fuit in ciuitate claudia quidam clericus nomine sancte opinionis et laudabilis uite qui licet inter" . . . f. 41 b. The remainder is lost. There is a copy in SV, No. 67: see the notice of it by Mussafia, Heft i. p. 43. The clerk finally becomes a Monk at Cluny.

Additional 18,346. ff. 44–74 b.

Vellum; xivth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 81, in double columns of 35 to 37 lines.

The volume contains, in several 14th century hands:—(1) Extracts from the "Dialogus Miraculorum" of Cæsarius of Heisterbach. f. 2. (2) The present article. f. 44, col. 2. (3) Church tales. f. 74 b, col. 2. (4) "Expositiones animalium" (the lion, panther, etc., moralized). Imperfect at the end. f. 83 b, col. 2. (5) "Summa magistri Petri de Sansono appropriata domino R[aimundo] episcopo Nemausensi." f. 93. At the end (ff. 119–216) are various theological and other tracts in *Latin*, on paper, in hands of the 14th and 15th centuries.

In 1647 and 1652 the volume belonged (see ff. 1, 215) to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Georgenberg, in the Tyrol; and the earlier part (ff. 1–118) would appear, from the entries scribbled on ff. 1 b, 118 b, to have belonged in the 15th or 16th cent. to Johannes Villenbach.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Forty-seven Tales. *Latin.*

The whole Collection answers to that which is denominated PEZ by Mussafia (and described in his Heft i. pp. 22–39), except that, after No. 8, there is usually a story (the Priest of only one Mass) which is here omitted. The first 17 (here only 16) articles of PEZ form Mussafia's HM, which has been described above (pp. 590, 604) as Bk. ii. of Cleop. C. x.

Heading: "Incipit prefacio de miraculis beate marie." This "prefacio" (f. 44, col. 2), beginning "Ad omnipotentis dei laudem," is the same as the Prologue to Book ii. of Cleopatra C. x.

The subjects of the tales are as follows:—

1. Hildefonsus. f. 44 b.
2. The Drowned Sacristan. f. 44 b, col. 2.
3. Clerk of Chartres. f. 45, col. 2.
4. The five Gaudes. f. 45 b.
5. Charitable Almsman. f. 45 b, col. 2.
6. "Eppo" the thief. f. 46.
7. Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne. f. 46, col. 2.
8. Pilgrim of St. James. f. 46 b, col. 2.

After No. 8 comes the omission noted above.

9. Two Brothers at Rome. f. 47, col. 2.
10. Remover of landmarks. f. 47 b, col. 2.

11. Prior of St. Saviour's, Pavia. f. 48.
12. Hieronymus. f. 48, col. 2.
13. Stained Corporale. f. 48 b.
14. Fire at Mont St. Michel. f. 49.
15. Clerk of Pisa. f. 49, col. 2.
16. Murieldis. f. 49 b.

HM contains the first 17 articles of PEZ. The remaining articles of PEZ follow here, in their usual order :—

17. The cut-off Foot restored "in urbe vicaria" (Arund. 346, No. 23). f. 50.
18. Abbot Elsinus (Cleop. C. x., No. 36). f. 50, col. 2.
19. Libia: *i.e.* Lydda (*ib.*, No. 26). f. 50 b, col. 2.
20. Gethsemane (*ib.*, No. 27). f. 51, col. 2.
21. Childbirth in the Sea (*ib.*, No. 3). f. 51, col. 2.
22. Devil as Bull, Dog, and Lion (*ib.*, No. 30). f. 52.

23. Son restored to Life. How the wife of a French knight prayed the Virgin for a child; how she bore a son, but soon lost him; and how she prayed again, and the child's life was restored. f. 52 b, col. 2.

24 and 25. Two Visions of St. Dunstan (Add. 15,723, ii. 27). f. 53 b.
26. Pilgrim saved in the Sea (*ib.*, ii. 8). f. 53 b, col. 2.
27. Light on the Mast-head (*ib.*, ii. 9). f. 54 b.
28. Complines (Cleop. C. x., No. 31). f. 55.
29. Milk: Monk laid out as dead (*ib.*, No. 32). f. 55, col. 2.
30. Vision of Christ, seen by St. Carpus. f. 56.

No. 30 is here written as a separate article, but it is only an anecdote introduced into the middle of No. 29. Accordingly, in the edition printed by Bernhard Pez, it appears as part of cap. xxx. (Milk), at pp. 370–71. The anecdote of Carpus is taken from the Epistles of Dionysius the Areopagite: see Migne, *Patrol. Gr.*, iii. cols. 1097–1100.

31. Jew of Bourges (Cleop. C. x., No. 1). f. 56 b.
32. Eulalia (*ib.*, No. 34). f. 56 b, col. 2.
33. Jew lends to Christian (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). f. 57, col. 2.
34. Hours sung Daily (*ib.*, No. 16). f. 58 b.
35. Love gained by Black arts (Arund. 346, No. 31); turned into prose. f. 59 b.
36. Abbess (Add. 15,723, ii. 6). f. 61, col. 2.

37. Robe given to St. Bon (Add. 15,723, i. 1). f. 62 b.
38. Abbot Leofric of Chertsey (Cleop. C. x., No. 31). f. 63, col. 2.
39. The drowned Sacristan (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 17). f. 64.

No. 33 is a version introduced by a visit of an Archdeacon of Liége to Constantinople.

In the printed edition of Bernhard Pez, the Vision of Potho follows after No. 36, as cap. xxxvii (pp. 403–9).

40. A FOREIGN CRIPPLE CURED IN ENGLAND. How it was revealed to a German cripple that, if he crossed the sea into England, he would be cured there in a church dedicated to the Virgin; and how this came to pass at a place called "Curdiges" ("Curdinges," in the ed. by B. Pez), in the territory of Bury St. Edmund's. A story derived "de quodam presbitero merciomensi[s] cenobii canonico" (in ed. B. Pez "meritoniensis," meaning probably Merton Priory, in Surrey). f. 68.

In Mielot, No. 42, the place where the cripple was cured is "Turdinges," the burial-place of St. Edmund the Martyr.

41. NUN'S PENANCE LEFT UNCOMPLETED (Arund. 346, No. 29); turned into prose. f. 68 b.

42. SATURDAY (Cleop. C. x., No. 37). f. 69 b.

PEZ ends here. The remaining 5 articles occur also at the end of a copy of PEZ in an Austrian MS. described by Mussafia, Heft i. p. 32.

43. BOY LED UP A MOUNTAIN INTO HEAVEN. How a Boy named Arnoldus "in tharsen Cenobio" saw on his deathbed the heavens opened, and the Virgin standing near him; and how Burchardus, a priest, saw the Virgin lead his soul to heaven. The author says this was told him by Burchardus himself three years after. f. 69 b, col. 2.

44. MARY-IMAGE AT COLOGNE ROBBED OF ITS GOLDEN CROWN. How the Thieves went mad and confessed the crime, and were condemned to death; and how one of them repented at the gallows, and died while praying to the Virgin. f. 70, col. 2.

45. THEOPHILUS (see above, p. 595, description of Harley 3020). f. 70 b.

46. DEATH OF JULIAN (Cleop. C. x., No. 4). f. 72.

47. SIGHT GIVEN TO A BLIND MAN. How, in the time of Boniface IV. (607–614), a Christian, blind from his birth, was taunted by the Jews with his blindness; how he bade them wait

till the approaching feast of the Purification of the Virgin (2 Feb.); how on that day all the people assembled in the Pantheon, which Pope Boniface had lately, by permission of the Emperor Phocas, turned into a church of St. Mary and All Martyrs; and how the blind man chanted a Responsorium of his own composition, and immediately after received his sight. ff. 74–74 b.

Herolt, *Prompt. Exempl.*, No. 666, calls the blind man Didymus, and refers to "Ecclesiastica historia." Didymus was a blind philosopher and theologian, of high reputation for learning, at Alexandria in the fourth century: see Migne, *Patr. Græca*, xxxix. col. 131. No such miracle as this is recorded of him, although his biographers Rufinus (Hist. Eccl., ii. 7) and St. Jerome (Lib. de Viris illustribus, cap. 109) speak of him—referring to his mental vision—as "De Didymo Alexandrino vidente" and "Didymus *ὁ βλέπων*" respectively (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xxi. col. 516, xxiii. col. 607). In a 13th cent. MS. at Paris there are two versions, in one of which the blind man is named Victor: see Mussafia, i. pp. 51, 55.

The whole collection, except the last five articles, was printed by Bernhard Pez, in his *Pothonis Liber de Miraculis*, etc. (so called because of the Vision of Potho, which is cap. xxxvii. of the MS. used by Pez); taken from a MS. in 43 chapters, together with a 44th chapter from another MS. This *Liber* is printed at the end (pp. 305–456) of a volume entitled *Ven. Agnetis Blannbekin Vita et Revelationes* (Vienna, 1731).

Royal 5 A. viii. ff. 144 b–152.

Vellum; XIIIth cent. Octavo; ff. 9, in double columns of 29 lines. With an initial in blue and red.

The volume contains:—(1) Two leaves from a copy of the Bonum Universale de Apibus of T. de Cantimpré, containing parts of lib. ii. capp. 25, 26. ff. 1*, 2*. (2) "Liber de Spiritu et Anima," ascribed to St. Augustine (Migne, xl. col. 779). f. 1. (3) Isidori "Sententiarum libri tres"; preceded (f. 17 b) by an Epistle from Isidore to Massona, Bp. of Merida (Migne, lxxxiii. cols. 537, 899). f. 19. (4) Innocent III., "De miseria condicionis humane" ("De Contemptu Mundi," see Migne, ccxvii. col. 701). f. 87. (5) "Meditationes B. Bernardi" (Migne, clxxxiv. col. 485). f. 108. (6) "Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus," etc. f. 122. (7) The present article. f. 144 b. (8) "Notabilia pro sermonibus" on various Feasts of the Church. f. 152. (9) "Liber Scintillarum" (not that by Defensor), beg.: "Initium sapientie timor domini." f. 248 b.

It formerly belonged to Bury St. Edmund's Abbey (see ff. 3*, 1). At f. 1 is the signature of John, Lord Lumley (d. 1609).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Twenty-nine tales, two of which, however (Nos. 3, 24), are not strictly miracles of the Virgin. *Latin.*

Heading: "Incipiunt quedam miracula de beata dei genitrice maria."

1. WOMAN SAVED FROM SUICIDE. How a Woman, who had committed incest, and murdered her child, swallowed a spider, meaning to kill herself; how the Virgin appeared in answer to her prayers, and nullified the effects of the poison; and how she became a Recluse. f. 144 b, col. 2.

Told here on the authority of "Frater iordanus magister ordinis predicatorum," *i.e.* Jordanus Saxo, General of the Dominican order 1222–1237 (Quetif and Echard, *Script. Ord. Præd.*, i. p. 93). The tale is also in Mielot, No. 49.

2. FASTING ON FEAST-DAYS. How a girl found herself in a vision on a high bridge over a deep and dark flood, and was delivered from peril by the Virgin, to whom she promised to *fast* on all her Festal days; how afterwards she married, and her husband scoffed at her fasting; and how he was punished by a seizure of cramp. f. 145.

3. THE DEVIL'S HATRED OF THE DOMINICANS. How the Devil, when questioned as to his hatred of the Dominicans, alleged three causes: (1) their preaching; (2) their confessions; and (3) their devotion to the Virgin. f. 145, col. 2.

4. FLOGGED IN A VISION. How a Dominican saw a vision, in which he had to confess to Christ sitting in Chapter; and how he was flogged twice, but escaped a third flogging through the intervention of the Virgin. f. 145 b.

5. THE VIRGIN'S WEIGHT ADDED TO THE GOOD SCALE. How a Clerk had a Vision of Judgment; how his good deeds were outweighed by his evil ones, till the Virgin threw herself into the scale; and how he confessed to "Magister Rogerus," Penitentiary of Salisbury, and afterwards entered the Cistercian house at Stanley. f. 146.

The abbey was founded first at Lockswell, in the Isle of Wight, by the Empress Maud and her son Henry (afterwards Henry II.) in 1151, and moved three years later to Stanley in Wiltshire (see Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, v. p. 563). In 1324 the office of Penitentiary at Salisbury became merged in that of Sub-dean: see W. H. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis* (London, 1879), p. 264. On p. 268 Jones gives a list of those holders of the office whose names occur in early charters, from 1226 to 1288; Roger does not appear among them. Perhaps Roger of Sarum, who was Precentor 1229–1244, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, or the Roger who was Succentor 1227–1247 (Jones, pp. 327, 442), may previously have been Penitentiary. The present story is in the collection known as the "Speculum Laicorum" (Add. 11,284, f. 52 b); Roger is there called "Magister Rogerus monoculus penitentiarius Sarum."

6. DAINTIES IN A FOUL DISH. How a licentious clerk was visited on his sick-bed by the Virgin, who offered him three pears on a foul dish, as an emblem of his frequent prayers accompanied by evil deeds. f. 146, col. 2.

7. A DYING MONK CURSES AND THEN BLESSES HIS VOWS. The story goes on to tell how the Monk revived enough to explain that he had first seen Devils, and then the Virgin. The writer ends with saying: "Qui infirmum custodiuit et hec audiuit . scribenti hec narrauit." f. 146, col. 2.

8. SLOVENLY SERVICES FOR THE DEAD. A dying monk tells how he has just heard the Virgin complain to her Son of the

negligence with which the services for the dead are performed. f. 146 b, col. 2.

9. A MONK TOLD TO EAT FISH. How a clerk, on entering the Dominican order, vowed that he would eat no fish till he had confessed to the prior; but how the Virgin in a vision made him break his vow. f. 146 b, col. 2.

10. A MOTHER'S VOW FORGOTTEN. How a Woman, in the diocese of Ely, whose first six children had all died in infancy, vowed, just before the birth of the seventh, that if this child's life was spared, she would give a wax candle to the Virgin on each of her feast-days; how she forgot her vow and the child died, but the mother was consoled by a vision of two Dominicans, who directed her to confess to their brethren at Cambridge. f. 147.

The Dominicans first came into England in 1221 (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vol. vi. pt. iii. p. 1482); and their house at Cambridge was founded before 1275 (*ib.*, p. 1485).

11. CHASTISED BY THE VIRGIN. How a Monk in the diocese of Lincoln used to relate that he was converted from dissolute habits by a vision, in which the Virgin made him do penance. f. 147, col. 2.

12. THE VIRGIN'S CHAIR. How a Matron bought the last remaining chair of a Prodigal, who had persuaded her that it was once the Virgin's; and how, one day, she saw the Virgin sitting in it, and was told that her devotion had led the Virgin to make it her own. f. 147 b.

13. SOULS OF TWO DROWNED MONKS HEARD SINGING AN ANTIPHON. This article begins: "legitur in uita Ber[nardi]." The tale relates how two young monks went out in a boat, and were drowned; how the abbot, in doubt where to bury them, consulted St. Bernard; how the Saint had a vision of the two Monks, climbing a hill towards the Virgin and singing the antiphon "Salue regina misericordie"; and how he caused this antiphon to be sung throughout his order, and buried the two monks before the altar. f. 147 b.

The antiphon, which is printed by Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologus*, ii. (Leipzig, 1844), p. 321, is said by John the Hermit, in his Life of St. Bernard (written about 1182, see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xiv. p. 223), to have been first introduced by that saint, who heard it sung by an angel (Migne,

clxxxv. col. 544); but Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (d. 1241) says that St. Bernard recognised the antiphon, when he heard the angels sing it, as that composed by Adémar, Bishop of Le Puy (*circ.* 1080–1098): see *Alberici . . . Chronicon*, ed. Leibnitz (Leipzig, 1692), pt. ii. p. 263. Its composition has been attributed by later writers to several other authors: see Daniel, as above, Migne, clxxxiv. col. 1061, and *Hist. Litt. de la France*, viii. pp. 468–472.

14. ABBOT "EGELSINUS" (see Cleopatra C. x., No. 36) f. 147 b, col. 2.

15. ALEXANDER NECKAM REBUKED. How he used to oppose the celebration of the Conception of the Virgin, until he was rebuked by her in a vision. f. 148.

16. CONCEPTIO B.M.V. WRITTEN IN LETTERS OF GOLD. How a priest was induced to pay greater respect to the Feast of the Conception, by seeing an angel write it in letters of gold at the head of a list of festivals. Beg.: "Retulit mihi quidam religiosus de quodam sacerdote cognato suo." f. 148, col. 2.

17. NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN (see Add. 15,723, ii. 32). f. 148 b.

18. PURIFICATION (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 5). Beg.: "Justinianus imperator." f. 148 b.

19. PRAYER TO LIVE FOR CONFESSION. How in the neighbourhood of Nevers, in 1225, three Brothers plotted to kill a Knight, and two were taken and hanged, while the third escaped for a time; how the survivor prayed the Virgin that he might never die without Confession; and how the Knight caught him and hacked his limbs off, but still he lived to confess. f. 149.

Etienne de Bourbon (p. 104) begins this tale "In comitatu Nivernensi." This last word has been cut down in Harley 2385 (f. 51 b) into "uernensi"; and corrupted in the present MS. and also in Add. 11,284 (f. 53) into "uulnensi." Etienne says that his authority learnt it directly from the knight, "dictum dominum Petrum," who hanged the two brothers; and he (like the writer of the present MS.) gives the date as 1225. According to his editor, Etienne copied the story almost word for word from a Collection of which a copy, in the Library at Auxerre, has been noticed by L. Delisle, in his article in the *Cabinet Historique*, 2nd series, vol. i., 1877, pp. 4–7. The story is given twice in Mielot, Nos. 48, 55, Nevers being the place in both versions.

20. WOMAN REMINDED OF HER VOW. How a woman "de partibus urenne" became blind, but regained her sight through the Virgin, whose church she vowed to enter; how she forgot her vow, until she was reminded of it by a bone sticking in her throat for sixteen days. f. 149, col. 2.

21. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS, AVE MARIA. How a Knight became a Cistercian, but could learn nothing except those two words, which he kept constantly repeating; and how after his death a lily grew from his tomb, having "Ave Maria" inscribed upon it. f. 149, col. 2.

This tale is given by J. Gobii, *Scala Celi*, f. clxvi, from the "Mariale magnum." In Arund. 506, f. 4 b, and Add. 18,364. f. 50, the scene is laid in Poland ("Polenia" in the former. "Palonia" in the latter). The versions in *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. p. 587, and Mielot, No. 7, say the knight became a monk of Cîteaux (though perhaps this merely refers to the order).

22. CHRIST DENIED, BUT NOT THE VIRGIN (see Add. 15,723, ii. 19). f. 149 b.

No place is named in this version, and the knight is brought to the devil by "quidam iudeus."

23. TWO DEVILS IN PRISON. How a monk addressed the Virgin as "Imperatrix inferni"; how he afterwards yielded to the Devil, and eloped with the wife of a knight; how they were overtaken, and bound in prison; and how the Virgin released them, and sent two devils to impersonate them in prison. f. 150.

This tale has been interwoven with that of the painter and devil (Add. 15,723, ii. 17) by Herolt, *Prompt. Exempl.*, No. 656, and in a poem printed in Méon's *Fabliaux*, ii. p. 411.

24. GOOD FATHER AND BAD MOTHER. How the Father died wretchedly, and the Mother peacefully; how the Daughter doubted which example to follow; and how she had a vision of each of them. f. 150 b.

From the Vitæ Patrum (Migne, lxxiii. col. 995).

25. PILGRIM IN THE SEA (see Add. 15,723, ii. 8). f. 150 b, col. 2.

26. HILDEFONSUS OF TOLEDO (see Cleop. C. x., No. 7). f. 151, col. 2.

27. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN (see Cleop. C. x., No. 11). f. 151 b.

28. THE FRIVOLOUS CLERK. How he began every day with an anthem to the Virgin, containing five Gaudes, but spent the rest

of the day in frivolity; how his death-bed was surrounded by Devils; and how they were driven away by the Virgin (cp. Cleop. C. x., No. 10). f. 151 b, col. 2.

29. CRIPPLED LIMBS ANOINTED. How a lame Monk in a French Abbey, who had to be wheeled into church, was given the use of his legs by the Virgin. f. 152.

Arundel 407. ff. 41–43 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Small Quarto; ff. 3, with 35 to 40 lines to a page. With some headings in red, and ornamental initials in black and red.

Preceded by extracts from the Dialogus Miraculorum of Cæsarius of Heisterbach. ff. 31–40 b.

Bound up with Arund. 406, 408–413, the foliation being continuous throughout the volume.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Six tales. *Latin.*

1. IMAGE OF SARDENAY. How a Monk, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, halted at the cell of an Anchoress near Damascus, and promised to bring her an Image of the Virgin from Jerusalem; how he obtained one, and it saved him from so many perils, that he determined to keep it himself; how he felt himself compelled to return with it to the Anchoress; and how it was placed in her cell, and holy oil exuded from it. f. 41.

This is the legend of Our Lady of Sardenay (now Saidenâya or Sêdnaya, about 12 miles north of Damascus), for a full discussion of which see G. Raynaud in *Romania*, xi. (1882), p. 519; xiv. (1885), p. 82.

In the present copy the cell is only said to be in the territory of Damascus, but "longe ab urbe."

2. ABBESS DELIVERED (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6). f. 41 b.

3. JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). f. 42.

4. EULALIA (see Cleop. C. x., No. 34). f. 43.

5. LIGHT ON THE MASTHEAD (see Add. 15,723, ii. 9). f. 43.

6. SIGHT GIVEN TO A BLIND MAN (see Add. 18,346, No. 47). f. 43 b.

Additional 18,929. ff. 79–86 b.

Vellum; late XIIIth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 8, in double columns of 28 or 29 lines. With initials and headings in red.

For the contents of the volume, see above, p. 129.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Thirty tales; three of which, however (Nos. 24, 25 and 30), do not relate to the Virgin. *Latin.*

1. THE CHILD-CHRIST DISPLAYED OPENLY. How the Virgin appeared to "nostri fratres" in Lombardy ("lombordya") as they were singing the antiphon "Salve regina," and showed them the Child-Christ. f. 79.

A rather different version of this tale is in the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, ii. p. 93, taken from the "Vitas Fratrum Predicatorum," pars i. cap. 7 (Add. 32,579, f. 83). There the vision appears only to a woman of Lombardy who was in a Dominican church at Marseilles while the brethren were singing the antiphon.

2. SIGHT GIVEN TO A BLIND MAN (see Add. 18,346, No. 47; the present version is the same as that of Herolt). f. 79, col. 2.

3. CHORISTER KILLED BY JEWS. How a chorister was killed by Jews for singing the response "Gaude Maria," which contains the phrase "Erubescat iudeus infelix"; and how he sang the Virgin's praises from the grave; and how the Jews were amazed at hearing his voice, and many were converted. f. 79 b.

This is substantially the same story as Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale" (in which a "litel clergeon" is killed for singing "Alma redemptoris mater," etc.). For other versions, see the Introduction to the Roxburghe edition of Mielot, No. 19. Compare the tale of Hugh of Lincoln (supposed to have been murdered in 1255), discussed by Michel, *Hugues de Lincoln* (Paris, 1834); and see F. J. Child, *Popular Ballads*, part v. (Boston, 1888), pp. 233–243.

4. ABBESS DELIVERED (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6); her child is here named Bonus, "quem baptizans bonum nomine appellauit qui secundum nomen bonam postea duxit uitam" (see below, No. 10). f. 79 b.

5. DANCE PREPARED IN HEAVEN. How a girl was persuaded

by a Dominican to abjure dancing, of which she had been too fond; and how, just before her death, she told the Dominican that she had seen the dance prepared for her in heaven. f. 80.

6. GIRL NAMED MARY (see Add. 15,723, ii. 16). f. 80 b, col. 2.

7. PAINTER AND DEVIL (Add. 15,723, ii. 17). f. 80 b, col. 2.

8. FLOWERS OF HEAVEN. How a nun appeared to another of the sisterhood thirty days after her death, in fulfilment of a promise given on her deathbed; how she described the rewards given for devotion to the Virgin; and how she gave her friend some celestial flowers of wondrous fragrance. f. 80 b, col. 2.

9. MATRON OF COLOGNE. How she gave birth to nine children in one night; how, fearing ridicule, she ordered the nurse to drown eight of them in the Rhine; how the bishop intercepted them and had them reared secretly, and restored them to their parents ten years later; and how he and the parents founded the abbey of Deutz, to which they all finally retired. f. 81, col. 2.

The Benedictine abbey of Deutz was founded by Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne 999–1021. According to Bruschius, *Chronologia Monast. German.* (Sulzbach, 1682), p. 563, Heribert merely advised his brother, a Count of Rothemburg, to found it in expiation of an act of cruelty similar to Bishop Hatto's. The inscription on Heribert's tomb, however, as given by Bruschius at p. 565, describes him as the sole founder; and his biographers Lambert, a monk, and Rupert, abbot, of Deutz (d. 1069 and 1135 respectively), both say that he founded it in fulfilment of a vow made by him and the Emperor Otto III. jointly (*Acta SS.*, 16 Mar., pp. 465, 475).

10. ST. BON AND HIS VESTMENT (Add. 15,723, i. 1); this version beg.: "Episcopus bonus nomine et re filius abbatisse" (see above, No. 4), and the name of his see is not given. f. 81 b.

11. MUSA (Arund. 346, No. 24). f. 81 b, col. 2.

12. ST. LUKE'S PORTRAIT OF THE VIRGIN. How St. Luke began the portrait, but it was finished miraculously; how it was placed in a cloister "quod uocabulum ex hoc accipit ad sanctam mariam in templo"; and how, when Pope Sergius moved it into the Lateran, it returned of itself. f. 81 b, col. 2.

For an account of the legend that St. Luke painted the portrait of the Virgin, see Gretser, Syntagma de Imaginibus non manufactis, cap. 18 (*Jacobi Gretseri . . Opera omnia*, vol. XV., Ratisbon, 1741, p. 205); and the article on "Peintres" in Cahier,

Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire (Paris, 1867), p. 674. In the "Church Marvels" of Rome, taken from a 14th cent. MS. in the Vatican (F. M. Nichols, *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, London and Rome, 1889, p. 141), this image is said to be in the Sistine chapel, whither it returned miraculously, after its removal by a certain pope to the Holy of Holies.

13. ONLY THE TWO WORDS, AVE MARIA (see Royal 5 A. viii., No. 21). f. 82, col. 2.

14. SATURDAY (see Cleop. C. x., No. 37). f. 82 b.

15. WOMAN SAVED FROM SUICIDE (see Royal 5 A. viii., No. 1). f. 82.

16. ONE-EYED KNIGHT AND JEW. How the Knight dealt the Jew a buffet, because the Jew had scoffed at him and blasphemed the Virgin; how the Jew accused him in Court, but could only describe him as one-eyed; and how, meanwhile, the Virgin had restored his second eye. f. 82 b, col. 2.

17. FIGHTING DEVILS WITH A TAPER. How a Knight had a Vision of Judgment, in which he was given up to Devils, but was armed with a taper, like that which he had once presented to the Virgin; how he awoke in the midst of the struggle, so suddenly aged that his wife and servants did not recognise him; and how he founded a hospital and retired thither. Ending: "Fratres autem minores qui in loco fuerunt ubi accidit nobis retulerunt tale miraculum." f. 83.

18. WIFE AND MISTRESS (Arund. 346, No. 30). f. 83 b.

19. CHILD-CHRIST AND AVE MARIA. How a Lady saw a beautiful Boy in church and began to teach him the Ave Maria; and how, when she came to the words "Benedictus fructus ventris tui," he said "Ego sum ille" and vanished. f. 83 b, col. 2.

Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.*, viii. cap. 8, relates that this took place in France. A similar tale is in Mielot, No. 40.

20. TAPER LEFT BEHIND BY AN ANGEL. How a Widow heard Mass performed in an empty church, on Candlemas Day, by Christ and a choir of Angels; how, at the Virgin's command, she received a taper like the rest; how she refused to give it back again to one of the Angels; and how she awoke with a fragment of the taper in her hand. f. 83 b, col. 2.

Compare Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.*, vii. cap. 20 (ed. Strange, 1851, vol. ii. p. 26).

21. JEW OF BOURGES (Cleop. C. x., No. 1). f. 84, col. 2.

22. NEGLECTING THE HOURS OF THE VIRGIN. How a Lady appeared after death to a Friend, and said that she was doomed to forty years of purgatory, for negligence in repeating the Hours of the Virgin. f. 84 b.

23. VIRGIN'S SYRUP: told of a Nun. How she was rebuked for rejecting the conventual diet, by seeing the Virgin feed all the sisterhood but herself (cp. Add. 15,723, ii. 22). f. 84 b.

24. HARLOT, AND VOICE FROM THE PIXIS. How a harlot in Thuringia was struck with remorse at the sight of the Eucharist carried in a pixis by a priest; and how a voice from the pixis told her she was forgiven. f. 84 b, col. 2.

The voice first speaks in Latin, to which the woman replies, "Domine non intelligo latinum . Rogo ut loquaris mihi teutonice."

25. ANGEL KEEPING MONKS AWAKE. How a Monk saw an Angel going round the convent, and learnt that his object was to keep the monks from sleeping during the Masses for the Dead. f. 85.

26. NEGLECTED IMAGE OF THE VIRGIN. How a Clerk, taking shelter in a porch, found an Image of the Virgin there, and placed a clasp upon its finger; how he afterwards saw in a church a second image of the Virgin with the same clasp on its finger; and how a voice from it taught him a new "Gaude," beg. "Gaude uirgo gloriosa" (printed in Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. ii., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1854, p. 169). f. 85, col. 2.

27. THE NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD. How a nun named Beatrice, sacristan of her abbey, eloped with a clerk, having first laid her keys on the altar of the Virgin; and how, after living in sin for fifteen years, she returned to the abbey, and found that the Virgin had impersonated her all the time. f. 85 b.

This tale, with unimportant variations, is in Cæsarius, *Dial. Mir.*, vii. cap. 34. For further references see Introduction to Mielot, No. 69, and Dunlop's *History of Fiction* (German transl. by Liebrecht, 1851), p. 503.

28. THE VIRGIN'S GIFT TO THOMAS BECKET. How Becket, in his youth, boasted that he had a fairer Sweetheart, and a finer love-token, than any of his companions; how he prayed the Virgin to pardon this idle talk; how she appeared and gave him

a casket, which his companions opened, and found to contain a beautifully-worked chasuble. f. 85 b, col. 2.

The same text is in *Mag. Spec. Exempl.*, ii. p. 282. The tale is in *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. p. 573 ("Tômas von Kandelberk"); also in *Thómas Saga Erkibyskups* (ed. E. Magnússon, Rolls Series, 1875–83), vol. i. pp. 20–25, and in vol. ii. p. 284, Magnússon has reprinted another version, taken from *Mariu Saga*, p. 198 (ed. C. R. Unger, for the *Norsk Oldskriftselskab*, Christiania, 1868). In the two last-named versions the scene of the miracle is Paris, and the gift found in the casket is a complete set of bishop's robes, thus foreshadowing Becket's elevation to episcopal dignity.

29. THE PRIEST OF ONLY ONE MASS: and Becket as Archbishop. How a priest was suspended by Becket, for knowing no Mass except that of the Virgin; how he was directed by the Virgin to appeal again to the archbishop, and given a sign to prove that she had sent him; and how the archbishop then restored him. f. 86, col. 2.

In T. de Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. 29, p. 285; more briefly in Cæsarius, *Dial. Mir.*, vii. cap. 4. Cp. Cleop. C. x., No. 15. The present tale is in Mielot, No. 58, with the variation that the priest is there represented as dissolute, not merely ignorant.

30. THE ACCURSED DANCERS. How fifteen men and three women danced in the churchyard of St. Magnus at "Colebeke Saxonie regionis" on Christmas-day, disturbing the priest ("Rotbertus") in the celebration of mass; how he condemned them, in the name of God and St. Magnus, to dance for a whole year without stopping; and how the curse was fulfilled, and they had no rest, until at the end of the year they were released by the intercession of "Ekebertus," Bishop (or rather Archbishop) of Cologne. Told by Otbertus, one of the dancers, who ends his narrative: "Acta sunt hec anno domini M̊.xx̊i. indicione iiii. regnante h. anno secundo (*sic*). hec sunt litere date a domino peregrino coloniensi episcopo domini ekeberti successore venerando" (Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne 999–1021, was succeeded by Pilgrim, Archbishop 1021–1036: see Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, 1873, p. 270). ff. 86, col. 2—86 b, col. 2.

The present version has been abridged by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 174 (ed. Stubbs, Rolls series, vol. i. p. 203); but the date there assigned is 1012. It is also in the Annals of

Albert of Stade, under 1021; and in an Erfurt chronicle, under 1020 (see Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Scr. xvi. p. 313; xxiv. p. 188). There is another version in the Life of St. Edith, or the *Chronicon Vilodunense* (see Horstmann's edition, 1883), lines 4069–4302; also found in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, which will be noticed in our Vol. iii. The scene of the miracle, the name of which is variously written Colbeche, Colewiz, Colbizce, etc., is the modern Kölbigk, near Bernburg: see Johann Christoff Beckmann, who in his *Historie des Fürstenthums Anhalt* (Zerbst, 1710), pt. iii. bk. iv. cap. 4, pp. 465–473, gives the history of the monastery at that place, together with a complete account of this tale. The story is included by J. F. C. Hecker, among the examples of the dancing mania, in his *Epidemics of the Middle Ages* (translated by B. G. Babington, 3rd ed., London, 1859), p. 90.

Arundel 406. ff. 21 b–27.

Vellum; late xiiith cent. Small Quarto; ff. 7, in double columns of 29 to 34 lines. With initials in red.

Preceded by various religious treatises and prayers, and followed by a Table of Movable Feasts, beginning with the year 1273 (f. 27 b), and by the Passions of SS. Juliana, Valentine, George, Martin, and Katherine (ff. 28–30 b).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN, and other tales. Thirty tales, of which Nos. 1–12, 25–29 are miracles of the Virgin, the rest being tales extracted from the Vitæ Patrum and similar sources *Latin*.

1. DEVIL IN SERVICE (see Add. 15,723, ii. 15). f. 21 b.
2. FIVE GAUDES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 10). f. 21 b, col. 2.
3. DROWNED SACRISTAN (see Cleop. C. x., No. 8). f. 22.
4. VIRGIN COMES TO DEVIL, INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM. How an impoverished Knight obtained wealth of the Devil, to whom he promised to bring his wife; how she left home with her husband; how, entering a wayside chapel for prayer to the Virgin, she fell into a trance; and how the Virgin, in her shape, accompanied the Knight, to the discomfiture of the Devil. f. 22, col. 2.

The present text is in the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse, 1846),

cap. 119, p. 513. For other versions see Introduction to Mielot (Roxburghe Club, 1885), No. 2.

The next eight tales (Nos. 5–12) are included by Jacobus a Voragine in his chapter on the Nativity of the Virgin (*Legenda Aurea*, 1846, cap. 131, pp. 590–594); his text and order are the same as in the present MS., but the *Legenda* also includes Theophilus, placed immediately before the last tale (between our Nos. 11 and 12).

5. VIRGIN ACTING AS A KNIGHT. How a knight on his way to a tournament entered a Lady-chapel, and heard one mass after another until he was too late for the tournament; how he was met by those who had taken part in it, and congratulated on his prowess, some of them declaring themselves his prisoners; and how he became a monk. f. 23.

This story is told by Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mir.*, vii. cap. 38, of Walter de Birbech, one of the lords of Bierbeck, near Louvain (Butkens, *Trophées de Brabant*, vol. ii., 1724, p. 201). He retired to the abbey of Himmerode (from which Heisterbach was founded), and died there *circ.* 1222: see *Acta SS.*, 22 Jan., p. 60. J. W. Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen* (Leipzig, 1843), p. 54, narrates the same incident as having occurred in 1200 to Walter Persijn, a member of an illustrious Dutch family. A similar miracle (without reference to the Virgin) is recorded by Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. T. Wright, 1850), p. 31; the knight, who is named Hamericus, becomes a Templar.

6. ST. DUNSTAN AND THE VIRGIN'S CHOIR (see Add. 15, 723, ii. 27). The Saint is not named here. f. 23.

7. CHILD-CHRIST SEIZED AS A PLEDGE. How a widow, whose only son had been taken captive by his enemies, prayed before an image of the Virgin and Child for his release; how, finding her prayers of no avail, she snatched the figure of Christ from the arms of his Mother, saying she would keep it as a pledge for her own son; and how that night the Virgin released the youth from prison, and bade him tell his mother to restore the Child. f. 23, col. 2.

For some other versions of this story, see Introduction to Mielot (Roxburghe Club, 1885), No. 63.

8. EBBO THE THIEF (see Cleop. C. x., No. 12). f. 23b, col. 2.

9. CLERK OF PISA (see Cleop. C. x., No. 22). f. 23 b, col. 2.

10. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY (see Cleop. C. x., No. 15). f. 24.

11. SHORT LEASE OF LIFE GRANTED TO A CLERK. How he has a Vision of Judgment, in which he is condemned, but spared for a time at the intercession of the Virgin (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 16, where this Vision forms an episode). f. 24, col. 2.

12. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW. How a woman, suspected of incest with her son-in-law, had him murdered; how she confessed to a priest, who some years later denounced her; and how she was condemned to be burnt, but was saved from the fire by the Virgin. f. 24 b.

This miracle, which is generally said to have occurred at Chivy, near Laon, during the bishopric of Helinand (1052–1098), is narrated by Guibert de Nogent, "De Laude S. Mariæ," cap. 10 (Migne, clvi. col. 564); by Hermann, monk of St. Jean de Laon, "De miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis," iii. cap. 27 (*ib.*, col. 1008); and in the "Auctarium Laudunense" and the "Auctarium Ursicampinum" to the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux (Migne, clx., cols. 359, 405). Helinand the annalist alludes to it in his Chronicle (Migne, ccxii., col. 1017).

13. GOOD LUCK TOO GREAT TO LAST. How St. Ambrose, being entertained on his way to Rome by a rich man in a Tuscan town, was horrified to learn that his host had never suffered any misfortunes, and left the house in haste; and how the earth opened and swallowed the house and all its inmates. f. 24 b, col. 2.

In *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 57, p. 253.

14. VISION OF EARTHLY GLORY, seen by an ambitious Knight, in the form of a woman, beautiful in front but foul behind. f. 25.

In Herolt, *Prompt. Exempl.*, No. 355, this vision is said to have appeared to a nobleman in Austria.

15. MACARIUS AND THE PAGAN'S SKULL. How a Hermit (not named here) found the skull of a pagan, and made it answer his questions about hell. f. 25, col. 2.

See Vit. Pat. (Migne, lxxiii. cols. 797, 1013); and *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 18, p. 101.

16. THREE DAYS IN PURGATORY. How a Hermit chose three days in Purgatory, rather than thirty years' penance upon earth; and how each of the three days seemed to him like a thousand years. f. 25, col. 2.

17. BECKET, AND TWO OTHER SOULS, CARRIED TO HEAVEN. How an Angel told a hermit that he had just brought the soul of St. Thomas of Canterbury to Heaven; and that on the same day two other souls had gone to Heaven, and five thousand to Purgatory and Hell. f. 25 b.

18. JAR FILLED WITH TEARS AS PENANCE. How a robber was ordered by a hermit, as penance, to fill a jar with water from a stream which flowed upwards ("fontem sursum fluentem"); how, after he had vainly sought such a stream, a tear (rising from the heart) dropped from his eye into the jar, which thereupon became full. f. 25 b, col. 2.

Another form of this tale is in Mielot, No. 72.

19. UNDUTIFUL SON PUNISHED. How a widow made over all her wealth to her son, trusting to his filial affection; how, when she came to his house to dinner, he ordered the servants to hide the meat before admitting her, and then drove her away; and how after her departure two frogs, which were found sitting on the meat, fastened on his face. f. 25 b, col. 2.

Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mir.*, vi. cap. 22, tells this (with a serpent in place of the frogs) as having occurred about 13 years previously (*sc.* about 1209) to a youth named Henry, "de Mosella natus," who was taken to shrines in the neighbourhood of Heisterbach. Substantially the same tale is in E. de Bourbon, p. 140, and in T. de Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, ii. cap. 7, p. 150. The former says it occurred at Chinon, and that the undutiful son obtained relief in the Holy Land; the latter states that he learnt the tale from "frater Ioannes de Magno Ponte ordinis Prædicatorum," who had seen the man in Paris in his youth, and that it happened "in Normanniæ partibus." A French poem and morality on the same subject are noticed by V. Le Clerc in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxiii. p. 193.

20. USURER INDUCED TO TAKE THE CROSS, by a vision, in which he saw himself suspended by a single hair over a hideous abyss. f. 26.

21. FALSE EXECUTOR (cap. 7 of Turpin's Chronicle, for which see vol. i. of this *Catalogue*, pp. 546 *seq.*). f. 26.

22. CONFESSION IN A STABLE. How a priest was compelled by a knight, who suspected him of adultery with his wife, to go with him to visit a demoniac; how he confessed his guilt to the knight's servant in a stable on the way; and how

this confession saved him from being denounced by the demoniac. f. 26, col. 2.

In Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mir.*, iii. cap. 2.

23. MALEFACTOR SAVED BY HIS LAST WORDS. How a wicked knight, being captured by his enemies and refused time for confession, died with the words "animam meam commendo virginis filio" on his lips; and how a demoniac declared that this had saved him. f. 26 b.

In Cæsarius, *Dial. Mir.*, vii. cap. 57.

24. CRUCIFIX BOWS TO MERCIFUL MAN. How a man spared the life of his father's slayer; and how the crucifix bowed to him in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. f. 26 b, col. 2.

The story in its present form is in Cæsarius, viii. cap. 21. It is evidently derived from the story contained in the 11th and 12th century Lives of St. John Gualbertus (see *Acta Sanctorum*, 12th July, pp. 328, 348); which is practically identical with that related by Peter Damianus (d. 1072), Opusc. 40, cap. 5 (Migne, cxlv. col. 655).

25. JEW OF BOURGES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1); place not named here. f. 26 b, col. 2.

26. SAVED BY TWO WORDS, AVE MARIA (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 21). f. 27.

27. CHILD SAVED FROM DROWNING. How a boy, whose mother had taught him to say "Ave Maria," was playing with other children by the water-side; and how, when the advancing tide drowned all his companions, he was saved by the Virgin, who lifted him up and held him till the tide had receded. f. 27, col. 2.

J. Gobii, *Scala Cœli*, f. clxii b (from the "Mariale magnum").

28. WIFE AND MISTRESS (Arund. 346, No. 30): imperfect, breaking off at the foot of the page. f. 27, col. 2.

On the lower margins of ff. 21 b–24 are two tales, in a somewhat mutilated form, the lowest line (or lines) on each leaf having been cut. They are as follows:—

29. DAINTIES IN A FOUL DISH (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 6). ff. 21 b–22 b.

30. HERMIT SEES TWO DEATHBEDS, the wretched end of a rich man and the happy end of a poor man (cp. Vit. Pat., in Migne, lxxiii. col. 1011). ff. 23–24.

Egerton 1117. ff. 171–177 b.

Vellum; end of the xiiith cent. Octavo; ff. 7, in double columns of 33 lines.

For the contents of the volume, see above, p. 464.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Twenty-eight tales. *Latin.*

1. DEVOUT IGNORANCE REWARDED. How a virgin in Hungary, who could only learn the four words "Ave Maria gratia plena," but repeated them frequently, was honoured by a ray of light descending on her head; but how the ray ceased to appear when a bishop had taught her the rest of the salutation. f. 171.

Substantially the same story is in the *Myracles of our Lady*, printed by W. de Worde (London, 1514), "An other myracle of oure Lady of a good aeged woman."

2. MARY-IMAGE SWEATS. How the Virgin's image was seen to sweat during celebration; and how it was revealed to the priest that the cause was her anxiety for sinners. f. 171, col. 2.

Recorded in a slightly varied form by Cæsarius, *Dial. Mir.*, vii. 2, as having occurred in a church "provinciæ nostræ" (*i.e.* in the diocese of Cologne), and as having been related to him shortly afterwards by a Cistercian Abbot.

3. NEGLECTED MARY-IMAGE (see Add. 18,929, No. 26). In this version the clerk's offering is a silver necklace. f. 171, col. 2.

4. RUNAWAY NUN SAVED FROM THIEVES. How a nun in Germany, having agreed to elope with a knight, leaped out of a window on the appointed night, but found herself in the hands of thieves; how she prayed to the Virgin, and was transported miraculously to her dormitory. f. 171 b.

Printed in Thomas Wright's *Latin Stories* (Percy Soc., London, 1843), No. 107, from this MS.

5. DEMONIAC SAVED FROM SUICIDE. How a Cistercian, in an abbey affiliated to Clairvaux, hanged himself, but was restored to life by the Virgin; and how, when he was tempted again by the devil to hang himself, the Virgin appeared and put the tempter to flight. f. 171 b, col. 2.

6. CLERK FREED FROM PURGATORY. How a clerk in the

diocese of Liége appeared after death to a monk, and said that he had been released from purgatory by the Virgin, whose Hours he used to say constantly (cp. Cleop. C. x., No. 18). f. 171 b, col. 2.

7. ST. HUGH OF BONNEVAUX. How during his novitiate at Bonnevaux he was tempted to desert, but was reclaimed by a vision of the Virgin. f. 171 b, col. 2.

In the early Life of St. Hugh, this is said to have occurred soon after his retirement from the world into the monastery of Mézières: see *Acta Sanctorum*, 1 April, p. 47. But according to *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xvi. col. 209, he passed his novitiate at Le Miroir. He became Abbot of Bonnevaux 1171, and died 1183 (*Gall. Christ.*, xvi. 210).

8. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW (see Arund. 406, No. 12). f. 172.

9. SINS OUTWEIGHED BY AVES. How a dying clerk in England saw a great roll of his sins weighed against a tiny schedule of his good deeds; and how the Virgin turned the scale in his favour with an immense roll containing the Aves he had said. f. 172, col. 2.

10. PRAYERS ORDERED FOR A ROBBER'S SOUL. How a pious man, entering a church in Rome before matins, had a vision; how he saw the soul of a dead robber tried by Christ, and sent only to purgatory, because he used constantly to say an Ave; and how he himself was sent by the Virgin to the Pope to order prayers for the robber's soul, with a rose for a token, "que adhuc rome dicitur conseruari." f. 172 b.

11. BOY CURED OF MAL DES ARDENTS. How he wished to revisit the Church in which he had been cured; how his mother would not allow him to do so; how he prayed for a return of the disease; and how he saw a vision of the Virgin. f. 173.

This story forms cap. 9 of Hugh Farsit's Miracles of Our Lady of Soissons (see above, p. 589).

12. RENEGADE NUN FORGIVEN. How a Nun became a harlot; how she was struck with remorse, and prayed before an image of the Virgin and Child; and how the Virgin told her that her sins were forgiven. f. 173.

13. NUN-SACRISTAN SAVED FROM TEMPTATION. How she intended to desert, but first laid her keys of office on the altar, with a parting prayer to the Virgin; how she fell in a swoon, and how she woke repentant. f. 173, col. 2.

14. THE NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD (see Add. 18,929, No. 27). f. 173, col. 2.

Printed by Wright, *Latin Stories*, No. 106, from this MS.

15. LICENTIOUS DEAN BURIED IN THE LADY-CHAPEL. How he ravished a lady, having sent his servants masked to drag her from the Cathedral; how he was struck with remorse so keenly that he died suddenly in the night; how he was buried outside the cemetery; and how the Virgin ordered the Bishop to move the corpse of "her clerk" into the Lady-chapel (cp. the Clerk of Chartres, Cleop. C. x., No. 9). f. 173 b.

16. GIRL NAMED MARY (see Add. 15,723, ii. 16). Told very briefly. f. 173 b, col. 2.

17. AVES SEEN AS ROSES. How a Cistercian, accustomed to say 150 Aves daily, was repeating them as he went through a wood; and how a robber, who lay in wait for him, saw white doves taking roses out of his mouth and carrying them up to heaven. f. 174.

In a German version, it is the Virgin herself who takes the roses from the monk's mouth: see F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, vol. iii. (Stuttgart, 1850), p. 595. For other variants see Mielot, No. 45, and Mussafia, Heft i. p. 71.

18. DEATHS OF RICH MAN AND POOR WIDOW (see Add. 15,723, ii. 11). f. 174.

19. BREAD OFFERED TO THE CHILD-CHRIST. Variant of the usual story (for which see Add. 15,723, i. 2). A Cistercian subprior sees the Virgin, with the Child-Christ in her arms, enter the refectory; he offers the Child a piece of Bread, saying "'Papa,' id est manduca." The sequel is the usual one. f. 174 b.

20. DYING MONK SAVED FROM DEVILS. How he saw two devils at his bedside; how he remembered an unconfessed sin; and how he saw the Virgin, accompanied by St. Laurence and St. John the Evangelist, drive the devils away. f. 174 b, col. 2.

21. DEVIL IN MARY-IMAGE. How a Cistercian abbot in Burgundy was invited by a man suspected of heresy to visit him, with the promise that he should see the Virgin; how he came on the appointed day, secretly carrying the Host with him; how he was led into a subterranean chamber, and was there shown a stone statue of the Virgin, in which was a devil; how he produced the Host, and the roof immediately fell in, crushing all but the abbot himself and his attendant monk. f. 175.

22. Bleeding Child-Christ (see Add. 15,723, ii. 24). Told very briefly, and without names. f. 175 b.

23. A Hundred Aves a Day (see Add. 15,723, ii. 35). The knight becomes a monk after seeing the Virgin. f. 175 b, col. 2.

24. Incest (see Add. 15,723, ii. 10). The devil introduces himself to the Emperor as a skilled counsellor, and is made a judge; in the end he vanishes like smoke with a whirlwind, and carries part of the palace-roof away with him. f. 176.

25. Chorister killed by Jews (see Add. 18,929, No. 3). f. 176 b.

26. Boy thrown into boiling Cauldron, by the devil, while his parents were in church; how the Virgin restored him to life. f. 176 b, col. 2.

27. Drowned Fisherman saved alive for Confession. How some merchants at sea caught a "turbidam natantem" from which a voice "Sancta Maria" issued; how they found in it the skull, heart and tongue of a drowned fisherman, of whom the Virgin had kept alive just enough to confess, because he used to say 150 Aves daily. f. 177, col. 2.

28. Dainties in a foul Dish (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 6). ff. 177, col. 2–177 b.

Harley 2851. ff. 71–89.

Vellum; about A.D. 1300. Small Quarto; ff. 19, having 26 or 27 lines to a page. With headings in red, and initials in red and blue.

For general description of the volume, see above, p. 401.

Miracles of the Virgin. Twelve tales. *Latin.*

Heading: "Hic incipiunt speciales de miraculis sancte marie narraciones." f. 71.

1. Christ denied, but not the Virgin (see Add. 15,723, ii. 19). Told at great length, and with many details not contained in the versions already noticed. The Virgin pleads with her son, as in Cæsarius, ii. 12. The knight does not marry in the end, but becomes warden of a hospital for lepers kept by his brother-in-arms. f. 71.

The tale is introduced by the prologue ("Ad excitanda corda humilium," etc.) which is used in Cleop. C. x., Bk. iii.

2. CONCEPTION OF CHRIST. How a knight "inter orientales" could not believe in the immaculate conception of Christ; how by his confessor's advice he had three wooden figures of the Virgin made and kept in his house; and how he saw a miraculous representation of the conception. f. 75 b.

The author apologizes at f. 79 b for his prolixity, which is partly caused by his recounting at great length the attempts of the devil to prevent the sculptor from reaching the knight's house.

3. COUNT THEOBALD ADMITTED TO HEAVEN. How, in a vision seen by a Cistercian, Theobald, Count of Blois, was brought to Judgment, and accused of having despoiled a man of his inheritance; and how he was admitted to heaven through the intercession of the Virgin, who said that he had always befriended her servants the Cistercians, and that "abbatiam clareuallensem a fundo construxit." f. 79 b. Followed (f. 82) by a paragraph telling how the Cistercian who saw the vision was smitten while still young with leprosy, of which he soon died in spite of the provision made for him by Theobald.

The abbey of Clairvaux was founded in 1115 by Hugh, Count of Troyes; but in 1135 Theobald IV., surnamed the Great, Count of Blois and Champagne (d. 1152), built a larger house for the monks. See *Gallia Christiana*, iv. col. 796; Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique*, ii. (Paris, 1726), p. 840; and the Life of St. Bernard by Ernaldus, Abbot of Bonnevaux, cap. 5 (Migne, clxxxv. col. 283).

4. THE VIRGIN BARES HER BREASTS (see Add. 15,723, ii. 36). f. 82.

5. FULL CONFESSION MADE AFTER DEATH. How a dying monk of Bonrepos (a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Quimper) confessed to the prior, but reserved one of his sins for the ear of the abbot alone, who was then in England; how he died before the abbot returned, but afterwards appeared to him by the altar, and made his confession. f. 83.

6. MONKS AT THEIR FIELD-WORK (see Add. 15,723, ii. 21). The vision is seen by a monk, who had left the Benedictine for the Cistercian order, but who found the life in the latter too toilsome for his taste. f. 84 b.

7. CISTERCIAN PILGRIM. How a Cistercian, who had twice

left his abbey and afterwards returned, deserted a third time for the purpose of visiting the Holy Land, and died on his way thither; and how he was restored to life by the intercession of the Virgin. f. 85.

8. EBBO THE THIEF (see Cleop. C. x., No. 12). f. 86.

9. BLEEDING CHILD-CHRIST (see Add. 15,723, ii. 24). f. 86 b. The place is not named here, and the date is by a blunder put as 1287 (instead of 1187), and the concluding words are "huiusmodi miraculi occasione pax inter eos (*sc.* Henry II. and Philip Augustus) formata est." As a matter of fact the belligerents concluded peace on Midsummer Eve, 1187 (see Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. ii., 1887, pp. 245–6).

10. DROWNED SACRISTAN (see Cleop. C. x., No. 8). Beg.: "Erat quedam abbacia citra ierusalem." f. 87.

11. CLERK OF PISA (Cleop. C. x., No. 22). f. 87 b.

Here the bridegroom is "clericus quidam rome . . . de nobili genere natus," and after the vision he becomes a monk by the advice of the Pope, "beatus Zepherus" (St. Zephirinus, 202–218).

12. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS, AVE MARIA (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 21). f. 89.

Additional 33,956. ff. 70 b–81 b.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Large Octavo; ff. 12, in double columns of 52 lines. With initials in red.

In a large collection of Church Tales, compiled in England (ff. 2–91), and entitled "Prima pars exemplorum in moralibus per narraciones"; which is followed (ff. 92–125) by "Secunda pars exemplorum in moralibus naturalibus et artificialibus secundum alphabetum," imperfect at the end.

For fuller description of the volume, see *Catalogue of Additions*, 1888–1893.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Sixty-eight tales, including four of which only the titles are given, the tales having appeared in the preceding part of the volume (see Nos. 11, 12, 25, 45); and including some repetitions (see Nos. 23, 44, 44). *Latin.*

Heading: "De beata virgine et deuotis eius exempla." A

later heading, "Hic incipiunt miracula beate marie," has been inserted in the upper margin. f. 70 b.

1. PLAGUE AT ROME. How it ceased when Pope Gregory conducted solemn processions through the city, headed by the image of the Virgin which St. Luke had made, "que nunc in loco fratrum minorum in capitolio cum magna reuerencia veneratur." f. 70 b.

At the time when Gregory the Great was elected Pope (590) Rome was ravaged by a pestilence, in consequence of which he ordered public litanies to be performed: see his Life in Migne, lxxv. col. 279.

2. AVES SEEN AS ROSES (see Eg. 1117, No. 17). An angel takes them from the monk's mouth. f. 70 b.

3. CHILD SAVED FROM DROWNING (see Arund. 406, No. 27). f. 70 b, col. 2.

4. RELENTLESS JEW KILLED BY LIGHTNING. How a Jew refused respite to a Christian debtor; how the latter prayed to the Virgin for help; and how the Jew was killed by lightning that same night. f. 70 b, col. 2.

5. SAVED BY TWO WORDS, AVE MARIA (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 21). f. 71.

6. THE NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD (see Add. 18,929, No. 27). f. 71.

7. PHILIP, CHANCELLOR OF PARIS. How he appeared after death, veiled in a dark cloud, to the Bishop, "Geraldus" (against whom he had formerly been a candidate for the bishopric), and said he had been damned, but was sentenced instead to Purgatory through the Virgin's intercession. f. 71, col. 2.

Philippe de Grève became Chancellor of Paris in 1218, and died in 1236: see an article by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, vol. i. (1872), pp. 193–5, which contains a story, taken from Thomas de Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, lib. i. cap. 19, of his appearing after death to Guillaume d'Auvergne, Bishop of Paris 1228–1249, to tell of his damnation.

8. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY (see Cleop. C. x., No. 15). Reference is made at the end to the version which introduces Becket (see Add. 18,929, No. 29). f. 71 b.

9. DAINTIES IN A FOUL DISH (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 6). f. 71 b.

10. CHRIST DENIED, BUT NOT THE VIRGIN (see Add. 15,723,

ii. 19). The Virgin pleads with Christ, as in Cæsarius, *Dial. Mirac.*, dist. ii. cap. 12. f. 71 b, col. 2.

11. JEW OF BOURGES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1). f. 72. This and the next number are merely mentioned here, the stories having already appeared in the Collection, under the heading "Sacramentum altaris," at f. 27 b, col. 2.

12. PRIEST DOUBTS OF REAL PRESENCE. f. 72. Only mentioned here, being given at f. 27 b, col. 2 (see preceding No.). How a Priest in Germany doubted of the Real Presence; and how, when he was celebrating, the Host disappeared, and the Virgin appeared by the altar, with the Child-Christ in her arms.

A similar vision (except that the Virgin does not appear) is recorded by Cæsarius, *Dial. Mir.*, ix. cap. 5, as seen by a priest "in castro cui nomen est Wickindisburg" (identified by Strange with the modern Wildenburg in the Westerwald: see *Index in Cæsarii Heisterbacensis Dialogum*, 1857, p. 42).

13. NUN TEMPTED TO ELOPE. How she was freed from temptation by a vision of a noisome pit full of serpents. f. 72.

This tale is in the Paris MS., of the 12th century, which Mussafia denotes SV: see Heft i. p. 40.

14. ABBESS (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6). f. 72, col. 2.

15. CHILD-CHRIST SEIZED AS A PLEDGE (see Arund. 406, No. 7). f. 72 b.

16. AVE MARIS STELLA. How some clerks and priests were overtaken by a thunderstorm as they were returning from celebrating a septenary in a rustic church; how they sang "Ave maris stella"; and how a cloud immediately descended and sheltered them. f. 72 b.

See another version below, Harl. 2316, No. 12.

17. ST. PETER'S LAMP ROBBED. How the Sacristan who had charge of the lamp kept alight in honour of the Virgin in St. Peter's Church at Rome, finding the lamp empty, took oil for it from St. Peter's lamp; how St. Peter threatened to close the gates of Heaven against him, but the Virgin, as "celi fenestra," promised to admit him. f. 72 b, col. 2.

18. SOULS OF TWO DROWNED MONKS HEARD SINGING AN ANTIPHON. Told more fully than in Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 13. The two young monks are sons of a Burgundian knight who had entertained St. Bernard. f. 72 b, col. 2.

19. MEDICINE MADE WITH OIL FROM THE VIRGIN'S LAMP.

How Moricus, "cuiusdam hospitalis commendator," appealed to St. Francis to cure him of a mortal illness; and how St. Francis cured him with an electuary made of bread mixed with oil from the lamp on the altar of the Virgin. f. 73.

This is in the Life of St. Francis by Bonaventura: see *Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Oct., p. 752.

20. MINSTREL FREED FROM PRISON. How a minstrel offended the King of Castile, and was put in the condemned cell; how he appealed to the Virgin, singing the antiphon "Ave stella matutina"; and how the Virgin released him and his fellow-prisoners. f. 73.

21. ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA. How the devil tried to strangle him; and how he was saved by the Virgin. f. 73, col. 2.

In the anonymous Life of St. Anthony (who d. 1231): see *Acta Sanctorum*, 13 June, p. 204.

22. CHORISTER KILLED BY A JEW (see Add. 18,929, No. 3). f. 73, col. 2.

23. CÆSARIUS CUTS HIS HAND OFF. How he became Pope; how a lady's kissing his hand filled him with carnal lust; how he cut off his hand to escape temptation; and how the Virgin restored his hand. f 73 b.

In other collections, of the 12th cent. and later, his name as Pope is said to have been Leo (see Mussafia, Heft i. p. 75; Heft ii. pp. 4, 88; and see below, No. 40 of this MS.). In the *Legenda Aurea*, cap. 88, p. 367, the story is told of Pope Leo I. (d. 461).

24. CLERK OF CHARTRES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 9). f. 73 b, col. 2.

25. TWO BROTHERS AT ROME (see Cleop. C. x., No. 16). f. 73 b, col. 2. Only the title given; the tale is at f. 29 b, col. 2, in an abridged form (Peter the Archdeacon not being mentioned). The usual version is also given below, No. 54.

26. AVE ON THE TONGUE (see Cleop. C. x., No. 29). f. 73 b, col. 2.

27. CLERK OF PISA (see Cleop. C. x., No. 22). f. 74.

28. JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). Just before the day fixed for repayment, the merchant sees some shepherds dig up a large quantity of gold, which they sell to him cheaply, not knowing its value. f. 74.

29. BLINDED BY THE VIRGIN'S GLORY. How an abbot was

allowed to see the Virgin in her glory, but lost the sight of one eye thereby; and how he yearned to see her again, even at the price of his remaining eye. f. 74, col. 2.

30. ALEXIUS IN THE MINE. How he was imprisoned by a fall of earth in the mine where he was working; and how he was kept alive there for a year, by the masses which his wife Jordana had sung for him. f. 74, col. 2.

Recorded by Petrus Venerabilis, De Miraculis, lib. ii. cap. 2 (Migne, clxxxix., col. 911), as having happened in the diocese of Grenoble.

31. FRANCISCAN'S FOOT CURED. How Benevenutus, a Franciscan, who with others of the order had been expelled from the kingdom of Sicily by the Emperor Frederick, bruised his foot in entering a ship for Marseilles; and how he was cured by the Virgin. f. 74 b.

The occasion referred to seems to be the expulsion by Frederick II., in 1239, of the Franciscans and Dominicans who were natives of Lombardy: see Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, vol. iii. (Leipzig, 1857), p. 447.

32. PILGRIM IN THE SEA (see Add. 15,723, ii. 8). f. 74 b, col. 2.

33. THEOPHILUS (not named here; the story is repeated below, No. 44, in the usual form, but abridged). f. 74 b, col. 2.

34. WIFE AND MISTRESS (see Arund. 346, No. 30). f. 75.

35. THE VIRGIN'S GRIEF. How a nun could not believe in the Virgin's sorrow at being bereft of her Son; and how she was made to experience similar sorrow in a dream. f. 75.

36. DEVIL IN SERVICE (see Add. 15,723, ii. 15). f. 75, col. 2.

37. NEGLIGENT MONKS REPROVED. How an abbot saw the Virgin enter the choir, and show her Son (in her arms) to the reverent monks, but turn her back on the negligent. f. 75, col. 2.

38. JULIAN THE APOSTATE (see Cleop. C. x., No. 4). f. 75 b.

39. ST. MARY OF EGYPT. f. 75 b. Only the title is given. The beginning of the tale is at f. 13 b, col. 2; the rest is lost, the two leaves next following being wanting.

40. POPE LEO AND THE LADY (above, No. 23). f. 75 b, col. 2.

41. NATIVITY B. V. M. (Add. 15,723, ii. 32). Reference is made to John Beleth (*Divin. Offic.*, cap. 149). f. 75 b, col. 2.

42. The Virgin acts as Knight (Arund. 406, No. 5). f. 75 b, col. 2.
43. Respite granted to Clerk (Arund. 406, No. 11). f. 76.
44. Theophilus (above, No. 33). f. 76.
45. Musa (Arund. 346, No. 24). f. 76, col. 2. Only title, the story being at f. 64.
46. Christ-Child seized (repetition of No. 15). f. 76, col. 2.

Nos. 47–60 are Nos. 7, 8, 10–14, 16-21, 23, of Cleopatra C. x., being fourteen out of the seventeen miracles of Mussafia's HM. The text agrees with that of the Cottonian MS.

47. Hildefonsus. f. 76, col. 2.
48. Drowned Sacristan. f. 76 b.
49. Five Gaudes. f. 77.
50. Charitable Almsman. f. 77.
51. Ebbo the Thief. f. 77.
52. St. Peter's at Cologne, f. 77, col. 2.
53. Pilgrim of St. James. f. 77 b.
54. Two Brothers at Rome. f. 77 b, col. 2.
55. Remover of Landmarks. f. 78, col. 2.
56. Prior of St. Saviour's, Pavia. f. 78, col 2.
57. Hieronymus made Bishop of Pavia. f. 78 b.
58. Stained Corporale. f. 78 b, col. 2.
59. Fire at Mont St. Michel. f. 79.
60. Murieldis. f. 79.
61. Scoffer at Mary-Image beaten. How a Clerk scoffed at a rudely-carved figure of the Virgin, in a church in London; and how the figure descended from its pedestal and chastised him severely. f. 79, col. 2.
62. Jew of Bourges (Cleop. C. x., No. 1). f. 79 b.
63. Three Soldiers (*ib.*, No. 33). f. 79 b, col. 2.
64. Abbot Leofric (*ib.*, No. 38). f. 80.
65. Abbot Elsinus (*ib.*, No. 36). f. 80 b.
66. Toledo (*ib.*, No. 24). f. 80 b, col. 2.
67. Lost Foot restored (Arund. 346, No. 23). f. 81.
68. Devil enters Waverer. How John, the servant ("servus scilicet bouer") of William Kokel, bailiff to Dame Johanna de Chamberum, wavered in faith; how he was followed by the devil in the shape of a black horse, and was possessed by an evil spirit; how he was brought to the chapel of St. Mary at "Cuberle" (Cubberly, in Gloucestershire?); how he spoke French, Cornish and Latin, never having learnt any of those languages; and how the Virgin appeared and drove out the evil spirit. ff. 81, col. 2–81 b.

Harley 2316. ff. 59–61.

Vellum; xivth cent. Duodecimo; ff. 3, having 48 to 51 lines to a page. With two initials, and heading on f. 58 b, in red.

For the rest of the MS., see above, p. 307.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Fourteen tales. *Latin.*

Heading: "De miraculis beate virginis." f. 58 b.

1. DEATH FROM REMORSE. How a wanton woman in Northumberland was so moved by a sermon that she died; how she was restored to life to make confession, and how the words "Ave Maria," etc., were found written on her tongue. f. 59.

2. CONCEPTIO B. M. V., WRITTEN IN LETTERS OF GOLD (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 16). f. 59.

3. PURIFICATION (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 5). f. 59.

4. NATIVITY: Angel-music (Add. 15,723, ii. 32). f. 59 b.

5. THEOPHILUS (Harl. 3020). f. 59 b.

6. REMOVER OF LANDMARKS (Cleop. C. x., No. 17). f. 59 b.

7. AVE ON THE TONGUE (Cleop. C. x., No. 29). f. 60.

8. WIFE AND MISTRESS (Arund. 346, No. 30). f. 60.

9. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY (Cleop. C. x., No. 15). f. 60.

10. CHRIST DENIED, BUT NOT THE VIRGIN (Add. 15,723, ii. 19). f. 60.

11. PIOUS USURER. How he refused to leave the church while he was repeating the Ave, although he lost a large sum of money thereby; and how the Virgin answered him: "Et benedictus tu inter peccatores." f. 60 b.

12. AVE MARIS STELLA (see Add. 33,956, No. 16). Here the invocation is more appropriate, for it is used during a storm at sea. The Virgin spreads a veil over the ship, and brings it safe to port. f. 60 b.

13. JEW OF BOURGES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1). f. 60 b.

14. JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). f. 61.

Royal 8 C. xii. ff. 154 b–158.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 5, in double columns of 30 or 31 lines.

Preceded (ff. 5–154) by a copy of the "Opus Quadragesimale continens sermones 98" of Jacobus a Voragine, in an early 15th cent. hand, the first page (f. 5) having an illuminated border.

From scribbled entries on f. 2, and from the inscription "Regnans in animis Brystow miserere Johannis" at f. 154, the volume appears to have belonged in the 15th cent. to John Brystow, vicar of Rodborne Cheney in Wiltshire, formerly monk of Hayles (a Cistercian abbey, in Gloucestershire, to which Rodborne belonged, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, v. p. 688); and to have been given him by "Dompnus Johannes Stockburge." At f. 3 b is a list of churches in the deanery of Cricklade, co. Wilts, among which is Rodborne. The volume belonged in the 17th cent. to John Theyer (see f. 4 b).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Seven tales (the last imperfect). *Latin.*

The text is the same as that of Cleop. C. x., Nos. 7, 8, 11–13, 15, 16 (Bk. ii. 1, 2, 5–7, 9, 10), with the Prologue ("Ad omnipotentis dei laudem," etc.), which introduces Book ii. in that collection.

The tales are:—

1. Hildefonsus. f. 154 b.
2. Drowned Sacristan. f. 155, col. 2.
3. Charitable Almsman. f. 156.
4. Ebbo the Thief. f. 156, col. 2.
5. Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne. f. 156 b, col. 2.
6. Priest of one Mass only. f. 157 b.
7. Two Brothers at Rome. f. 158.

The last tale breaks off, at the foot of col. 1 of f. 158, with the words: "quasi cum indignacione approximans ei tercio brachium eius arcius." . . . It is continued in Cleop. C. x., f. 122: "strinxit et non minimo dolore cruciauit," etc. (Neuhaus, *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen*, p. 41).

Additional 19,909. ff. 239–250 b.

Paper; A.D. 1473. Quarto; ff. 12, in double columns of 56 to 58 lines. With initials in red.

Preceded by the "Sermones super Epistolas Dominicales" (ff. 1–162) and the "Promptuarium Exemplorum" (ff. 163–238 b) of Joannes Herolt, and followed by two short religious tracts (ff. 251, 253). For more detailed description, see the *Catalogue of Additions*, 1854–1860, p. 18.

PROMPTUARIUM DE MIRACULIS B. M. V. A collection of Mary-legends, in 93 paragraphs with an Introduction; compiled in the 15th century by "Discipulus," *i.e.* the Dominican Joannes Herolt. *Latin.*

In the preface to *Discipulus Redivivus* (Augsburg, 1728) the editor, Bonaventura Elers, has pointed out that Herolt was writing in 1418 (as proved by a passage in No. 85 of his Sermones de Tempore). He also states that Herolt became Prior of Nuremberg, and that he died and was buried at Ratisbon in 1468, quoting his epitaph, as follows: "Anno Domini MCCCCLXVIII. in die S. Bartholomæi obiit Venerabilis P. Fr. Joannes Herold, SS. Theol. Lector et Prior Conventûs Nürnbergensis Ord. Præd. hîc sepultus." His extant works, consisting of the present article, the "Promptuarium Exemplorum," many sermons, and some theological treatises, enjoyed great popularity in the 15th and 16th centuries: see the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, under the headings Herolt and Discipulus. Many of the tales in the present collection are taken (nearly *verbatim* in some cases, but more often abridged) from Vincent of Beauvais, Cæsarius of Heisterbach, and Thomas de Cantimpré (though the last is never referred to by name); the rest are from Lives of Saints and various other sources.

Heading: "Promptuarium discipuli de miraculis beate uirginis." f. 239.

The Prologue beg.: "Ad dei omnipotentis laudem Cum sepe recitantur sanctorum miracula" (see *Discipulus Redivivus*, vol. ii. p. 851). f. 239.

The tales are as follows:

1. The chaste Empress. How a beautiful Empress of Rome repulsed an attempt on her chastity by her brother-in-law; how she was falsely accused by him to the Emperor, and was condemned to be beheaded; how she was rescued from her executioners by a nobleman, who made her governess to his son; how the nobleman's brother, angry at the rejection of his advances, murdered her young charge, and contrived to have her convicted of the crime; how she was banished, and left on a high rock in the sea; how the Virgin showed her a wondrous herb growing there; and how she cured both her slanderers with it, after making them confess. f. 239.

Discipulus Redivivus, vol. ii. p. 851, being No. 635 of the "Promptuarium Exemplorum Mariano-Morale." Taken from Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, lib. vii. capp. 90–92 (among the extracts from the "Mariale Magnum": see above, p. 592). The tale is a particular form of the Crescentia-legend: see Svend Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, deel i. (Copenhagen, 1853), pp. 195–6. The device by which the disappointed lover convicts the heroine of murder (*viz.* by putting a bloody knife in her hand as she lies asleep) connects the story with that of Constance in Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale" and in Gower's Confessio Amantis, book ii. The whole of the "Crescentia-Hildegard-Florentia-Cyclus" has been fully discussed by Grundtvig, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 177–204; ii. (1856), pp. 644–5; iii. (1858–62), pp. 779–782; iv. (1869–83), pp. 722–731.

2. Child-Birth under the Sea: Prompt. Exempl. Mariano-Morale, No. 636 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 3). f. 239 b, col. 2.

3. Murieldis: Prompt., No. 638 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 23). f. 239 b, col. 2.

4. Devil in three Beast-Shapes: Prompt., No. 639 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 30). f. 240.

5. Ebbo the Thief: Prompt., No. 640 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 12). f. 240, col. 2.

6. Monks at Field-work: Prompt., No. 641 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 21). f. 240, col. 2.

7. Columns raised by School-Boys: Prompt., No. 642 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 1). f. 240, col. 2.

8. Vision of St. Dominic: Prompt., No. 643. How he saw Christ threatening the world with three lances, and the

Virgin interceding, saying that she would send her two servants, Dominic and Francis, to convert the world. f. 240 b.

The vision is recorded by Gerard de Fracheto (d. 1271) and Theodoric de Appoldia (d. *circ.* 1298), as seen by Dominic while he was at Rome, waiting for the confirmation of his Order by Pope Honorius III., *i.e.* towards the end of 1216 (*Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Aug., pp. 441, 572).

9. DAY OF DOOM POSTPONED: Prompt., No. 644. How a monk named William found himself in a vision before the tribunal of Christ; and how he heard Christ ordering the trumpet of doom to be sounded, but consenting at the Virgin's intercession to give the world a respite. f. 240 b.

In Caesarius, xii. cap. 58, William is described as a priest of Clairvaux.

10. PUNISHED FOR INSULTING THE HOST: Prompt., No. 645. How a drunken Frisian boxer invited a priest, who was carrying the sacred elements, to drink with him; how on the priest's refusal he broke the pyx; how he died shortly afterwards; and how in the same year that region was flooded by the sea. f. 240 b, col. 2.

In Cæsarius, vii. cap. 3, the date is given as 1218.

11. MARY-IMAGE SWEATS: Prompt., No. 646 (see Eg. 1117, No. 2). f. 240 b, col. 2. From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 2.

12. FIVE SORROWS: Prompt., No. 647. How a saint in a trance heard Christ promise the Virgin to reward those who commemorate her five sorrows. f. 241.

13. SEVEN JOYS: Prompt., No. 648. How the Virgin revealed her seven joys to a monk. f. 241.

14. CHILD-CHRIST SEIZED AS PLEDGE: Prompt., No. 649 (see Arundel 406, No. 7). f. 241.

15. CHILD RESCUED FROM WOLF: Prompt., No. 650. How a woman, whose little daughter had been carried off by a wolf, seized the image of the Child-Christ from the arms of the Virgin, as a pledge for her own child's restitution; and how the child was found unhurt. f. 241, col. 2.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 45.

16. BOY UNHURT IN FIRE: Prompt., No. 651. How a woman, obliged to leave her infant son at home alone, committed him to the Virgin; how the house was burnt down; and how the child was found unhurt in the ruins. f. 241, col 2.

17. Bread offered to Child-Christ: Prompt., No. 652 (see Add. 15,723, i. 2). f. 241, col. 2.

18. Jew of Bourges: Prompt., No. 653 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1). f. 241 b.

19. Jewess helped in Childbirth: Prompt., No. 654. How the Virgin delivered a Jewess who called upon her in her throes. f. 241 b.

From Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, vii. cap. 99 (among the extracts from "Mariale magnum").

20. Hieronymus made Bishop of Pavia: Prompt., No. 655 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 19). f. 241 b.

21. Sacristan deceived by the Devil: Prompt., No. 656. How Hieronymus a Sacristan had enraged the Devil by painting him hideous and the Virgin beautiful; how he was induced by the Devil, in the form of a lovely woman, to steal the convent treasures; how he was caught in the act by the monks, and chained to a pillar; and how the Virgin released him, and chained up the Devil in his stead. f. 241 b, col. 2.

The tale is a variant of that in Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 23. It forms the subject of a poem printed by Méon, *Fabliaux*, vol. ii. p. 411.

22. Adopted by the Virgin: Prompt., No. 657. How a woman, too poor to support her two daughters, made over her maternal rights to the Virgin; and how, when the two girls were traduced, an angel descended with wreaths of flowers for them, saying their Mother had sent them. f. 242.

The story is in the *Scala Celi* of Joannes Gobii (Lubeck, 1476), f. clxxix.

23. Innocent Woman saved: Prompt., No. 658. How a woman was suspected of murdering a child whose nurse she was, her faithless husband being the actual murderer; and how, on prayer to the Virgin, her innocence and her husband's guilt were miraculously proved. f. 242.

24. Abbess delivered: Prompt., No. 659 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6). f. 242, col. 2.

25. The Nun who saw the World: Prompt., No. 660 (see Add. 18,929, No. 27). f. 242 b.

26. Matron's Chastity preserved: Prompt., No. 661. How she appealed to the Virgin for help against a knight who tried to ravish her; and how she was miraculously saved. f. 242 b.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 27.

27. A Hundred Aves a Day: Prompt., No. 662 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 35). f. 242 b.

28. Deaf-Mute enabled to confess: Prompt., No. 663. How he was visited on his deathbed by the Virgin, and given speech and hearing, so that he might confess. f. 242 b, col. 2.

29. Abbot Leofric (see Cleop. C. x., No. 38), here called "Henricus": Prompt., No. 664. f. 242 b, col. 2.

30. Tongue restored: Prompt., No. 665. How during the crusade against the Albigenses (here "Cambienses" by mistake) a clerk was seized by the heretics when chanting mass, and his tongue torn out; and how the Virgin gave him a new tongue. f. 243, col. 2.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 23.

31. Sight given to Blind Man: Prompt., No. 666 (see Add. 18,346, No. 47). f. 243, col. 2.

Here the blind man is named Didymus, and reference is made to the "Ecclesiastica Historia," apparently meaning Rufinus, Hist. Eccl., ii. 7 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xxi., col. 516).

32. Milk; Tongue and Lips: Prompt., No. 667 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 4). f. 243 b.

33. John of Damascus: Prompt., No. 668. How his hand was cut off, in consequence of a letter forged in his handwriting; and how it was restored by the Virgin. f. 243 b.

Reference is made to "Prudentius ('Prudens' in this MS.) ex gestis Damasceni"; but this is evidently a blunder. The present version is an abridgment from Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. xvii. capp. 103–5; cap. 102 is headed "De flosculis Prudentii," and perhaps this has caused the mistake. The story is in the Life by John, Patriarch of Jerusalem (Migne, *Patr. Græca*, xciv. col. 453).

34. Blasphemer punished: Prompt., No. 669. How a man struck his foot against a stone; how he exclaimed that the devil had put the stone there; how he was smitten with elephantiasis; and how he was cured by the Virgin. f. 243 b, col. 2.

35. Ploughing on the Magdalen's Day: Prompt., No. 670. How a peasant named Peter, ploughing on St. Mary Magdalen's Day, cursed his work; how his oxen and plough were destroyed by a thunderbolt, and his legs were consumed by *ignis sacer*; how he was brought to a church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and partly cured; and how his cure was completed, and his lost limbs restored, by the Virgin and St. Hippolytus. f. 244.

The miracle is recorded by Guibert de Nogent, "De Laude S.

Mariæ," cap. 11 (Migne, clvi. col. 568), as having happened near Grenoble, while Leodegarius was Bishop of Viviers (1096–1119).

36. THREE SOLDIERS: Prompt., No. 671 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 33). f. 244.

37. NUN'S KNEE HEALED: Prompt., No. 672. How a nun, who had hurt her knee by too much kneeling, was cured by the Virgin with a fragrant ointment. f. 244, col. 2.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 48.

38. SPENDTHRIFT RECLAIMED: Prompt., No. 673. (Variant of "A hundred Aves a day": see Add. 15,723, ii. 35.) How a young man in Germany, who had squandered his patrimony, was induced to say fifty Aves daily to the Virgin; how the Virgin appeared to him on his wedding-day; and how he died three days later. f. 244, col. 2.

From Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum Universale de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. 29 (Douay ed., 1627, p. 276).

39. PILGRIM IN THE SEA: Prompt., No. 674 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 8). f. 244 b.

40. LIGHT ON THE MASTHEAD: Prompt., No. 675 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 9). f. 244 b, col. 2.

41. CAPTIVE KNIGHT ESCAPES: Prompt., No. 676. How the Virgin appeared to him in prison, and helped him to escape through the window. f. 244 b, col. 2.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 28. Cæsarius names the knight Theoderic, and says that he was captured at Fürstenberg, when Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne (1216–1225), was building a fortress there against Gerard of Brubach.

42. THEOPHILUS: Prompt., No. 677. f. 245.

43. COMMENDATION TO THE VIRGIN'S SON: Prompt., No. 678 (see Arund. 406, No. 23). f. 245.

44. PRAYERS ORDERED FOR A HANGMAN'S SOUL: Prompt., No. 679. (A variant of Egert. 1117, No. 10.) f. 245, col. 2.

45. ROBBER SAVED BY FIVE WORDS: Prompt., No. 680. How the Virgin told him when in danger to say "Deus propicius esto mihi peccatori"; and how he used this prayer on his way to the gallows. f. 245, col. 2.

46. CISTERCIAN RECONCILED WITH CHRIST: Prompt., No. 681. How a Cistercian monk, having fallen into sin, repented; and how he saw the Virgin, carrying the Infant Christ in her arms, and pleading for the repentant sinner. f. 245 b.

From Thomas de Cantimpré, *De Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. 29, p. 311.

47, 48. WIFE AND MISTRESS: Prompt., Nos. 682, 683 (see Arund. 346, No. 30). Two versions. In the first, the concubine is the wife's servant, and the events are said to have occurred in the diocese of Chartres (Tournai in our MS.). The second is the usual version. f. 245 b.

49. FIGHTING DEVILS WITH A TAPER: Prompt., No. 684 (see Add. 18,929, No. 17). f. 245 b, col. 2.

50. SINS OUTWEIGHED BY A DROP OF CHRIST'S BLOOD: Prompt., No. 685. How a dissolute monk saw a Vision of Judgment; how his sins outweighed his good deeds, until at the Virgin's instance Christ placed a drop of His blood in the scale. f. 245 b, col. 2.

51. REMOVER OF LANDMARKS: Prompt., No. 686 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 17). f. 246.

52. ROBBER FASTS, AND CANNOT DIE UNCONFESSED: Prompt., No. 687. How his head was cut off, but how he continued to cry out until a priest came to hear his confession. f. 246.

From Thomas de Cantimpré, lib. ii. cap. 29, p. 306.

53, 54. Two similar tales: Prompt., Nos. 688, 689. f. 246.

55. PRAYER TO LIVE FOR CONFESSION: Prompt., No. 690 (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 19). f. 246, col. 2.

56. MATER MISERICORDIÆ: Prompt., No. 691 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 25). f. 246, col. 2.

57. KNIGHT SAVED BY REPEATING AVES: Prompt., No. 692. How he used to say two Aves daily; and how he was saved by this single act of devotion. f. 246, col. 2.

58. MONK OF ST. PETER'S AT COLOGNE: Prompt., No. 693 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 13). f. 246, col. 2.

59. KISSED BY THE VIRGIN: Prompt., No. 694. How a "conversus" in a Cistercian house in Spain used devoutly to recite the Hours of the Virgin; and how he was kissed by her on his deathbed. f. 246 b.

60. DYING MONK CURSES AND BLESSES HIS VOWS: Prompt., No. 695 (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 7). f. 246 b.

61. DEVIL AS CONFESSOR: Prompt., No. 696. How a man confessed to the devil disguised as a priest, and promised to confess to no one else; but how his soul was rescued from the fiends and restored to his body by the Virgin. f. 246 b.

62. DEATH OF RICH MAN AND POOR WIDOW: Prompt., No. 697 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 11). f. 246 b, col. 2.

63. Girl named Mary: Prompt., No. 698 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 16). Her name is not stated in this version, but she is spared for love of the Virgin. f. 247.

64. Clerk of Chartres: Prompt., No. 699 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 9). f. 247, col. 2.

65. Quarrelsome Deacon: Prompt., No. 700. How he was killed in a brawl; how he was buried outside the cemetery; and how the Virgin appeared to the Bishop, and bade him give her adorer a more fitting burial-place. f. 247, col. 2.

66. Woman revived for Confession: Prompt., No. 637 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 31). f. 247, col. 2.

67. Chorister killed by Jews: Prompt., No. 701 (see Add. 18,929, No. 3). f. 247 b.

68. Nun's Penance left uncompleted: Prompt., No. 702 (see Arund. 346, No. 29). f. 247 b.

69. Devil in Service: Prompt., No. 703 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 15). f. 247 b, col. 2.

70. Aves seen as Roses: Prompt., No. 704 (see Egert. 1117, No. 17). f. 248.

71. Ave on the Tongue: Prompt., No. 705 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 29). f. 248.

72. Saliva turned to Honey: Prompt., No. 706. How this was experienced by a matron in Cologne, when she repeated the Ave. f. 248, col. 2.

73. Commendation to the Virgin: Prompt., No. 707. How a woman was saved because at the moment of death she commended her soul to the Virgin. f. 248, col. 2.

74. Ave puts Devil to Flight: Prompt., No. 708. How a devil disguised as an angel used to visit a nun, until he was put to flight by her saying the Ave. f. 248, col. 2.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 26.

75. Nun at Bonn saved from Devil: Prompt., No. 709. How Achildis (in the printed edition "Adelheidis"), concubine of Peter, Vicar of the church of Bonn, entered a convent after Peter had hanged himself; how she was troubled by the visits of a devil; and how she put him to flight by saying the Ave. f. 248 b.

76. Saved from Despair: Prompt., No. 710. How a knight entered the Cistercian order; how he despaired because of his sins; and how he was comforted by the Virgin. f. 248 b.

77. GIRL FREED FROM VISITS OF DEVIL BY SAYING THE AVE: Prompt., No. 711. f. 248 b, col. 2.

78. VIRGIN APPEARS TO DOMINICANS: Prompt., No. 712. How a Dominican saw the Virgin and Child above the altar; and how the same vision was afterwards shown to the whole convent. f. 248 b, col. 2.

From Thomas de Cantimpré, lib. ii. cap. 29, p. 294, where the vision is said to have appeared at Turin.

79. BLINDED BY THE VIRGIN'S GLORY: Prompt., No. 713 (see Add. 33,956, No. 29). Here a clerk at Paris, instead of an abbot. f. 248 b, col. 2.

80. THE VIRGIN'S BEAUTY: Prompt., No. 714. How a youth saw the Virgin in all her beauty; how he prayed never to be separated from her; and how his soul was straightway taken to heaven. f. 249.

81. BLEEDING CHILD-CHRIST: Prompt., No. 715 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 24). f. 249.

82. SARACENS CANNOT DEFACE MARY-IMAGE: Prompt., No. 716. How they mutilated all the sacred images in a church, except that of the Virgin, which they tried in vain to injure. f. 249, col. 2.

From Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. vii. cap. 110 ("ex Mariali magno"). In some versions this is said to have happened near Ascalon, after the defeat of Baldwin I. (in 1102): see below, Egert. 612, No. 35 (p. 715).

83. ARROW INTERCEPTED: Prompt., No. 717 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 3). f. 249, col. 2.

84. PAINTER AND DEVIL: Prompt., No. 718 (see Add. 15,723, ii. 17). f. 249 b.

85. FIRE AT MONT ST. MICHEL: Prompt., No. 719 (see Cleop. C. x., No. 21). f. 249 b.

86. ST. LUKE'S PORTRAIT OF THE VIRGIN: Prompt., No. 720 (see Add. 18,929, No. 12). Here it is said to have been first brought to Rome, by Divine command, by a man named Tempulus ("Templum" in our MS.), and placed by him "in loco qui tunc temporis dicebatur Sancte Agathe in Turre." f. 249 b.

87. "SALVE REGINA" DRIVES DEVILS AWAY: Prompt., Nos. 721,722. How the Dominicans at Bologna and Paris were haunted by devils; how they sang the "Salve Regina" in a solemn procession after Complines; and how they were immediately delivered.

Also how the "Salve Regina," written "in quadam sedula," was brought by a bird to a devout lady. f. 250.

The first of these miracles is recorded by Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes* (Soc. de l'Hist. de France, 1877), p. 101

88. CHILD-CHRIST DISPLAYED OPENLY: Prompt., No. 723 (see Add. 18,929, No. 1). f. 250.

89. "SALVE REGINA" QUELLS THUNDERSTORM: Prompt., No. 724. How a priest was saved in a thunderstorm by his habit of singing the "Salve Regina." Told in our MS. of the writer himself, but of "quidam sacerdos" in the printed editions. f. 250, col. 2.

From Cæsarius, vii. cap. 29, where it is told of a priest of "Polege villa Dioecesis Treverensis," which the modern editor, Strange (1851), explains as Polch, near Mayen.

90. WOMAN DELIVERED BY "SALVE REGINA": Prompt., No. 725. How in her throes she called on St. Francis; how she was told by him, in a vision, to repeat the "Salve Regina"; and how she was miraculously delivered. f. 250, col. 2.

In the Life of St. Francis by Bonaventura (*Acta Sanctorum*, 4 Oct., p. 792).

91. CANON SAVED BY "SALVE REGINA": Prompt., No. 726. How he was visited on his deathbed by the Virgin, and told that his constant use of that antiphon had won him a place in heaven. f. 250, col. 2.

92. "SALVE SANCTA PARENS" SAID DAILY: Prompt., No. 727. How the Carthusians (Cistercians in our MS.) were directed to say that office every day. f. 250, col. 2.

93. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY: Prompt., No. 728 (see Add. 18,929, No. 29). f. 250 b.

Colophon: "Explicit promptuarium marie uirginis super (*sic*) discipulum de sanctis finitum et completum Anno domini 1473. In profesto vndecim milium uirginum de quo laus deo Amen." f. 250 b.

Printed, as an appendix to the "Promptuarium Exemplorum," and usually in the same volume with the "Sermones de Tempore" and "de Sanctis," at Nuremberg (1480, 1481, etc.), at Deventer (1485), at Strasburg (1488, etc.), and at other places, including London (by Julian Notary, 1510). The edition used for the present description is that included in the *Discipulus Redivivus* (ed. Bonaventura Elers, Augsburg, 1728). This work is in two volumes; vol. i. contains the "Sermones de Tempore," and vol. ii. the "Sermones Quadragesimales," the "Sermones Festi-

vales," and the "Promptuarium Exemplorum Mariano-Morale," which consists of the "Promptuarium Exemplorum" followed by the "Promptuarium de Miraculis B. M. V." In this last the tales are numbered continuously, so that our Nos. 1–93 correspond to Nos. 635, 636, 638–700, 637, 701–728 of the Promptuarium, which contains six additional tales at the end. The collection has been analysed by Mussafia, *Studien*, Heft iii. (1889), pp. 45–52.

Additional 17,920. ff. 2–6.

Vellum; late XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 5, in double columns of 43 lines. With initials in blue and red.

For general description of the volume, see vol. i. p. 592, and for a detailed analysis see P. Meyer, *Documents Manuscrits de l'ancienne Littérature de la France*, pt. i. (Paris, 1871), pp. 15, 61–68.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Thirteen tales. *Provençal.*

Nos. 1, 2, 4–6, 8–11, 13 correspond to Nos. 1–10 of Add. 15,723, Collection ii. The agreement with Vincent of Beauvais is still closer, as Mussafia has pointed out in *Romania*, vol. ix. (1880), p. 300; for Nos. 1–6, 8–13 correspond to lib. vii. capp. 81–89, 93–95 of the *Speculum Historiale*, and so closely that the present translation must have been made from a Latin original almost identical (but for the presence of No. 7, and the omission of the tale of the Chaste Empress, which occupies capp. 90–92 in the *Spec. Hist.*) with the Collection used by Vincent.

Heading: "Aissi de iotz sensec dels miracles de Sainhta Maria Vergena." f. 2. The tales are as follows:—

1. Columns raised by Boys. f. 2.
2. Toledo. f. 2.
3. Jew lends to Christian (Roy. 6 B. xiv., 10). f. 2.
4. Arrow intercepted. f. 2 b.
5. Milk: tongue and lips. f. 3.
6. Childbirth in the Sea. f. 3.
7. Fire at Mont St. Michel (Cleop. C. x., 21). f. 3 b.
8. Abbess delivered. f. 3 b.
9. Ring to Mary-image. f. 4.
10. Pilgrim in the Sea. f. 4.
11. Light at Masthead. f. 4 b.
12. Thread glued to lips (described below). f. 4 b.
13. Incest. ff. 4 b–6.

12. Heading: "En qual maneira nostra dona delhiuret la piucela del perilh de la lengua . e de las lauras." How a girl in the diocese of Noyon sewed on the day of the Assumption; how the thread stuck to her lips and tongue; and how she was cured in the cathedral (dedicated to the Virgin). f. 4 b.

Evidently translated from the same text as lib. vii. cap. 89 (2nd paragraph) of the *Speculum Historiale*. The miracle is recorded by Radbodus II., Bishop of Noyon (1068–1098), in a sermon on the Annunciation, as having occurred in 1081: see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cl. cols. 1530–31. A similar story is told by Guibert de Nogent (d. 1124), "De Vita sua," lib. iii. cap. 18 (Migne, clvi. col. 953), of a sempstress at Noyon who dishonoured the Feast of St. Nichasius.

The collection has been printed by J. Ulrich in *Romania*, vol. viii. (1879), pp. 12–28, from this MS.

Harley 2250. f. 87.

Paper; xvth cent. Quarto; 44 lines, forming part of a column. Frayed at the edge, many lines wanting some words.

In a MS. containing, all in *English*:—(1) Sermons on the Feasts of Corpus Christi and SS. Philip and James. ff. 84, 85 b, col. 2. (2) Instructions for priests. f. 85. (3) Five Church Tales, of which the present is the last. ff. 86 b–87, col. 2. The rest of the volume, *viz.* a Poem on Church Festivals (f. 1), Lives of St. Martin and other saints, in verse (ff. 48, 72 b), an abridgment, dated 1477, of the Speculum Christiani of John Watton (f. 50), etc., is fully described in the *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.*, vol. ii. (1808), p. 577.

The volume was owned, about the end of the 15th century, by Sir Thomas Boker *al.* Bowker: see ff. 8, 71. On f. 75 b is an entry with the name of "Elsebyt Bothe" of Dunham Massey, co. Chester (? Elizabeth, dau. of George Booth, and wife of Richard Sutton: see Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i., 1819, p. 402); and at f. 64 b is the name "Thomas Masse esquier."

Vision seen by a Jew in England (see Add. 15,723, ii. 25). *English.* Begins: "Narracio . I rede in þe myraculs of oure lady." f. 87, col. 2. In this version the Jew is a native of France, whose business takes him to London, and from thence to Gloucester, and Bristol. He is waylaid as he is going from the last-named place to Wilton. After the Virgin has left him he comes to Bath and is baptized there.

Cotton, Vespasian D. xix. ff. 5–24 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Octavo; ff. 20, in double columns of 31 to 36 lines. With initials in blue and red, and with headings in red.

The MS., which belonged in the thirteenth century to Christ Church, Canterbury (see f. 1 b), contains the following *Latin* poems (all but the last in either elegiacs or hexameters) by "Nigellus de Longo Campo":—

(1) Address from the poet (who calls himself "Nigellus") to the reader. f. 2. (2) To Honorius (Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186–1188). f. 2. (3) On the "Lignum Dulce" (*i.e.*, the pastoral staff). f. 2, col. 2. (4) On the sinfulness of monks desiring wealth. f. 2, col. 2. (5) On mammon-worship. f. 2 b. (6) To St. Katharine. f. 3. (7) On the demeanour defitting a monk. f. 3 b. (8) Epitaph on Emma (who d. 12 Kal. Oct.) f. 3 b. (9) On the blessedness of giving. f. 3 b. (10–12) Three short poems, lamenting the deaths of Honorius (21 Oct. 1188) and Thomas Becket (29 Dec. 1170). ff. 4, cols. 1 and 2, 4 b. (13) The present article. f. 5. (14) On monastic life, beg: "[Q]vid deceat monacum . uel qualis debeat esse." f. 25. This poem has been ascribed to Anselm (see Migne, clviii. col. 687, and W. D. Macray, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Kenelmi Digby*, Oxford, 1883, col. 181), to Alexander Neckam (see Wright, *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, Rolls series, vol. ii., 1872, p. 175, and Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 28), and to Roger of Caen, a monk at Bec (see Migne, as above, and *Hist. Litt.*, vol. viii. p. 421). It may be remarked that a 13th cent. copy (without title or name of author) in Caligula A. xi., ff. 287–288 b, is immediately followed by the poems which form artt. 4, 7 and 9 of the present MS. (15) Passio S. Laurentii. f. 28. The last division begins (f. 44 b, col. 2): "Quicquid agant alii tamen hoc in fine libelli. Inclite laurenti miseri miserere Nigelli." (16) Vita Pauli Primi Eremitæ. f. 45 b. (17) Jeremiad on the times, in 19 four-line stanzas, beg: "Vitam claudit hominum paucitas dierum. Nec est inter homines qui dicernat uerum." f. 52, cols. 1–2.

Bound up with Annals to the year 1218 (f. 53), Tables of Cycles (f. 71), and Epistles and Sermons of Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans (ff. 83–163).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Seventeen tales, arranged in three books, containing altogether 2692 lines, in elegiacs. By "Nigellus de Longo Campo," commonly known as Nigel Wireker. *Latin.*

At f. 1 b is inscribed in a 13th cent. hand: "Hic liber est ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis. Qui illum inde abstulerit ℣ auferat eum dominus de libro vite"; and below, in large writing of the same period: "Nigelli de longo Campo." Below this is pasted a small piece of vellum, on which is a list of contents in a 13th cent. hand, as follows: "Hec continentur in hoc libello . Versus

ad honorium priorem ante quam prior esset. Versus de ligno dulci. Versus de monakis. Epistola quedam uersifice. Versus de sancta Caterina. Epitafium honorii prioris et uersus alii. Miracula Sancte Dei Genitricis Marie. Passio Sancti Laurentii martiris. Vita pauli primi heremite. Versus de archiepiscopis cantuariensis ecclesie quis cui successit." All of these articles are in the MS. except the last. A copy of it, however, is in Vitellius A. xi., f. 37 b; and an extract is in Arundel 23, f. 66 b, immediately following the "Speculum Stultorum," and preceding one of the miracles from the present collection (see below, p. 695).

The surname Wireker rests on the authority of Bale (*Catalogus*, pt. i., 1557, p. 245). When our author names himself at all, in his extant works, he calls himself Nigel merely. The inscription at f. 1 b of the present MS. is the only evidence in favour of his being a Longchamp. Bishop Stubbs has suggested (introduction to *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, Rolls series, 1865, p. lxxxv) that this inscription may have been written in mistake, because of Nigel's intimacy with William Longchamp the Chancellor; but this appears hardly likely, considering that the MS. belonged to Nigel's own monastery, and his alternative hypothesis, that "they were either relations or fellow-townsmen,"* seems more probable. Nigel was a monk of the Benedictine Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. His best-known work is the satire "Speculum Stultorum," of which many editions appeared in the early days of printing, and which T. Wright has edited in *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century* (Rolls series, vol. i., 1872), p. 3. A prose treatise "Contra Curiales et Officiales Clericos," addressed, together with a prologue in elegiacs, to William Longchamp, was also edited by Wright (*ib.* p. 146). But the poem which Wright (p. 231) entitles "Nigelli versus ad Dominum Gulielmum Eliensem" is really the "Entheticus ad Polycraticum" of John of Salisbury (see Roy. 13 D. iv., f. 2, etc.). Nigel probably entered Christ Church Priory before 1170; for in the "Contra Curiales" he says (Wright, p. 155) that he was personally acquainted with Thomas Becket, who was killed 29 Dec. 1170. That he was there

* Of Longchamp, a demesne and castle in the forest of Lions, in Normandy: see Stubbs, intr. to *Hoveden*, vol. iii. (Rolls series, 1870), p. xxxviii.

in 1186 and (in or after) 1188 is shown by artt. 2, 10, 11 of this MS., described above. He occurs in 1189 as taking part in the dispute between the monks and Archbishop Baldwin: see *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, pp. 312, 315, 317. He wrote the "Contra Curiales" after the capture of King Richard in Dec. 1192, and before Longchamp had been superseded in the legation by Hubert Walter in Mar. 1195; for he alludes to the former event (Wright, p. 217), and addresses the work to Longchamp as Bishop of Ely, Legate, and Chancellor (*ib.* p. 153). Leland says (*Comment. de Script. Brit.*, i. p. 228, and *Collectanea*, iii. 8) that he was Precentor of Christ Church. But he describes himself, in the "Contra Curiales," merely as "Cantuariæ ecclesiæ fratrum minimus frater Nigellus, veste monachus, vita peccator, gradu presbyter" (Wright, p. 153), so that if he ever became Precentor, it must have been after 1192. The date of his death is not known.

Heading: "Incipiunt miracula sancte dei genitricis uirginis marie. Versifice." f. 5.

The Prologue, in 36 lines, begins:—

"Uirginis et matris celebri memoranda relatu.
Scribere pauca uolo . ductus amore pio
Paucula de multis placet excerpsisse marie.
Moribus et gestis . hac breuitate metri." f. 5.

1. THEOPHILUS (see Harl. 3020): 304 lines. f. 5, col. 2. Beg.: "Res leuis et fragilis . flantique simillima uento."

2. DUNSTAN (see Add. 15,723, ii. 27): 116 lines. f. 7 b. Beg.: "Optima terrarum fecunda britannia . muris."

3. JULIAN THE APOSTATE (see Cleop. C. x., No. 4): 104 lines. f. 8, col. 2. Beg.: "Pessima fex hominum iulianus apostata . regum."

4. HILDEFONSUS (see Cleop. C. x., No. 7): 60 lines, the last line being supplied in the margin, and afterwards mutilated in binding. f. 9. Beg.: "Nobilis antistes fuit ildefonsus in urbe."

Book ii. begins here, headed: "Incipit liber ii^{us}." f. 9 b.

5. CHARTRES SAVED BY THE VIRGIN'S SHIFT (see Cleop. C. x., No. 5): 42 lines. f. 9 b. Beg.: "Presserat obsessis carnoti ciuibus urbem."

6. MILK: FULBERT (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 2): 70 lines. f. 9 b, col. 2. Beg.: "Multa licet calamum reuocent alias tamen istud."

7. Drowned Sacristan (see Cleop. C. x., No. 8): 188 lines. f. 10, col. 2. Beg.: "Fugerat in claustrum mundum fugiendo sequentem."

8. Devil as bull, dog and lion (see Cleop. C. x., No. 30): 98 lines. f. 11 b, col. 2. Beg.: "Alter amore pie monachus cenobita marie."

9. Mosk of St. Peter's at Cologne (see Cleop. C. x., No. 13): 102 lines. f. 12, col. 2. Beg.: "Viribus atque uiris bene culta colonia dignum."

10. Incest (see Add. 15,723, ii. 10): 356 lines. f. 13, col. 2. Beg.: "Militis uxorem romanis ciuibus ortam."

11. Jew of Bourges (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1): 72 lines. Here, as in the Salisbury MS. (see Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 20), the miracle is said to have occurred in Pisa. f. 15 b, col. 2. Beg.: "Forte dies aderat quo sacre carnis ad esum."

Ends:

"Narrat adhuc hodie gens hec pysana marie
Pronior obsequiis officiisque piis."

12. Bread offered to the Child-Christ (see Add. 15,723, i. 2): 34 lines. f. 16, col. 2. Beg.: "Soluere uota uolens puero preeunte tenello."

Book iii. begins, headed: "Incipit liber iii^{us}." f. 16 b.

13. Milk: 23 plants (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 1): 168 lines. f. 16 b. Beg.: "Extitit europe iuuenis de partibus ortus."

14. Priest of one Mass only (see Cleop. C. x., No. 15): 184 lines. f. 17 b, col. 2. Beg.: "Moribus ornatus plusquam sermone latino."

Line 149 (f. 18 b, col. 2) is: "Parcere simplicibus et debellare triumphos," the last word being altered in the margin to *superbos* (cp. Æneid vi. l. 854).

15. Jew lends to Christian (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10): 186 lines. f. 19. Beg.: "Ciuis in urbe fuit constantinopolitana."

16. Love gained by Black-arts (see Arund. 346, No. 31): 296 lines. f. 20, col. 2. Beg.: "Arserat illicito correptus amore puelle."

17. Abbess delivered (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6): 276 lines. f. 22 b. Beg.: "Plurima cum reuocent tendentis ad ardua gressum."

Ends:

"Sicque quoad uixit magis officiosa marie:
Vota nec immerito soluit amore pio." f. 21 b.

An analysis of the collection, with a detailed description of the whole MS., is in Mussafia, Heft iii. pp. 1–6.

Arundel 23. ff. 67–67 b.

Vellum; xvth cent. Quarto; one leaf, having 26 lines on the first page and 8 on the second.

The volume contains:—(1) "Speculum Stultorum" or "Burnellus," by Nigel Wireker. Imperfect, wanting ten leaves after f. 20: see Wright, *Satirical Poets of the twelfth century*, vol. i. (Rolls series, 1872), pp. 41, 59. f. 1. (2) Extract from a poem by the same,* on the Archbishops of Canterbury (printed by Mussafia, *Studien*, Heft iii. p. 3). f. 66 b. (3) The present article. f. 67. (4) Vita S. Eustachii, in elegiacs. f. 68. (5) "Catalogus eruditorum Thomæ," by Herbert of Bosham (see *Materials for Hist. of T. Becket*, vol. iii., Rolls series, 1877, p. 523). Imperfect. f. 77.

At fol. 67 b is the name of a former owner, Thomas Jakes, in a hand of the 15th or early 16th century.

Bread offered to the Child-Christ (see Add. 15,723, i. 2). In 34 lines (elegiacs, except the last two, which are hexameters). By Nigel, usually known by the surname Wireker. *Latin.*

Heading: "Miraculum."

Begins:

"Soluere vota volens puero preeunte tenello.
Virginis in templum venit honesta parens." f. 67.

Ends:

"Nec mora post triduum puero moriente [fidelem]
Fecerunt verbis facta secuta fidem
Ecce puer signo panem dum porrigit isti
Vox data de ligno promittit gaudia Christi." f. 67 b.

The text agrees with Vespasian D. xix., No. 12, except that ll. 19, 20 are here omitted, and that two hexameters are added at the end.

---

* The author does not name himself directly; but he seems to allude to himself punningly, in the last few lines, as "vir qui nigra nigellat."

Additional 32,248. ff. 1–7 b.

Vellum; xiiith cent. Octavo; ff. 7, each full page containing 42 lines. With an initial in red.

The volume contains:—(1) The present article. f. 1. (2) Mnemonic verses on Church Festivals. f. 7 b. (3) Rules for behaviour at table, in *Latin* hexameters. f. 9.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Seventeen tales, in one of which (No. 15) the Virgin is not introduced. In 562 lines, for the most part leonine hexameters, but including 8 elegiac couplets (see No. 16). With marginal and interlinear glosses in a contemporary hand. *Latin.*

This Collection, as found in MSS. of the 14th and 15th centt. at Paris, Metz and Rome, has been analysed by Mussafia, Heft iii. (1889), pp. 7–13; with further remarks on the present MS., Heft iv. (1891), p. 11.

1. THE NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD (see Add. 18,929, No. 27): 48 lines. f. 1. Beg.: "Virgo fuit quedam metrice quam plenius edam."

2. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY (see Cleop. C. x., No. 15): 17 lines. f. 1 b. Beg.: "Quidam francorum fuit in regione sacerdos."

3. BLASPHEMER STRUCK DEAD (see Add. 15,723, ii. 18): 16 lines. f. 1 b. Beg.: "Quidam francigene iuuenes duo tesserauere."

4. CHRIST DENIED, BUT NOT THE VIRGIN (see Add. 15,723, ii. 19). Agreeing with Cæsarius, dist. ii. cap. 12. 58 lines. f. 2. Beg.: "Audiui signum quod duxi scribere dignum."

5. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE PROFLIGATE CANON: 20 lines. How a Canon of Bonn, on his way to visit his mistress, used to pass through the church, in which stood figures of the Virgin and several saints; and how one night the figure of St. John the Baptist struck him so that he died shortly after. f. 2 b. Beg.: "Canonicus quidam bonensis habebat amicam."

6. CLERK OF PISA (see Cleop. C. x., No. 22): 20 lines. f. 2 b. Beg.: "Hyspanus quidam dilexit corde mariam" (the

first word is *Pisanus* in the Metz MS.: see Mussafia, Heft iii. p. 9).

7. VIRGIN ACTS AS A KNIGHT (see Arund. 406, No. 5): 59 lines. Agreeing substantially with Cæsarius, vii. 38, but more closely with Wolf, *Niederl. Sagen*, p. 54; describing how Walter the knight became a monk at Himmerode, and how he there saw a vision of a golden cross. The writer cites Walter's brother-in-arms, Walewan, as his authority. f. 3.

Beg.: "Milite de quodam scio que miracula prodam
Ille brabantinus fuit et probitate supinus
De brabant natus de nobilibus generatus."

8. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS, AVE MARIA (see Roy. 5 A. viii., No. 21): 16 lines. f. 3 b.

Beg.: "Quidam conuersus cogit me fingere versus
Qui super omne piam dilexit corde mariam
Vir fuit ille bonus et simplex . atque colonus."

In the last word *c* has been written later in place of another letter, partially erased, which seems to have been a *p*. The Metz MS. has *Polonus* (see Mussafia, iii. p. 10).

9. GIRL NAMED MARY (see Add. 15,723, ii. 16): 39 lines. f. 4. Beg.: "Ad tornamentum miles cum plebe clientum."

10. MALEFACTOR SAVED BY HIS LAST WORDS (see Arund. 406, No. 23): 15 lines. f. 4 b. Beg.: "Fons uenie vena de sancto pneumate plena."

11. NUN ASKED TO ADORE THE CHILD-CHRIST: 8 lines. How she stood before a figure of the Virgin and Child, and said an Ave; and how she was asked by the Child sometimes to say "Ave benigne deus" to him. f. 4 b. Beg.: "Quedam deuota monialis dum sua vota."

12. ABBESS (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6): 67 lines. f. 4 b. Beg.: "Regine celi qui seruit mente fideli."

13. CHORISTER KILLED BY JEW (see Add. 18,929, No. 3): 37 lines. In this version the boy's voice is not heard from the grave, but he reappears in his usual place in the choir, and the Jew, returning in amazement to the place where he has hidden the body, finds nothing there. f. 5 b. Beg.: "Presbiter eximiam solitus laudare mariam."

14. FIGHTING DEVILS WITH A TAPER (see Add. 18,929, No. 17): 49 lines. f. 5 b. Beg.: "Vascia (? *for* Vasconia = Gascony) francorum pars est et plena latronum."

15. LION CURSED BY ST. JEROME: 26 lines. How a lion killed the ass which used to draw wood for the convent on the site of Christ's birth; how St. Jerome excommunicated the lion, which thereupon began to languish; and how it came to the convent to ask pardon, which was granted on condition of its doing the ass's work. f. 6 b. Beg.: "[I]lla beata domus in qua de virgine Christus."

This appears to be a corruption of the well-known story of St. Gerasimus and the lion, told by Joannes Moschus, "Pratum Spirituale," cap. 107 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, lxxxvii. col. 2965; *Patr. Lat.*, lxxiv. col. 172); which was afterwards transferred to St. Jerome (*Acta Sanctorum*, 30 Sept., pp. 422, 661).

16. CHILD RESCUED FROM WOLF (see Add. 19,909, No. 15): 19 lines (the first 16 being elegiacs). f. 6 b. Beg.: "Iuit ad ecclesiam per siluam rustica quedam."

17. NEGLECTED MARY-IMAGE (see Add. 18,929, No. 26): 48 lines. The clerk makes a pedestal for the image with branches of trees, and crowns it with flowers. f. 7. Beg.: "Quidam mendicus Christi genitricis amicus."

In the Metz and Paris MSS., this number contains 116 lines; the clerk is entrusted by the Virgin with a message for the bishop, and he finally becomes a monk (Mussafia, iii. p. 12); compare *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii. p. 495 ("Maria und der schuolære").

Ends: "Ista quinque gaudia debes retinere
Et ea cotidie simplex excercere
Si post vite terminum mecum vis manere
Et cum meo filio gaudium habere."

Colophon: "Expliciunt miracula beate marie virginis."

f. 7 b.

Royal 8 C. iv. ff. 16–23 b.

Vellum; late XIIIth cent. Octavo; ff. 8, in double columns (except ff. 16, 23 b, which have one and three columns respectively) of 29 to 45 lines.

Bound up with a number of theological and other tracts, in hands of the 13th and 14th centt., including:—(1) Robert Grosseteste, "Templum Domini." f. 2. (2) Nicholas of Amiens, "Ars fidei Catholicæ." f. 8. (3) Letter of Boniface VIII., ordaining feasts in honour of certain saints [20 Sept. 1295: see Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum*, vol. ii., 1875, p. 1937]. Imperfect. f. 14. (4) Legend of Gregory's Trental, in *French* prose. f. 14 b. (5) The present article. f. 16. (6) Seneca, Epistolæ xix.–xxv. Imperf. f. 24. (7) Treatise on arithmetic, in *Latin* hexameters. f. 36 b. (8) "Prophecie Joachim," predicting events for the years 1251–1265. f. 66. (9) Medical notes on Hippocrates, Philaretus and Theophilus. ff. 157 b–209 b.

The volume formerly belonged to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's (f. 1 b). At f. 157 is inscribed, in a 14th cent. hand, "Iste liber pertinet ad cenobium Sancti Edmundi . et traditus fuit Ade de Hakeford per dominum Johannem de Waxingam monacum."

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. In 192 six-line stanzas (rhyming *aab, ccb*), with half a stanza over, making 1155 lines; composed about 1248 by John de Garland (or Garlandia, as he calls himself here and elsewhere). *Latin.*

In the table of contents, at f. 1 b, this article is called "Liber metricus Johannis de Garlandia qui uocatur Stella maris"; a title apparently taken from the author's apostrophe to his book (at f. 17, col. 2), which begins: "O libelle stella maris | A contemptis (*for* contentis) nuncuparis | Tu stelle miraculis." Another copy in a 13th cent. MS. at Bruges has the following note on the first page: "Gloriose virginis miracula compendiose a parvitate mea descripta, ab armario Sancte Genoveve parisiensis extracte (*sic*) sunt et a me scolaribus meis Parisius ridmificata": see Aug. Scheler, *Lexicographie Latine* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 13. The tales are given very briefly, in many cases indeed only suggested; so that the verses may be supposed to have been written to assist the memory of Garland's pupils. The date of the composition is determined by the following considerations. At f. 20 Guillaume d'Auvergne (elected 1228, d. 30 Mar. 1249) is addressed as then Bishop of Paris: see below, No. 28. At f. 22 b a battle near Parma is mentioned, which is evidently that fought in Feb. 1248

(see below, No. 59); and on the same page is a reference to Gautier de Château-Thierry as Chancellor of Paris University (he became Chancellor in 1244, and was elected Bishop of Paris after the death of Guillaume d'Auvergne). It may therefore be inferred that the poem was written between Feb., 1248, and 30 Mar., 1249, or at any rate that it was completed then. It is preceded in the Bruges MS. by Garland's "Commentarius," which has the colophon: "Hæc edita sunt Parisius sub venerabili cancellario parisius Galtero de Castello Teodorici anno domini M°.CC°.XL°. sexto": see Scheler, as above, p. 12. Scheler prints (p. 13) the first two stanzas and the last one from the Bruges MS.; they agree with the present copy, but he describes the poem as "en 170 strophes de 6 vers," so that our copy is 135 lines longer.

John de Garland was born in England, probably about 1180. After studying for a time at Oxford, he went to Paris in or before 1202, and he appears to have spent nearly all the rest of his life there. He died probably not long after 1252. For his life and writings see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol xx. (1889), p. 436.

The margins and spaces between the lines are filled with *Latin* glosses, in a hand contemporary with the text.

The Introduction is in 30 lines, beginning:

"Fecit deus mirus mirum.
Dum flos uirum nec per uirum
Miro partu protulit.
Fons in riuum est deductus
Nectar fundens siccans luctus
Quos uir primus intulit." f. 16.

1. MILK: TONGUE RESTORED (see Add. 15,723, ii. 4): 15 lines. Beg.: "Clerus matrem salutauit | Linguam quam hic deuorauit | Hec lacte restituit." f. 16.

2. ABBESS DELIVERED (see Add. 15,723, ii. 6): 18 lines. Beg.: "Abatisse culpam flenti." f. 16 b.

Followed by "Pronosticum artis medicine virginis adaptatum," in 12 lines. f. 16 b, col. 2.

3. JEW OF BOURGES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 1): 24 lines. Beg.: "Missus puer in fornacem." f. 16 b, col. 2.

4. SON RESTORED TO LIFE (see Add. 18,346, No. 23): 18 lines. Beg.: "Infecundam fecundauit." f. 17.

5. Devil in three Beast-shapes (see Cleop. C. x., No. 30): 6 lines. Beg.: Forma hostis in taurina." f. 17.

Followed by the author's apostrophe to his book (in 15 lines), quoted above. f. 17, col. 2.

6. Barns filled in Time of Famine (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 28): 9 lines. Beg.: "Hec impleuit mendicorum." f. 17, col. 2.

Followed by "Astrologia spiritalis que pro[p]rietates stellarum virgini attribuit," in 66 lines. f. 17, col. 2.

7. Saracen and Mary-Image: 6 lines. How the Saracen was converted by seeing oil issue from the breasts of the image. Beg.: "Hec conuertit saracenum." f. 18.

8. Ring given to Mary-Image (see Add. 15,723, ii. 7): 6 lines. Beg.: "Adoloscens ycenie" (*for* adolescens yconie). f. 18.

9. Toledo (see Cleop. C. x., No. 24): 6 lines. Beg.: "In toleto dum iudei." f. 18.

10. Pilgrim in the Sea (see Add. 15,723, ii. 8): 12 lines. Beg.: "Mersum mari palliauit." f. 18.

11. Mead (see Cleop. C. x., No. 35): 6 lines. Beg.: "Mulieris vas impleuit." f. 18, col. 2.

12. Woman revived for Confession (see Add. 15,723, ii. 31): 9 lines. Beg.: "Hera quedam salutabat." f. 18, col. 2.

13. Columns raised by Schoolboys (see Add. 15,723, ii. 1): 9 lines. Beg.: "Per hanc rotas machinandi." f. 18, col. 2.

14. Chaste Empress (see Add. 19,909, No. 1): 69 lines. Beg.: "Imperatrix acusata." f. 18, col. 2.

15. Nativity: Angel-Music (see Add. 15,723, ii. 32): 15 lines. Beg.: "Vir audiuit angelorum." f. 19.

16. Devout Man visited on his Deathbed by the Virgin, and led by her into heaven (compare Cleop. C. x., Nos. 10, 11, 25): 6 lines. Beg.: "Justum quendam est affata." f. 19.

17. Libia (see Cleop. C. x., No. 26): 6 lines. Beg.: "Domo quadam uirginalis:" f. 19.

18. Mary-Image insulted (see Cleop. C. x., No. 28): 6 lines. Beg.: "Vir appella dum eiecit." f. 19.

19. Jew lends to Christian (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10): 12 lines. Beg.: "Forma talis mercatori." f. 19, col. 2.

20. Incest (see Add. 15,723, ii. 10): 18 lines. Beg.: "Peccatricem acusare." f. 19, col. 2.

21. CHRIST-IMAGE PIERCED BY JEWS: 9 lines. How an image of the Saviour, made by Nicodemus, bled when pierced by Jews; and how they were converted by the miracle. Beg.: "Formam fecit saluatoris." f. 19 b.

A sermon purporting to be by St. Athanasius and narrating this miracle (as having happened at Beyrout in the preacher's time) was read at the Council of Nicæa, 787: see Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. xiii. (Florence, 1767), col. 23. Baronius has shown that the author of this sermon cannot have been Athanasius the Great, but that it belongs to a much later date: see his *Annales*, vol. xiii. (Lucca, 1743), p. 209, and *Martyrologium* (Paris, 1607), p. 435. He argues mainly from the silence of ecclesiastical writers on the subject (especially John of Damascus, who died about 760) down to the time of the Nicæan Council, and from the fact that the old Church Lectionaries, as well as the title of an early MS. of the sermon itself, describe the miracle as having occurred in the time of Constantine Copronymus (741–775). Baronius also quotes the chronicler Sigebert of Gembloux, who assigns it to the year 765. Nicodemus is not mentioned as the maker of the image in the sermon as given by Mansi, or by Baronius (*Annales*, as above); nor in any but one (col. 818) of the four versions given (among the spurious works assigned to Athanasius) in Migne, *Patr. Græca*, vol. xxviii. cols. 797–824. There are many stories extant of similar miracles: see below, No. 53.

22. CLERK OF CHARTRES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 9): 9 lines. Beg.: "Hanc peccator salutauit." f. 19 b.

23. HOURS SUNG DAILY (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 16): 12 lines. Beg.: "Scripto quidam memorandus." f. 19 b.

24. JULIAN THE APOSTATE (see Cleop. C. x., No. 4): 12 lines. Beg.: "Julianus perferatur" (*sic, glossed* perforatur). f. 19 b.

25. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY (see Cleop. C. x., No. 15): 12 lines. Beg.: "Hec succurrit sacerdoti." f. 19 b, col. 2.

26. ARROW INTERCEPTED (see Add. 15,723, ii. 3). 6 lines. Beg.: "Esset pungna cum immanis." f. 19 b, col. 2.

27. JUDAS ISCARIOT IN HELL: 12 lines. How the Virgin allowed a monk to see Judas in torment, bound to a fiery wheel. Beg.: "Penam iude proditoris." f. 19 b, col. 2.

Followed by an address to the Virgin, in 12 lines. f. 20.

28. MAL DES ARDENTS AT PARIS: 18 lines. How the victims

of this disease were cured in the Church of Our Lady at Paris. Beg.: "Est in templo uirginali." f. 20.

The last six lines are:—

"O Willelme presul pie.
Qui conseruans et marie
Oues et ouilia
Ista uides et testaris
Et de uisis iocundaris
Miris in ecclesia."

The bishop thus appealed to as a witness of the miraculous cures is Guillaume d'Auvergne, elected Bishop of Paris 1228, d. 30 Mar. 1249 (see *Hist. Litt.*, vol. xviii. pp. 358, 361). It appears from a charter of the Dean and Chapter of Notre-Dame, dated Mar. 1248 (1249), that at that time the sufferers from the *mal des ardents* were laid in the Church, perhaps in order to be visited there by the doctors: see Lebeuf, *Histoire de Paris*, vol. i. (1883), p. 10; and the *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, vol. i. (1850), p. 466.

29. Fire at Reims: 6 lines. How an image of the Virgin remained unharmed in a fire. Beg.: "Igne stans inuiolata | Remis fuit et saluata." f. 20.

In the 13th cent. MS. which Mussafia denotes SG (see Heft i. p. 49) this is said to have occurred in the Præmonstratensian abbey of Mare, near Reims. This abbey was founded about 1150, and rebuilt in 1218; it was moved in the 14th century to Longvé: see *Gallia Christiana*, vol. ix. (1751), col. 329.

30. Purification (see Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 5): 6 lines. Beg.: "Grata gens mortalitate." f. 20.

31. Sight given to a Blind Man (see Add. 18,346, No. 47): 6 lines. Beg.: "Cecum hec illuminauit." f. 20, col. 2.

32. Chartres saved by the Virgin's shift (see Cleop. C. x., No. 5): 9 lines. Beg.: "In hac celi rex uestitur." f. 20, col. 2.

33. Ravished Girl restored: 9 lines. How she was ravished and stabbed by a youth; and how her wound was healed by the Virgin, and her virginity restored. Beg.: "Nimphe plagam integrauit." f. 20, col. 2.

See the tale of the Girl of Arras, in Mussafia, Heft i. p. 42 (in the 12th cent. MS. which he calls SV), and in Gautier de Coincy, *Miracles de N. D.*, col. 261.

34. ABBOT ELSINUS (see Cleop. C. x., No. 36): 12 lines. Beg.: "P(*for* A)bbas quidam maris stellam." f. 20, col. 2.

35. CLERK OF PISA (see Cleop. C. x., No. 22): 6 lines. Beg.: "Nupcialem voluptatem." f. 20 b.

Followed by 12 lines in praise of the Virgin. f. 20 b.

36. DROWNED SACRISTAN (see Cleop. C. x., No. 8): 18 lines. Beg.: "Monachus submersus erat." f. 20 b.

37. JEWESS HELPED IN CHILDBIRTH (see Add. 19,909, No. 19): 6 lines. Beg.: "Hec iudeam parientem." f. 20 b, col. 2.

38. HILDEFONSUS (see Cleop. C. x., No. 7): 6 lines. Beg.: "Archipresul toletanus." f. 20 b, col. 2.

39. MOUTH OF HELL SHOWN TO A NUN (for this tale see below, Harl. 4401, No. 17): 6 lines. Beg.: "Os inferni moniali." f. 20 b, col. 2.

40. CHRIST APPEARS TO A MONK, while he is saying Mass: 6 lines. Beg.: "Misse condam in secreto." f. 20 b, col. 2.

41. FIRE IN A CHURCH, and Mary-Image unhurt (see above, No. 29; and Cleop. C. x., No. 21): 6 lines. Beg.: "Templum quoddam fulmen vsit." f. 20 b, col. 2.

42. LITTLE DEVIL IN CHURCH, at Toledo: 18 lines. How a clerk saw a devil recording the idle talk of two women; how the clerk laughed, and was reproved by the Archbishop; but how he was restored to favour by the intervention of the Virgin. Beg.: "Templum (*for* templo) demon toletano." f. 20 b, col. 2.

This story is given by Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, vii. cap. 118, and by Joannes Gobii, *Scala Celi* (Lübeck, 1476), f. clxvii., among the extracts from the "Mariale Magnum." In the *Promptuarium Exemplorum* of J. Herolt, No. 100, the story is told of St. Bricius as the clerk and St. Martin as Bishop.

43. CHORISTER KILLED BY JEW (see Add. 18,929, No. 3): 12 lines. Beg.: "De maria quicquid sciuit." f. 21.

Followed by 6 lines on the utility of such a collection as the present. f. 21.

44. MAL DES ARDENTS AT SOISSONS: Miraculous cures (for details see below, Harl. 4401, Nos. 47–50): 12 lines. Beg.: "Vidit urbs suesionensis." f. 21.

45. WOMAN'S NOSE RESTORED (see below, Harl. 4401, No. 49): 6 lines. Beg.: "Hec membrorum reparatrix." f. 21, col. 2.

Followed by 6 lines in praise of the Virgin's healing powers. f. 21, col. 2.

46. PLUNDERER RESTORED FROM HELL TO EARTH: for thirty days' penance (see Cleop. C. x., No. 16): 12 lines. Beg.: "Pen's iude traditoris." f. 21, col. 2.

47. REMOVER OF LANDMARKS (see Cleop. C. x., No. 17): 12 lines. Beg.: "Quidam cultor illud aue." f. 21, col. 2.

48. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN (*ib.*, No. 11): 6 lines. Beg.: "Pauper panem adquisitum." f. 21 b.

49. BREAD OFFERED TO THE CHILD-CHRIST (see Add. 15,723, i. 2): 18 lines. Beg.: "Quedam tulit suum natum." f. 21 b.

50. PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES (see Cleop. C. x., No. 14): 12 lines. Beg.: "Sibi quidam amputauit." f. 21 b.

51. FOOT CUT OFF (see Arund. 346, No. 23): 6 lines. Beg.: "Quidam pedem amp[u]tauit." f. 21 b.

Followed by a prayer to the Virgin, and an exhortation to prelates to extol her: 18 lines. f. 21 b, col. 2.

52. BOY DEVOTED TO THE DEVIL (see Add. 15,723, ii. 29): 36 lines. Beg.: "Nocte quidam in pascali." f. 21 b, col. 2.

53. CHRIST-IMAGE WOUNDED BY A JEW, at Constantinople: 6 lines. How blood issued from the image, leading to the detection of the Jew. Beg.: "Formam ihesu wlnerauit." f. 22.

This miracle forms the subject of a sermon preached at Constantinople, printed by Combefis, *Novum Auctarium*, vol. ii. (Paris, 1648), col. 647 (with a discussion, at cols. 659–664, of this story, and of No. 21 of the present collection). A slightly different version is in Gregory of Tours, Miraculorum lib. i. cap. 22 (Migne, lxxi. col. 724).

Followed by 6 lines on the Virgin's kindness for wanderers and captives, and by 18 lines addressed to the Virgin, of which lines 13–15 are:

"In hiis rithmis quasi cannis
[S]Tridulis plantam iohannis
Audi de garlandia." f. 22, cols. 1–2.

54. PAINTER AND DEVIL (see Add. 15,723, ii. 17): 18 lines. Beg.: "Sathaniam yconiam." f. 22, col. 2.

Followed by 6 lines on the Virgin's readiness to hear prayer. f. 22, col. 2.

55. WILL TAKEN FOR DEED: 12 lines. How a wicked knight

vowed that he would found a monastery, but died before he had fulfilled his vow; and how at the Virgin's request his purpose was taken as accomplished, and his soul was covered with a monk's cowl and led into heaven. Beg.: "Quidam miles uixit male." f. 22, col. 2.

See Mielot (No. 27), p. xix.

56. AVE MARIS STELLA (see Add. 33,956, No. 16): 6 lines. In this version a scholar on his way to school is caught up into the air by the wind. Beg.: "Scolas adit uir scolaris." f. 22, col. 2.

57. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS A PLEDGE (see Arund. 406, No. 7): 18 lines. Beg.: "C(*for* Q)uedam fuit generosa." f. 22 b.

58. SATURDAY (see Cleop. C. x., No. 37): 18 lines. Beg.: "Primo fuit conseruata." f. 22 b.

59. PARMESE ARMY AIDED BY THE VIRGIN: 6 lines. How the inhabitants of Parma, bearing an image of the Virgin before them, attacked and defeated the Emperor Frederick. Beg.: "Dum parmenses inuaserunt | Fredericum et tulerunt | Virginis ymaginem." f. 22 b.

In Feb. 1248 the army of Frederick II., under Thaddæus of Suessa, was defeated by the Parmese, whose standard was an effigy of the Virgin; see von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* (Leipzig, 1857–8), iv. p. 113.

Immediately after the tale is the following stanza:

"Ista mira quando scripsi (*sic*)
Sunt scripture fauet isti
Studium parisius.
Hic magister tunc Walterus
Pie rexit prudens herus
Pius cancellarius."

The "pius cancellarius" alluded to is Gautier de Château-Thierry, who became chancellor of Paris University in 1244, and was elected Bishop of Paris in June, 1249: see Du Boulay, *Hist. Univer. Paris.*, vol. iii. (1666), p. 681, and Gams, *Series Episcoporum* (Ratisbon, 1873), p. 596.

Followed by 180 lines in praise of the Virgin. ff. 22 b, col. 2—23 b, col. 2.

60. THEOPHILUS: 12 lines. Beg.: "Dignitatem presularem." f. 23 b, col. 2.

61. EBBO THE THIEF (see Cleop. C. x., No. 12): 18 lines. Beg.: "Hec latronem liberauit." f. 23 b, col. 2.

The poem concludes with an address to the Virgin in 30 lines, beg.: "O Maria dulcis pia." f. 23 b, col. 2.

The last three lines are:—

"Si camenam ars amenat
Si mens deo philomenat
Hec duo sufficiunt." f. 23 b, col. 3.

Colophon: "Explicit liber Magistri J. de G. de miraculis beate uirginis." f. 23 b, col. 3.

Additional 15,606. ff. 37–81.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Quarto; ff. 45, in double columns of 31 lines. With initials in red.

For the rest of the volume, see above, p. 413.

LA CONCEPTION DE NOTRE-DAME. A metrical version of the story of Abbot Elsinus (see above, Cotton, Cleopatra C. x., No. 36), and of the legendary Life of the Virgin Mary. Written in the twelfth century by Wace, who died probably soon after 1174 (see the present *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 260). In 5461 lines. *French.*

The poem begins:—

"Ov non deu qui nos doint sa grace.
Oez que nos dit maistre gace
En quel tans commant et par coi
Au tans guillaume lou bon roi
An commancie et estaubli
De ceste estoire que ie di
Que la feste fu celebree
Que concehue et engendree
An ma dame sainte marie
Onques nan fu parole ohie
Qu'a nul temps faist mais hom
Feste de la concepcion.
Ce fut au tens lou roi guillaume," etc. f. 37.

The story of the abbot, who in this MS. is called "Heruiz" or "Herui," ends:—

"Puis establit il au sa vie
A tamise (*sic*) an sabaie
Qu'il ceste feste ferai
Tant com cist siegle durerai
Et an plusors leus la fit on
Et nos tuit faire la deuom." f. 38, col. 2.

The Life of the Virgin is then introduced by the lines:—

"Quan nos la feste celebrons
Droiz est que lestoire disons." f. 38, col. 2.

The poem ends:—

"Et por larme sainte marie
Pater noster chascons an die." f. 81.

Printed (from Paris MSS.) by G. Mancel and G. S. Trebutien, *La Conception Notre Dame* (Caen, 1842); and (from a Tours MS.) by V. Luzarche, with the more appropriate title *La Vie de la Vierge Marie* (Tours, 1859). Paul Meyer has pointed out that the present MS. is largely interpolated (*Romania*, vol. xvi., 1887, pp. 232–247); but the interpolations do not occur in the part relating to Elsinus.

Egerton 612. ff. 1–75, 96–98 b.

Vellum; early XIIIth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 78, in double columns of 25 lines. With initials in blue and red, and a few headings in red. Imperfect at the beginning (where there is a fragment of a leaf before f. 1, containing a few beginnings and endings of words), and wanting one or more leaves after folio 5. At ff. 9 b, 22, 37 b, 68 are marginal entries in a late 15th century hand, directing that the miracles on those pages shall be read "to collacion" or "in þe frater" on certain Feasts of the Virgin: see below, Nos. 7, 17, 21, 39.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Forty-one tales, in octosyllabic verse (Nos. 1, 5 and 6 imperfect). Nos. 1–40, at any rate (if not the whole collection), were translated by an English author named "Willame" or "Adgar" from a Latin collection by a "diuins" named "Mestre Albri." *French.*

The second tale is introduced by a Prologue, in which the author says that he was "primeseinet"* under the name of Willame, but afterwards baptized under that of Adgar.

"De mei ne redeuez duter.
Ki mentremet de translater.
Kar ne me uois mie tapir.
Del tuit uus uoil mun nun geir.
Pur ceo ke len selt estriuer.
Quenz liure se deust numer.
Icil ki le liure translate.
Par tant iert le liure sanz barate.
Mut uolentirs me numerai.
Adgar ai nun mes el i sai.
Li plusur me apelent Willame.
Bien le puent faire sanz blasme.
Kar par cel nun fui primeseinet.
E puis par adgar baptizet." f. 2 b, cols. 1–2.

He goes on to explain that he has not invented the miracles, but that he has taken them from a book in the "almarie" of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

"Mais nel uoil estre cuntredit.
Ke io de mei miracle i feine.
V raisun ke a bien ne ataigne.
Sil enquerēut del essamplarie.
Jo lai de saint pol del almarie.
De saint pol de la noble iglise.
Ki en lundres est bien asise." f. 2 b, col. 2.

At the beginning of No. 11 he expresses his intention of strictly following this book, which he has translated "de latin en romanz" (f. 15, col. 2). He goes on (f. 15 b) to invoke blessings

* In Ducange, *Glossarium*, the word "præsignare" (with its equivalents "primseigner" and "presingner" in the Supplement) is explained as meaning "to baptize"; but in most of the examples given something distinct from baptism seems to be indicated. See too Godefroy, *Dict. de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, vol. vi. (1889), pp. 388, 411, under "preseignier" and "prinseignier." With the old Northmen the verb "primsigna" was used to denote an act (of signing with the cross) preliminary to baptism, but not necessarily followed by it: see Cleasby's *Dictionary* (ed. Vigfusson, 1874), p. 479.

on his friend Gregory ("mis chiers amis gregorie"), the "bels bacheler e enseignie" at whose instance he has undertaken the work. He introduces the story of Theophilus (No. 17) by a short prologue (f. 21 b, col. 2), in which he says he knows that the tale has already been translated, but that he cannot omit it, since it is in his original.

After No. 40 is an Epilogue, in which Adgar states that he has now come to the end of the book, which (he says) was composed by a "diuins" named "Mestre Albri"; and that, although he knows many more miracles of the Virgin, he will give no more at present, for he is resolved only to narrate those for which he can quote his authority:—

"Cest escrit fine deu merci.
Selunc le liure mestre albri.
Ke de saint pol oi del almarie.
Plus ne truis en lessemplarie.
Fors tant quil dit tuz iurs tut dis.
Par chaun siecle par chaun pais.
Fait la dame uertuz beles.
E de iur en altre noueles.
Chaun ior les fait e souent.
Par tut siecle diuersement.
Pur ceo nes poet nuls home cunter.
Ne descriure ne demustrer.
Io en sai acunter asez.
Miracles dunt rien ci ne orez.
E en liures plusurs truis.
Mes ore escriure nes ruis.
Pur iceo ke io comencai.
Selunc le liure ke ore numai.
Dunt mestre albri en est garant.
Ki diuins esteit mult uaillant.
Selunc sun liure uoil finer
E le surplus larai ester.
Que miracle nai cunte.
Dunt nai bon auctorite.
Nen uoil par mei chose cunter.
Dunt garant nen puisse mustrer." f. 74 b, cols. 1–2.

The Epilogue is followed by Adgar's dedication to his

friend Gregory (f. 75), whose "poure ami" and "clerc" he calls himself. After the Dedication (f. 75) comes a prayer to the Virgin. This is immediately followed by the Romance of Pope Gregory. It is not unlikely, as Rolfs remarks (see his article, "Die Adgarlegenden," in K. Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*, Bd. i., Erlangen, 1883, p. 183), that the insertion of this Romance was suggested to the scribe by the dedication to Gregory. Rolfs decides, on linguistic considerations, that the Romance of Gregory was certainly—and the Mary-legend which follows it (our No. 41) most probably—not by Adgar.

The relations of the present collection with the Oxford, Cambridge and Salisbury MSS., and with other collections, are fully discussed by Mussafia in his *Studien*, Heft iv. pp. 12–15, 26–85. All of the Mary-legends (*i.e.* all the tales here except No. 36) are in the Toulouse MS. (for which see above, pp. 591, 600).

The tales are as follows:—

1. Two Brothers at Rome (see Cleop. C. x., No. 16). Imperfect at the beginning. f. 1.

> Beg.: "... Kil nel mistrent en bon oueraigne
> A mal ure furent cil ne.
> Ki od iudam serrunt damne."

For the corresponding passage in the Cotton MS., see Neuhaus, *Vorlagen*, p. 41, note **.

2. Prior of St. Saviour's, Pavia (Cleop. C. x., No. 18). Introduced by the Prologue quoted above. The Prologue begins (f. 2 b): "Svuent fait deus merueilles maintes," and ends (f. 2 b, col. 2): "E deu lur duint sun parais"; after which, without any break, the tale begins "Auant dirai co kai apris." f. 2 b, col. 2. The place of torment is described (f. 3 b, col. 2) as "une male regiun. V li prince siront ad nun."

Printed from this MS. by Paul Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens textes*, pt. ii. (1877), p. 343.

3. Hieronymus made Bishop of Pavia (Cleop. C. x., No. 19). Beg.: "En la cite dunt ore cuntai." f. 4.

4. Stained Corporale (Cleop. C. x., No. 20). Beg.: "En une eglise renumee." f. 4 b, col. 2.

5. Jew of Bourges (Cleop. C. x., No. 1): told here, as in the Cotton MS., on the authority of Peter, a monk of Chiusa. Imperfect, only the first 29 lines remaining. Beg.: "En Biture

une cite." f. 5 b. Breaks off at the foot of the same page with the line: "A chaun dunast de la gent."

Printed from this MS. by E. Wolter, *Der Judenknabe* (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, ed. H. Suchier, No. ii., 1879), p. 78.

6. MILK: 23 PLANTS IN FLOWER (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 1). Imperfect at the beginning (but probably only wanting a few lines). Beg.: "... De bon cuer e de bon uoleir" (corresponding to line 4 of the Latin text in the Royal MS., f. 82 b, col. 2). f. 6.

7. NATIVITY: Angel-music (Add. 15,723, ii. 32). Preceded by two introductory paragraphs. The first of these begins: "Li home de iolifte." f. 9, col. 2. The second begins: "Dvlce chose est de deu cunter." f. 9 b. The tale begins: "Uns hermites esteit iadis." f. 9 b, col. 2. At the foot of this column is written, in a 15th or early 16th century hand: "Thys meracylle schalle be radd to collacion at þe eue of þe natyuyte of your lady."

8. AVE ON THE TONGUE (Cleop. C. x., No. 29). In this version the words are not stamped on the monk's tongue, but escape from his lips the moment his mouth is opened. Preceded by a short introduction, beg.: "Ci poum ueer e oir." The tale beg.: "Vns clers esteit ne sai le nun." f. 10, col. 2.

9. DEVIL AS BULL, etc. (Cleop. C. x., No. 30). Beg.: "Vns moines ert sulunc lescrit." f. 13.

Printed from this MS. by P. Meyer, *Recueil d'anc. textes*, pt. ii., p. 345.

10. COMPLINES (Cleop. C. x., No. 31). Beg.: "Vns bers esteit de bone uie." f. 14 b.

11. TOLEDO (Cleop. C. x., No. 24). With the introduction mentioned above (p. 709), beg.: "Mvlt est diuerse ma matyre." f. 15, col. 2. The tale beg.: "En tulette la grant cite." f. 15 b, col. 2.

12. FOOT CUT OFF (Arundel 346, No. 23): "en uinarie une cite." Beg.: "Mvlt fait deu miracles souent." f. 17.

13. MILK: MONK LAID OUT AS DEAD (Cleop. C. x., No. 32). Beg.: "Vns freres ert en un mustier." f. 18.

14. MUSA (Arundel 346, No. 24). Beg.: "Ceo ne fait pas a celer." f. 20.

15. MATER MISERICORDIÆ (Cleop. C. x., No. 25). Beg.: "Vns malades mult anguissie." f. 20 b.

16. DEATH OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE (Cleop. C. x., No. 4). Beg.: "En dementirs ke iuliens." f. 21.

17. THEOPHILUS. With the introduction mentioned above (p. 710), beg.: "Meint bel sermun ai descrit." f. 21 b, col. 2. The tale beg.: "Ainz ke la male gent de perse." f. 22. Followed by a short address to the Virgin, beg.: "Chere dame duce reine." f. 32 b, col. 2. At the foot of f. 22 is written (cp. No. 7): "Thys meracylle schalle be radd to collacion at þe nativite of your lady."

The tale has been printed from this MS. by A. Weber, in Gröber's *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, i. (1877), p 531.

18. BON AND HIS VESTMENT (Add. 15,723, i. 1). Beg.: "En auuerne a une cite." f. 32 b, col. 2. Herbert Losinga is mentioned at f. 34 b:—

"Herberz li euesques li bers.
Vit les uestemenz nez e clers.
Ki ert euesque de Norwiz.
V sis cors est enseueliz."

19. DUNSTAN AND THE VIRGIN'S CHOIR (Add. 15,723, ii. 27). Beg.: "En Bretaigne maiur clamee." f. 35.

20. CHARTRES SAVED BY THE VIRGIN'S SHIFT (Cleop. C. x., No. 5). Beg.: "Ore uoil saillir ultre la mer." f. 36 b, col. 2.

21. MILK: FULBERT (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 2). Beg.: "En icele meimes cite." f. 37 b. On the margin of this page, just above the beginning of this tale, is written: "Thys meracylle schalle be radd in þe frater apon þe natiuite day of your lady."

22. ABBOT "ELFSI" (Cleop. C. x., No. 36): only Ramsey Abbey mentioned. Beg.: "Li Reis Willames dengleterre." f. 39, col. 2.

23. VISION OF WETTIN. How a sick German monk saw first devils and then angels round his bed; how he had a second vision, in which one of the angels led him to heaven and obtained his pardon from God through the intercession of the Virgin; and how he died next day. Beg.: "Vn moine ert ia cloistrier." f. 41.

In his *Studien*, Heft iv. pp. 34–50, Mussafia prints three versions of this tale in parallel columns, *viz.* Adgar's, a later Anglo-French version (in Roy. 20 B. xiv., described below, p. 733) and a Latin prose version from Salisbury MS. 97 (William of Malmesbury). The last, from which the French versions are probably derived, is an abridgment of the "Visio Guetini" of

Hatto or Heito, Abbot of Reichenau (d. 836), which is printed in Migne, vol. cv. col. 771. The vision is supposed to have been seen by Wettin at Reichenau in 824: see notice of him in *Hist. Litt.*, vol. iv., p. 478.

24. ST. ODO AND THE THIEF-MONK (Cleop. C. x., No. 6): only the latter part of the story. Beg.: "Se ma memorie ne mespreut." f. 44.

25. MONK OF EVESHAM. How a monk at Evesham was haunted on his deathbed by devils, who vanished when holy water was sprinkled over them; and how he was afterwards visited by the Virgin. Beg.: "Vns moines ert eueshamneis." f. 44 b.

In the Toulouse MS., and also (it would appear) in the Oxford, Cambridge and Salisbury MSS. (see Mussafia, Heft ii. pp. 27, 30, 37, Heft iv. p. 19), the place is Eynsham (in Oxfordshire).

26. SUDDEN DEATH OF A MONK (Arund. 346 No. 28). Beg.: "Uns moines ert religius." f. 45.

27. LOVE GAINED BY BLACK ARTS (Arund. 346, No. 31). Beg.: "Uns clers esteit mult renumez." f. 46 b. Followed (f. 49) by reflections on the fleeting character of beauty, and by a tale of a clerk, for whose seduction a beautiful girl was bought, but who induced her to become a nun. The latter tale beg.: "Ci truis un essample a raisun." f. 49 b, col. 2.

Printed by Mussafia, Heft iv. pp. 53–79, side by side with the versions in the Salisbury MS. and in Royal 20 B. xiv. It is worthy of remark that the Salisbury MS. contains the second tale as in the present Collection, but introduced by the words: "Unde predicatur inprimis dictum nostri temporis cujusdam clerici."

28. PRAYERS OF A FRIEND (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 6). Beg.: "Cist clers demena seinte uie." f. 50 b.

29. JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). Beg.: "Briefment ai dit e demustre." f. 53 b.

30. RUSTIC CHURCH ENLARGED BY THE VIRGIN'S ORDER. How a countryman, riding at night past a rustic church near Bury St. Edmund's ("En la terre de saint eadmund") was summoned to enter it, and found the Virgin with her train of maidens; how he was sent to the parish priest with instructions to enlarge the church; and how the priest and his wife disbelieved the countryman, until they were punished for their incredulity. Preceded by an introduction, beg.: "Ki

entente met en letrure." f. 56 b, col. 2. The tale beg.: "Dun uilain truis en cest escrit." f. 57, col. 2.

31. St. Mary of Egypt. Abridged version of her Life. Beg.: "Ci truis escrit la sainte uie." f. 59 b.

32. Nun's Penance left uncompleted (Arund. 346, No. 29): in this version the other nuns complete her penance after her death. Beg.: "Greuus mal est de mult pechier." f. 61.

33. Mead (Cleop. C. x., No. 35): with the names of Athelstan and Dunstan, and of Glastonbury ("Glastingebire"). Beg.: "Cil qui estraist sanz boban." f. 63 b, col. 2.

34. Wife and Mistress (Arund. 346, No. 30). Beg.: "De deus femmes dirai briefment." f. 65.

35. Saracens cannot deface Mary-Image (Add. 19,909, No. 82). The miracle is here said to have occurred in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, after the defeat of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, by the Saracens near Ramleh. It begins:

"Nest mie danciente.
Iceo ke vus iert ici cunte.
Ke lempereur de babiloine.
Ki tant est de fier testimoine.
Enueat ses forz sarazins.
Ses paens ses turcs ses ermins
Encuntre le rei Baldewin.
Ki tint iherusalem enfin.
Dicele terre esteit il reis.
Preuz e uaillanz e curteis.
Li sarazin de pute fei.
Lasistrent entur ramulei.
Deuenquirent le sil chacerent.
Pristrent des soens sis lierent.
Del auenture enorguillirent.
A desmesure sesioirent.
Del bien ke lur ert auenu.
Que le rei aueient uencu.
Deguasterent la regiun.
Ascalone e tut denuirun." f. 65 b.

This agrees with the Salisbury and Toulouse MSS. (Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 22, Heft ii. p, 28). In the other Anglo-French

version (Royal 20 B. xiv., No. 55), the defeated king is described as the Baldwin who fought at the taking of Antioch (in 1098), and afterwards became King of Jerusalem; evidently meaning Baldwin I., 1100–1118. He was routed in 1102 near Ramleh by a Saracen army, which had advanced from Ascalon. The Saracens took Ramleh immediately after the battle, Baldwin barely escaping with his life: see Fulcher of Chartres, the anonymous "Gesta Francorum expugnantium Hierusalem," and Albert of Aix (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Historiens Occidentaux, vol. iii., 1866, pp. 397, 531; vol. iv. p. 591); see also William of Tyre, lib. x. cap. 20 (*Recueil*, Hist. Occ., vol. i. pt. i., 1844, p. 429).

36. PUNISHMENT OF THE JEWS. How they were plagued in various ways, notably by Titus and Vespasian, and by the devil disguised as Moses, who led thousands of them into the sea, pretending that he was taking them to the Promised Land. Beg.: "En plusurs cuntes est escrit." f. 66.

37. MARY-IMAGE INSULTED (Cleop. C. x., No. 28): combined with "Saturday" (*ib.*, No. 37). The image is said to have been made by Nicodemus, and to have been stolen by the Jew from the church of "Blancherne." Beg.: "En costantinoble la fiere." f. 67, col. 2.

38. ROILAS AND HIS HOST DESTROYED. How in the time of Arcadius (Emperor 395–408) Constantinople was threatened by a pagan host under "li dux Roilles"; and how the Virgin sent fire from heaven, which destroyed the invading army. Beg.: "Al tens arcch[a]de lempereur." f. 68.

This agrees with Theodoretus, Eccl. Hist., lib. v. cap. 36 (Migne, *Patr. Græca*, vol. lxxxii. col. 1267), except for the introduction of the Virgin, who is not mentioned by the chronicler.

39. PURIFICATION (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 5). Beg.: "En costantinoble la fiere." f. 68, col. 2. With the entry, on the margin of f. 68: "Thys meracylle schalle be radd in þe frater apone candilmasday."

40. THE NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD (Add. 18,929, No. 27). With two introductory paragraphs, beg.: "Chaun deit estre haitie" (f. 69, col. 2), and "Oir poez la uerite" (f. 70) respectively. The tale itself beg.: "De la nunain vus dei cunter." f. 70, col. 2.

This is followed by the Epilogue (f. 74 b) and Dedication

(f. 75), which have been mentioned above (p. 710); and by a prayer to the Virgin, beg.: "Sainte marie dame bele" (f. 75), and ending: "Ki de vus dame uirgene est ne. Amen." f. 75, col. 2. Next follows the Romance of Pope Gregory (ff. 75, col. 2–96), which will be treated in a later volume of this *Catalogue*.

41. ABBESS DELIVERED (Add. 15,723, ii. 6). Begins:

"De plusurs nunains cunte ai.
Dune abesse vus dirai.
Cument la dame de pitie.
La deliuera puis sun pechie.
La sainte dame bonement.
Ses uertuz mustre a tute gent." f. 96.

Ends: "Issi set la sainte reine.
Mustrer as suens sa merci fine
Suuent quant unt greinur mester.
Les fait tut quites dencumbrer." f. 98 b, col. 2.

The whole contents of the volume, except the Romance of Gregory and the last of the tales (our No. 41), have been printed from this MS. by Carl Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden* (Bd. ix. of Wendelin Foerster's *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, Heilbronn 1886). Six of the tales have also been printed singly elsewhere (see above, Nos. 2, 5, 9, 17, 23, 27). There is a fragment of another copy of the Collection in No. 22 of the MSS. at Dulwich College: see the *Catalogue* by G. F. Warner, 1881, p. 346. This fragment, which has been printed by Neuhaus, *Das Dulwich'er Adgar-Fragment* (Aschersleben), contains portions of Theophilus and the Vision of Wettin (our Nos. 17, 23); and its text of the latter tale was combined by Mussafia with that of the present MS. (see Heft iv. p. 31).

Harley 4401.

Vellum; about the middle of the XIIIth cent. Folio; ff. 189, in double columns of 40 (rarely 41) lines. With initials in red and blue.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. A collection of tales, in octosyllabic verse, by Gautier de Coincy (or "quensi," as the name is

written here, at f. 3). In two books, each book preceded by a Prologue, and by Hymns to the Virgin set to music. The first Book contains 37 tales, and the second 16, in its present imperfect form; it most probably contained two more, which are now lost. Imperfect at the end. *French.*

The Abbé Poquet, in his introduction to Gautier's *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge* (1857), p. xxxviii., gives reasons for assigning the composition of the two books to the period 1218–1222. But he has overlooked the allusion to the miracle of the bleeding image at Châteauroux (in 1187) as having occurred "au tans le bon roi felipe | Qui fu . i . des bons rois de france" (see f. 96 b, col. 2, and col. 663 of Poquet's ed.), which seems to show that that portion, at any rate, was written after the death of Philip Augustus in 1223. Gautier was born about 1177; in 1193 he became a monk in the Benedictine abbey of St. Médard at Soissons; in 1214 he was made Prior of Vic-sur-Aisne, and in 1233 Prior of St. Médard; in 1236 he died (see Poquet's introd., pp. xxxiv, xxxvi, xliii).

Book i. begins with a Prologue, in 401 lines, divided into two paragraphs, of which the first (327 lines) beg.:

"A la loenge et a la gloire
En remanbrance et en memoire
De la reine et de la dame.
Cui ge coument mon cors et manme.
A iointes mains chascun matin
Miracles que truis en latin
Translater uoil et metre en letre." f. 1.

This paragraph ends:

"La mere dieu qui est la lime
Qui tout escure et tout eslime
Escurer doint et eslimer
Por ses miracles biau rimer
La langue gautier de quensi
Qui por samor coumence issi." f. 3.

See *Miracles de la Ste. Vierge* (ed. Poquet, 1857), cols. 3–10.
The second paragraph (74 lines) beg.:

"Ainz couurir voille le grant liure
Qui tant me donne et tant me liure." f. 3.

Ends: "Deable endorment et anchantent
Tuit cil qui chantent son doz chant
Or escoutez coment ien chant." f. 3 b.

See Poquet's ed., cols. 11–14.

Next follow seven Hymns set to music, of which the first lines are as follows:—

(a) "Amors qui bien set anchanter." f. 3 b.
(b) "Qui que face retruenge nouuelle." f. 3 b, col. 2.
(c) "Roine celestre buer fussiez vous nee." f. 4, col. 2.
(d) "Talant me prent or androit." f. 4 b, col. 2.
(e) "Esforcier mestuet ma uoiz." f. 5.
(f) "Quant ces floretes florir voi." f. 5, col. 2.
(g) "Por conforter mon cuer et mon coraige." f. 5 b.

Poquet, cols. 13–26.

General heading: "Ci anconmancent les miracles." f. 5 b, col. 2.

1. THEOPHILUS (see Harl. 3020). In 2081 lines (ed. Poquet, cols. 29–74). f. 5 b, col. 2.

Beg.: "Pour ceux esbatre et deporter
Qui se deportent amporter."

Ends: "Salui seruir nos acordons
Tout romperra cordons et cordes
Et fera toutes les concordes." f. 18 b, col. 2.

Printed by A. Jubinal, *Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. ii. (1839), p. 271, from MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

2. HILDEFONSUS (Cleop. C. x., No. 7). Including an account of the invention of St. Leocadia; and followed by an account of the translation of the relics of that saint to Soissons, and subsequently to Vic-sur-Aisne. In two parts. Part i. contains 723 lines, and begins: "Un arceuesque ot a tolete." f. 18 b, col. 2. Part ii. contains 1452 lines, and begins: "Uoir vous dirai des prelaz dore." f. 23 b.

Poquet, cols. 77–106; but upwards of 800 lines have there been omitted, most of which belong to a satire on unworthy prelates (ff. 23 b–28 b). Also printed in Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. i. (Paris, 1808), pp. 270–346. The relics of St. Leocadia were translated from Toledo to Soissons, according to Gautier, in the time of Pope Gregory (*i.e.* Gregory IV., 828–844)

and of "Loeis li preuz | Li filz au bon roi Karlmain" (f. 28 b, col. 2), *i.e.* Louis le Débonnaire, King of France 814–840.

3. JEW OF BOURGES (Cleop. C. x., No. 1): the Jew is a glass-blower, as in Paschasius Radbertus (see above, p. 587). 142 lines. Beg.: "A beourges ce truis lisant." f. 32 b.

Poquet, cols. 283–286. Printed from this MS. by Wolter, *Der Judenknabe*, p. 80.

4. MARY-IMAGE INSULTED (Cleop. C. x., No. 28). St. Jerome named as the authority for the tale. 92 lines (Poquet, cols. 423–426). Beg.: "Un biau miracle nous recite | Seint ieromes qui nos escite." f. 33 b.

5. PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY (Cleop. C. x., No. 15). 92 lines (Poquet, cols. 323–326). Beg.: "Un miracle truis dun prouoire." f. 34.

6. CLERK OF CHARTRES (Cleop. C. x., No. 9). 123 lines (Poquet, cols. 297–300). Beg.: "A chartres fu ce truis vns clers." f. 34 b.

7. DEVIL AS BULL, DOG, AND LION (Cleop. C. x., No. 30). 194 lines (Poquet, cols. 327–332). Beg.: "Uns moines fu dune abaie." f. 35 b.

8. MILK: TONGUE AND LIPS (Add. 15,723, ii. 4). 172 lines (Poquet, cols. 341–346). Beg.: "Par luxure est mult tost liurez | Qui nest diurece deliurez | Por plusors clers plus anflamer" (the first two lines are properly the last two of No. 7). f. 36 b, col. 2.

9. INCEST (Add. 15,723, ii. 10). 726 lines. Beg.: "Un haut miracle mout piteus." f. 37 b, col. 2.

Not included by Poquet in his edition. Printed, from this MS. and one at Paris, by J. Ulrich, in Gröber's *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, vol. vi. (Halle, 1882), p. 325.

10. DEATHS OF RICH MAN AND POOR WIDOW (Add. 15,723, ii. 11). 568 lines (Poquet, cols. 429–442). Beg.: "Tuit li miracle nostre dame." f. 42, col. 2.

11. ABBESS DELIVERED (Add. 15,723, ii. 6). 370 lines. Beg.: "Ane (*for* Une) abeesse fu iadis." f. 45 b, col. 2.

Omitted by Poquet, but printed by J. Ulrich (as above, No. 9), *Zeitschr.* vi. p. 334.

12. RING GIVEN TO MARY-IMAGE (Add. 15,723, ii. 7). 196 lines. Beg.: "Tenez sillance bele genz." f. 48, col. 2.

Poquet, cols. 355–360; also printed in Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. ii. (1808), p. 420.

13. BOY DEVOTED TO THE DEVIL (Add. 15,723, ii. 29). 476

lines (Poquet, cols. 443–454). Beg.: "An entandez tuit faistes sillance." f. 49 b.

14. FIVE PSALMS WITH INITIALS MARIA (Add. 15,723, ii. 30). 68 lines (Poquet, cols. 359–362). Beg.: "Un bel miracle mout aorne." f. 52 b.

15. MONK OF ST. PETER'S AT COLOGNE (Cleop. C. x., No. 13). 228 lines. Beg.: "Si com mes liures mestesmoigne." f. 53.

Poquet, cols. 455–460; also printed, but without the author's name, by Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. ii. (1823), p. 139.

16. PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES (Cleop. C. x., No. 14). 208 lines. Beg.: "Un biau miracle vos uoil dire." f. 54, col. 2.

Poquet, cols. 291–6; also printed (without author's name) by Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 147.

17. MOUTH OF HELL SHOWN TO A NUN. How a Nun agreed to elope with a Knight; and how she was turned from her purpose by a vision, in which she was dragged to the mouth of hell by devils, but was rescued by the Virgin. 224 lines. Beg.: "Mes liures me dist et reuelle." f. 55 b, col. 2.

Poquet, cols. 475–480. The story is substantially the same as Add. 33,956, No. 13.

18. PRIOR OF ST. SAVIOUR'S AT PAVIA (Cleop. C. x., No. 18). 142 lines (Poquet, cols. 489–492). Beg.: "En escrit truis quan labaie." f. 57.

19. WILL TAKEN FOR DEED. The same story as that briefly sketched by John de Garland (see above, Roy. 8 C. iv., No. 55), told here at length. 288 lines (Poquet, cols. 493–500). Beg.: "A ceus qui amment doucement." f. 58.

20. EULALIA (Cleop. C. x., No. 34): here called "Suer Aalais," though in Poquet's edition she is "Seur Eulalie." 272 lines (Poquet, cols. 481–488). Beg.: "A la loange de la uirge." f. 59 b, col. 2.

21. EBBO THE THIEF (Cleop. C. x., No. 12): 130 lines. Beg.: "Ici apres uoil metre am brief." f. 61 b.

Poquet, cols. 501–504; also printed (without author's name) by Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, vol. ii. p. 443.

22. BOOK OF ISAIAH (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 27). 272 lines (Poquet, cols. 333–340). Beg.: "Se pres de moi vous uoulez traire." f. 62, col. 2.

23. SARACEN AND MARY-IMAGE (Roy. 8 C. iv., No. 7).

Followed by a denunciation of the negligence of priests in the care of their churches. 246 lines (Poquet, cols. 505–512). Beg.: "Que qne doir iestes en grant." f. 64.

24. WIFE AND MISTRESS (Arund. 346, No. 30). 161 lines (Poquet, cols. 511–516). Beg.: "Que que talant auez doir." f. 65 b, col. 2.

25. ARROW INTERCEPTED (Add. 15,723, ii. 3). 218 lines (Poquet, cols. 275–280). Beg.: "An escrit truis que pres dorliens .... Cil chastiaus a vn enuers non | Ou auenon ou auernon." f. 66 b, col. 2.

26. LIGHT ON THE MASTHEAD (Add. 15,723, ii. 9). 219 lines (Poquet, cols. 517–522). Beg.: "Antandez tuit et clerc et lai." f. 68.

27. BON (Add. 15,723, i. 1). 324 lines (Poquet, cols. 303–310). Beg.: "Que que uolantez me semont." f. 69 b.

28. ABSOLVED BY A DEAD PRIEST. How a Priest excommunicated one of his parishioners; how the man repented after the priest's death, but could find no one, not even the Pope, able to remove the ban; how he was sent to the Fool of Alexandria; how the Virgin appeared, in answer to the prayers of the Fool, with the dead priest among her followers; and how she ordered the priest to give absolution. 860 lines (Poquet, cols. 575–592). Beg.: "Un miracle uoil reciter." f. 71 b.

The story is in SV (see Mussafia, i. p. 41), and in Mielot, No. 24. Other versions, varying in the details from the present one, are in Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes* (1877), p. 151, and "Le Dit des Trois Chanoines" (Jubinal, *Contes*, vol. i., 1839, p. 266).

29. DEVIL IN SERVICE (Add. 15,723, ii. 15). 344 lines (Poquet, cols. 523–532). Beg.: "Por ce quoiseuse est morz a lame." f. 77.

30. EXCOMMUNICATE BURIED WITH HONOUR. How a dissolute youth was advised by his uncle, an abbot, to say a prayer every day to the Virgin; how he was excommunicated for his vicious life, and died unshriven; but how the Virgin ordered the Dean to move his corpse into the cemetery; and how a fresh rose was found in his mouth (cp. Add. 19,909, No. 38). 302 lines (Poquet, cols. 363–370). Beg.: "Il fu vns clers uns damoisiaux." f. 79.

31. MILK: MONK LAID OUT AS DEAD (Cleop. C. x., No. 32). 312 lines (Poquet, cols. 347–354; Barbazan, vol. ii., p. 427). Beg.: "Biens est que nos le bien dions." f. 81.

32. HUNDRED AVES A DAY (Add. 15,723, ii. 35). 382 lines. Beg : "Il fu ce truis uns cheualiers." f. 83.

Poquet, cols. 533–542; also printed in Barbazan, *Fabliaux*, vol. i. (ed. Méon, 1808), p. 347, from a copy stopping short at line 267 (see f. 84 b, l. 38).

33. DROWNED SACRISTAN (Cleop. C. x., No. 8). 422 lines (Poquet, cols. 461–470). Beg.: "Cele en cui prist humanite." f. 85, col. 2.

34. TOAD IN CHALICE. How a debauched Priest near Sens was moved to repentance by seeing a toad in the chalice during Mass. 202 lines (Poquet, cols. 470–474, being joined to the preceding tale without a break). Beg.: "En escrit truis quil ot uers sanz." f. 88.

35. THE NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD (Add. 18,929, No. 27). The impersonation of the nun by the Virgin is not mentioned. After living nearly thirty years with her lover, she has a vision of the Virgin; she returns to her abbey and her lover becomes a monk. 558 lines. Beg.: "A la gloire la glorieuse." f. 89, col. 2.

Omitted by Poquet, but printed (from this MS. and one at Paris) by J. Ulrich, *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, vol. vi. (Halle, 1882), p. 339. The same version of the story is in a Latin MS. of the 13th cent. at Paris (see Mussafia, Heft i. p. 73).

36. SARDENAY (Arund. 407, No. 1). Followed by allusions to various miracles in connection with images of the Virgin, including (f. 96 b, col. 2) that of Châteauroux (see Add. 15,723, ii. 24, and above, p. 718). In 932 lines altogether (Poquet, cols. 649–672). Beg.: "A la loange de la dame." f. 92 b, col. 2.

37. RELICS OF ST. LEOCADIA. How they were stolen from the chapel at Vic-sur-Aisne in 1219; and how they were recovered in the same year. 886 lines (Poquet, cols. 111–130). Beg.: "Que de memoire ne de haie." f. 98 b, col. 2.

The facts narrated are briefly given, under the date 1219, in the "Chronicon S. Medardi Suessionensis" (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ed. 1723, vol. ii. p. 490).

Book ii. opens, like the first, with a Prologue and Hymns to the Virgin. The Prologue is in 412 lines, and relates how the author found the following legends in a book in the Library at St. Médard's. It begins:

"A seint maart ou biau liuraire
Truis . i . biau liure dont uoil traire
Vns biaus diz et bele matere
Et biaux moz de la bele mere
Dou roi des rois se onques puis," etc.
f. 104, col. 2 (Poquet, cols. 375–384).

The Hymns are set to music; their first lines are as follows:—

(a) "Por la pucelle anchantant me deport." f. 106 b, col. 2 (Poquet, col. 385).

(b) "Mere deu uirge senee." f. 107 (not printed by Poquet; but part of it is on the facsimile page facing cols. 757–8).

(c) "Lamor dont ie sui espris." f. 107, col. 2 (Poquet, col. 387).

(d) "A vne amor eore et sene." f. 107 b (Poquet, col. 391).

(e) "Qvi matin a ma iornee." f. 107 b, col. 2 (Poquet, col. 389).

38. CHASTE EMPRESS (Add. 19,909, No. 1). 3955 lines. Beg.: "Uns saiges dist et fait sauoir." f. 108, col. 2. Followed by a dedication to the nuns of Notre Dame de Soissons and the Abbess of Fontevrault, and by an exhortation to them to keep their vows; in 1157 lines altogether, beg.: "Ici me prant ici maart." f. 133. The last 45 lines are a song in four-line stanzas (with an envoy of 9 lines), beginning: "La fontenelle i sort clere." f. 139 b, col. 2.

The miracle has been omitted by Poquet; but he has printed the dedication and exhortation, and the song, at cols. 707–734. The miracle, together with the dedication, is in Méon, *Nouveau Recueil*, vol. ii. pp. 1–128.

39. JULIAN THE APOSTATE (Cleop. C. x., No. 4). 759 lines (Poquet, cols. 399–416). Beg.: "Un miracle trop merueilleus." f. 140, col. 2.

40. SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 11). 250 lines (Poquet, cols. 417–422). Beg.: "Au tens que de la cite noble." f. 145.

41. CHORISTER KILLED BY JEWS (Add. 18,929, No. 3). 755 lines (Poquet, cols. 557–572). Beg.: "Sainte escriture nos esclaire." f. 146 b.

42. OUR LADY OF LAON. Miracles wrought during the

progress of the shrine containing the relics saved from the fire (in 1112) at Laon Cathedral, when it was sent into England to procure money for the building fund. 759 lines (Poquet, cols. 209–232). Beg.: "Assez sauez que mult loeon." f. 151, col. 2. The miracles are as follows:—(i.) How at Arras a goldsmith, who had been blind ten years, recovered his sight on the arrival of the shrine, which he had helped to make. f. 151, col. 2 (Poquet, col. 209). (ii.) How on the voyage from Wissant to Dover some merchants, in fear of pirates, vowed large sums of money to the shrine, but ignored their vows when the danger was past; and how all their wool was burnt at Dover. f. 151 b (Poquet, col. 211). (iii.) How at Christchurch the shrine was thrust out of the church; and how a dragon came out of the sea, and set the church and town on fire. f. 152 b (Poquet, col. 215).

Taken from the narrative of Hermannus, monk of St. John's at Laon, who seems to have accompanied the relics. The miracles narrated here are in capp. 2, 4, 5, 10, 11 of his work, "De Miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis," lib. ii. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. clvi., cols. 975–982).

43. Jew lends to Christian (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). 578 lines (Poquet, cols. 543–556). Beg.: "Tant truis escrit foi que doi mame." f. 156.

44. Two Brothers at Rome (Cleop. C. x., No. 16). 460 lines (Poquet, cols. 593–604). Beg.: "Qui uiaut bien larmaire cercher." f. 159 b, col. 2.

45. Remover of Landmarks (Cleop. C. x., No. 17). 511 lines (Poquet, cols. 617–628). Beg.: "Conter uos uoil sanz nul delai." f. 162 b.

46. Minstrel at Roc-Amadour. How a jongleur named Pierre de Sigelar ("Sigelai" in our MS.) sang the praises of the Virgin before a great assemblage of pilgrims at Roc-Amadour; and how he was rewarded by one of the consecrated tapers descending upon his violin. 354 lines (Poquet, cols. 315–322). Beg.:

"La douce mere au criator
An seglisse a rochemador
Fait tant miracle tant hauz faiz
Qu'uns granz liures en est faiz
Plusors fiees leu lai

Dun iugleor dun home lai
[Un moult courtois miracle i truis
Que raconter weil, se je puis]
Por faire entendre a aucune ame
La cortoissie nostre dame." f. 165 b, col. 2.

Lines 7 and 8 are supplied from Poquet's ed., and from a Paris MS. used by G. Servois (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, series iv. vol. iii., 1857, p. 42). The "granz liures" from which Gautier took this narrative is a Latin Collection of Miracles of Our Lady of Roc-Amadour, compiled towards the end of the 12th century; this Collection, as found in two Paris MSS., has been discussed by Servois, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, as above, pp. 21–44, with extracts at pp. 228–240, including the present story at p. 229, and with Gautier's version (from two Paris MSS.) at p. 241.

The next four tales (Nos. 47–50) are taken from the "Miracula S. Mariæ Suessionensis" of Hugo Farsitus, Canon Regular of St. Jean des Vignes at Soissons, who wrote about the middle of the 12th century. This work of his narrates miraculous cures, especially of the *mal des ardents*, effected by the Virgin, at or near Soissons, in 1128 and 1132; it was first published by Michel Germain in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Soissons* (1675), and reprinted by Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxxix., col. 1777. The chapters used by Gautier de Coincy are also given by Poquet, cols. 147–180.

47. Boy cured (Egert. 1117, No. 11; Farsitus, cap. 9). 246 lines (Poquet, cols. 145–154), the first 24 forming a general introduction to the extracts from Farsitus. This introduction beg.: "Se dex maist hui et demain." f. 168.

The tale beg.: "Qant a soissons tant de genz vinrent." f. 168, col. 2.

48. Cowherd punished (Farsitus, cap. 12). How a cowherd named Boso scoffed at the sacred slipper, and was punished by a painful distortion of his mouth; and how he was cured by the Abbess Matilda (Abbess of Notre Dame de Soissons, 1116–1143) signing the cross on him with the slipper. 351 lines (Poquet, cols. 153–162). Beg.: "Ge uoil ci apres remoller." f. 169 b.

49. Woman's nose restored (Farsitus, cap. 7). How Gondree, a woman of "Andignecort' (*i.e.* Audignicourt, about

five miles north of Vic-sur-Aisne), lost her nose through the *mal des ardents*; and how she was cured, and her nose restored, by the Virgin. 683 lines (Poquet, cols. 161–178). Beg.: "Aincois que hors dou liure issons." f. 171 b, col. 2.

50. ROBERT OF JOÜY (Farsitus, cap. 31). How he was turned out of the Cathedral at Soissons, because of the horrible smell of his putrefying foot; and how he was cured by the Virgin. 511 lines (Poquet, cols. 177–190). Beg.: "Qvi uiaut oir uers moi se traie." f. 176.

Identically the same version, with Chartres in place of Soissons, is in the *Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres* of Jehan Le Marchant (Chartres, 1855), p. 189.

51. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW (Arund. 406, No. 12). 757 lines (Poquet, cols. 237–256). Beg.: "Cele qui est de tel maniere." f. 179, col. 2.

52. PILGRIM IN THE SEA (Add. 15,723, ii. 8). 483 lines (Poquet, cols. 605–616). Beg.: "Qui viaut oir qui uiaut entendre." f. 184.

53. CLERK OF PISA (Cleop. C. x., No. 22). Imperfect at the end. There are 447 lines remaining (Poquet, cols. 631–648, in 767 lines). Beg.: "Uos qui amez de cuer de cuer (*sic*) antier." f. 187. It breaks off at the foot of f. 189 b, col. 2, with the line "Tex estoupes pres de tel feu" (answering to line 392 of Poquet's ed.).

The Collection has been printed by the Abbé Poquet, *Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge, traduits et mis en vers par Gautier de Coincy* (Paris, 1857), but with the omission of Nos. 9, 11, 35, 38, and with considerable variations in the order of the tales. It appears, however, from the list of headings given by Poquet (p. xxxii.) from the MS. used by him (a Soissons MS. of the 13th century), that the arrangement in that MS. is the same as in the present one, except that our No. 36 (Sardenay) is there the last but one, and that the Soissons MS. contains all the tales in the present MS., and two more besides, *viz.* "Saturday" and "De la Pucèle d'Arras à cui Nostre Dame s'apparut" (which are respectively the last and the last but four).

Royal 20 B. xiv. ff. 102 b–170, 173.

Vellum; early XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 70, in double columns of 35 to 40 lines. With initials in blue and red.

The volume contains the following articles, all in *French*:—(1) "Manuel de Peche" (to be noticed in a later volume of this *Catalogue*). f. 1. (2) Sermon, partly in verse; headed "Ci commence vn sermun petit. Ki est trete solun le escrit ke seinte Cesarie a sa seor fist." f. 53. (3) Religious poem, in tirades of Alexandrines, beg.: "Qveor ke tut uolt auer si ke ren ne li faille." f. 65 b, col. 2. (4) Dialogue between Philosophy and a Clerk, in octosyllabics. f. 68 b. (5) Satire on the age, in stanzas of six short lines. f. 77 b. (6) "Romanze de romanze," usually called "Chastel de Amour," by Robert Grosseteste. f. 87 b. (7) Religious poem, in monorhymed quatrains, beg.: "Isci comence le romanz des romanz." f. 96. (8) The present article. ff. 102 b–170, 173. (9) Poem on spiritual love, beg.: "Seint Pol li apostle dist." ff. 170–172 b. On a vellum slip bound up with the volume (f. 166 b) is the following quatrain, in a 14th century hand: "Anno millesimo centeno ter numerato | Juncto septeno lux Martis postera festi | Sancti Mathei sepeliuit menbra Magistri | Thome Buctonie presulis Exonie." Thomas Button, Bishop of Exeter, died on Thursday, 21 Sept. 1307: see the *Account* of his executors (ed. W. H. Hale and H. T. Ellacombe, Camden Soc., 1874), p. 25. The date here assigned to his burial is the following Tuesday, *i.e.* 26 Sept. At f. 172 b is the entry: "Iste liber est Johannis Colyford de manu eiusdem scriptus apud Galmeton Anno domini millesimo trisentesimo sexagesimo primo." The latter statement, however, can only be taken as referring to the entry itself; the contents of the volume are in several hands, all of them quite different from that of the entry. An inscription on a fly-leaf at the beginning shows that the volume belonged in the 15th century to Walter Hungerford (Walter, 1st Baron Hungerford, who d. 1449?).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. In octosyllabic verse (except No. 6, which is in Alexandrines). In three books, with a Prologue to each book, as well as a general Introduction. *French.*

As Mussafia has pointed out (Heft iv. pp. 15–18), this Collection is very closely connected with that in the Oxford MS. (240 of Balliol College). Book i. contains 14 tales, of which Nos. 1–7, 9–13, correspond respectively to Miracles 1–7, 8–12 of the Oxford MS. Book ii. contains 17 miracles, corresponding exactly to Book

ii. of the Oxford MS. Book iii. contains 29 miracles, of which the first 26 answer to the whole of Book iii. of the Oxford MS.

The general Introduction begins:

"Ke en tele chose se delite
Ke a chief de tur li ert petite
Mult fet ke fous ke mult i pent
Si il mult tost ne se repent." f. 102 b, col. 2.

It goes on:

"Mes ieo pechere ki tut me sent
Charge de cele encumbrement
Ne sai solaz en ceste uie
Fors en la duze mere marie."

Again, after saying that many books have been filled with the record of the good deeds of the Virgin:

"E ioe pechere en dreit mey
Ma pore entente i mettrai.
Si cum ieo pus a sun honur
Demustrer sa pite et sa valur
Ne mie pur ceo ke ioe ai enpris
De ren amender les uels escris
Ke de lui sunt fet plus de cent anz
En beau latin et en romanz.
Mes tucher vodrai mult breuement
De lur materie si cum ieo en sent.
Pur remembrir et pres et loin
De ses vertues a mun bosoin.
Ke en deuers lus auerai troue.
V par leale gent esproue.
Tut ensemble voil amaser.
Pur mei et altres solacer." ff. 102 b, col. 2–103.

The Prologue to Book i. begins: "Pur ce me otrei a la marie." f. 103, col. 2.

The first 6 miracles correspond to Nos. 1–6 in Cleopatra C. x.

1. (Book i. Miracle 1). Jew of Bourges. Beg.: "Un auenture ke ieo uus di." f. 103, col. 2. On f. 103 b, col. 2, after describing how on Easter-Day, at Bourges, young and old to-

gether receive the Communion, the writer remarks that that custom is one "ki nest pas en engleterre."

Printed from this MS. by Wolter, *Der Judenknabe*, p. 115, and by Neuhaus, *Adgars Marienlegenden*, p. 20.

2. (Book i. Mir. 2). THEOPHILUS. Beg.: "Deu gouerne trestute ren." f. 105.

3. (Book i. Mir. 3). CHILDBIRTH IN THE SEA. Beg.: "Ore auez seignurs oi del eir." f. 108 b, col. 2.

4. (Book i. Mir. 4). JULIAN THE APOSTATE: the Bishop is called Athanasius instead of Basil. Beg.: "Del fu del eir et de la mer." f. 109 b, col. 2.

5. (Book i. Mir. 5). CHARTRES SAVED BY THE VIRGIN'S SHIFT: the date is given as 898, and the Bishop's name as "Waukelin." Beg.: "Del incarnatiun ihesu crist." f. 111 b, col. 2.

6. (Book i. Mir. 6). ST. ODO AND THE THIEF-MONK. In Alexandrines (except the first four lines). Beg.: "Veez ore seingnurs a moi entendant." f. 112 b, col. 2.

7. (Book i. Mir. 7). NATIVITY: ANGEL-MUSIC (Add. 15,723, ii. 32). Beg.: "La duzur del seignur ihesu crist." f. 114, col. 2.

8. (Book i. Mir. 8). DEVIL CANNOT DENOUNCE PENITENT. How a Knight agreed to go with his friends to a Demoniac, who used to denounce secret sins; how he was told by the Virgin, in a vision, first to confess his sins; and how the Demoniac could say nothing against him. Beg.: "A nostre dame fist homage." f. 115.

9. (Book i. Mir. 9). CONSTANTINE AND THE LAMP OF BALSAM (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 4). Beg.: "A Gloucestre out un conte britun." f. 116.

10. (Book i. Mir. 10). COMPLINES: taught to a sick man by the Virgin, accompanied by SS. Thekla and Cecilia (compare Cleop. C. x., No. 31). Beg.: "Ni ad homme en ceste uie." f. 118.

11. (Book i. Mir. 11). AVE ON THE TONGUE (Cleop. C. x., No. 29). Beg.: "Deus ki tut le munde guie." f. 118 b.

12. (Book i. Mir. 12). ST. MARY OF EGYPT. Beg.: "Ore entendez pur deu amur." f. 119, col. 2.

13. (Book i. Mir. 13). ABBESS DELIVERED (Add. 15,723, ii. 6). Beg.: "Avez tuz la benuree." f. 121 b, col. 2.

14. (Book i. Mir. 14). NUN WHO SAW THE WORLD (Add. 18,929, No. 27). Beg.: "Onoure soit deus et sa uertu" (line 2 is left blank). f. 123, col. 2.

Book ii. consists of the 17 miracles which have been described above (pp. 590, 604), as forming Book ii. of Cleopatra C. x. (Mussafia's HM); preceded by a Prologue, which begins: "Seignurs baruns ore eez p[r]es." f. 125, col. 2.

15. (Book ii. Mir. 1). HILDEFONSUS. Beg.: "En la bone cite de tulette." f. 125 b.

16. (Book ii. Mir. 2). DROWNED SACRISTAN. Beg.: "Un cunte uus conterai de la Marie." f. 126 b.

17. (Book ii. Mir. 3). CLERK OF CHARTRES. Beg.: "Uus ki amez la marie." f. 127 b.

18. (Book ii. Mir. 4). FIVE GAUDES. Beg.: "Pvr ceo ke cest conte fu bref." f. 128, col. 2.

19. (Book ii. Mir. 5). CHARITABLE ALMSMAN. Beg.: "As pore gens contrai un conte." f. 129.

20. (Book ii. Mir. 6). EBBO THE THIEF. Beg.: "Seignurs ne uus enuit mie." f. 129 b.

21. (Book ii. Mir. 7). MONK OF ST. PETER'S AT COLOGNE. Beg.: "Oez seignurs de la duce mere." f. 130, col. 2.

22. (Book ii. Mir. 8). PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES. Beg.: "Entendez seinurs ma resun." f. 131 b.

23. (Book ii. Mir. 9). PRIEST OF ONE MASS ONLY. Beg.: "Ore entendez seig[n]urs amis." f. 132 b, col. 2.

24. (Book ii. Mir. 10). TWO BROTHERS AT ROME. Beg.: "Seignurs lessez la noise ester." f. 133 b. The first 86 lines have been printed by Neuhaus, from this MS., in *Adgars Marienlegenden*, p. 2.

25. (Book ii. Mir. 11). REMOVER OF LANDMARKS. Beg.: "Pvr ceo ke de morz commence uus ai." f. 135.

26. (Book ii. Mir. 12). PRIOR OF ST. SAVIOUR'S AT PAVIA. Beg.: "Le deble arere et deus seit auant." f. 135 b, col. 2.

27. (Book ii. Mir. 13). HIERONYMUS MADE BISHOP OF PAVIA. Beg.: "Seignurs baruns ore entendez." f. 136 b, col. 2.

28. (Book ii. Mir. 14). STAINED CORPORALE. Beg.: "Uus ki la dame amez ades." f. 137, col. 2.

29. (Book ii. Mir. 15). FIRE AT MONT ST. MICHEL. Beg.: "Ore ne uus enuit il mie." f. 137 b, col. 2.

30. (Book ii. Mir. 16). CLERK OF PISA. Beg.: "Pres de la bone cite de pise." f. 138 b.

31. (Book ii. Mir. 17). MURIELDIS. Beg.: "Un petit cunte uus conterun." f. 139 b, col. 2.

Book iii. contains 29 Miracles, of which the first 26 answer to Book iii. of the Oxford MS. It opens with a Prologue, beginning: "Deu ki meint en trinite." f. 140 b, col. 2.

32. (Book iii. Mir. 1). TOLEDO (Cleop. C. x., No. 24). Beg.: "Il auint a la duce seisun." f. 140 b, col. 2.

33. (Book iii. Mir. 2). FOOT CUT OFF: "en la cite de yuorie" (Arund. 346, No. 23). Beg.: "Pvr conforter les meseisez." f. 141 b, col. 2.

34. (Book iii. Mir. 3). MUSA (Arund. 346, No. 24). Beg.: "Seignurs ne me blamez mie." f. 142 b, col. 2.

35. (Book iii. Mir. 4). JEW STRUCK BY A KNIGHT (see Add. 18,929, No. 16). In this version the restoration of the knight's missing eye does not occur, and the events are said to have happened at Toulouse, in the time of Count William, who "engendra le conte reimund. Ki fu conu par tut le mund" (meaning probably William IV., who became Count of Toulouse in 1060 or 1061, and was succeeded in 1088 by his brother, the famous Raymond de St. Gilles). Beg.: "[G]arscune et espaine sunt pres marchis." f. 143 b.

36. (Book iii. Mir. 5). ST. BON AND HIS VESTMENT (Add. 15,723, i. 1). Beg.: "En aluerne en une bone cite." f. 145 b, col. 2.

37. (Book iii. Mir. 6). DUNSTAN (Add. 15,723, ii. 27). Beg.: "Uus auez oy seignurs retrere." f. 147.

38. (Book iii. Mir. 7). MILK: FULBERT (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 2). Beg.: "Deus et sa duce mere marie." f. 148.

39. (Book iii. Mir. 8). MILK: MONK LAID OUT AS DEAD (Cleop. C. x., No. 32). The monk's illness is quinsy ("vne maladie ke apelent gent Equinacie"). Beg.: "Cil ne uus turnast tuz a ennuy." f. 148 b, col. 2.

40. (Book iii. Mir. 9). ABBOT ELSINUS (Cleop. C. x., No. 36): here named "Ogel," and described as Abbot of Ramsey. Beg.: "De la dame fet bon parler." f. 149 b, col. 2.

41. (Book iii. Mir. 10). GUIMUNDUS AND DROGO. How a ship full of pilgrims, among whom were "Guimund" and "Drui," two of the King of England's Chaplains, was becalmed; how some

invoked one saint, some another, until by Guimund's advice they all appealed to the Virgin; and how a favourable wind sprang up at once. Beg.: "[D]e la mer ke cunte uus ai." f. 150 b, col. 2.

42. (Book iii. Mir. 11). DEVIL IN BEAST-SHAPES (Cleop. C. x., No. 30). Beg.: "Ore fetes p[r]es si entendez." f. 151 b.

43. (Book iii. Mir. 12). VISION OF WETTIN (Egert. 612, No. 23). Beg.: "En alemaine cum nus lisun." f. 152 b. Printed from this MS., with the versions of William of Malmesbury and of Adgar in parallel columns, by Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 34.

44. (Book iii. Mir. 13). SUDDEN DEATH OF A MONK (Arund. 346, No. 28). Beg.: "Seignurs mult funt a entendre." f. 153 b, col. 2.

45. (Book iii. Mir. 14). MONK OF EVESHAM (Egert. 612, No. 25): but no place is named here. Beg.: "De vn altre moigne conte le escrit." f. 154 b.

46. (Book iii. Mir. 15). LOVE GAINED BY BLACK ARTS (Arund. 346, No. 31). Beg.: "Pvr ceo ke ceo cunte fu bref." f. 154 b, col. 2. Printed from this MS., with the versions of William of Malmesbury and of Adgar, by Mussafia, Heft iv. p. 53.

47. (Book iii. Mir. 16). PRAYERS OF A FRIEND (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 6). Beg.: "Beneit seit nostre creatur." f. 156 b, col. 2.

48. (Book iii. Mir. 17). JEW LENDS TO CHRISTIAN (Roy. 6 B. xiv., No. 10). Beg.: "Ore entendez seignurs amis." f. 157 b.

49. (Book iii. Mir. 18). RUSTIC CHURCH ENLARGED BY THE VIRGIN'S ORDER (Egert. 612, No. 30). Beg.: "Le pus lesser ke ieo ne uus cunt." f. 159, col. 2.

50. (Book iii. Mir. 19). THREE SOLDIERS (Cleop. C. x., No. 33). Beg.: "[K]eis ke ele seit plein de pite." f. 160, col. 2.

51. (Book iii. Mir. 20). NUN'S PENANCE LEFT UNCOMPLETED: agreeing with Egert. 612, No. 32. Beg.: "La seinte mere nus seit aie." f. 160 b, col. 2.

52. (Book iii. Mir. 21). MEAD: at "Glastengburi" (Cleop. C. x., No. 35). Beg.: "Aþelstan fu en engletere." f. 161 b, col. 2.

53. (Book iii. Mir. 22). WIFE AND MISTRESS (Arund. 346, No. 30). Beg.: "Iadiz esteit un bacheler." f. 162, col. 2.

54. (Book iii. Mir. 23). INSULTED MARY-IMAGE. Combined with "Saturday," as in Egert. 612, No. 37. Beg.: "Qvant uus cuntai sil uus souent." f. 162 b, col. 2.

55. (Book iii. Mir. 24). SARACENS CANNOT DEFACE MARY-

norþe her biside." f. 63. Printed from this MS. by F. J. Furnivall, *Early English Poems* (Philological Soc., 1862, as an appendix to the Transactions for 1859), p. 40.

7. TOLEDO (Cleop. C. x., No. 24). 24 lines. Beg.: "Gywes hatieþ oure leuedi moche ⁊ and hire suete sone also." f. 64. Ends: "Þat we mote to þe ioye ⁊ come þat þu ert inne." f. 64 b. Printed from this MS. by Furnivall (as above, No. 6), p. 42.

8. PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES (Cleop. C. x., No. 14). Here placed after the Life of St. James; but it is through the intervention of the Virgin, as in the usual version, that the pilgrim is restored to life. 72 lines. Beg.: "In the cite of leouns ⁊ a ȝung man þer was also." f. 100 b. Ends: "Hel[p] alle þi pelegrims and ous ⁊ and bring ous to heuene blis ⁊ amen." f. 101 b. Printed from this MS. by Furnivall (as above, No. 6), p. 57; also (from the Laud MS.) by Horstmann, *Early South-English Legendary*, p. 43, in 68 lines.

Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix. ff. 149 b–155 b.

Vellum; XIVth cent. Folio; ff. 7, each full page containing 40 lines. With spaces left for initials. In a fragmentary copy of the South-English Legendary, containing the following Lives:—(1) St. John the Evangelist (last 8 lines only). f. 118. (2) Thomas Becket. f. 118. (3) The present article. f. 149 b. (4) St. Cecilia. ff. 155 b–158 b. Followed by the Romance of Pope Gregory, in octosyllabics. f. 158 b.

The volume contains various chronicles and other historical documents (see vol. i. p. 198). At f. 167 is the inscription, in a 16th cent. hand, "Sum Richardi Prisei et Amicorum eius ex dono Patris sui Joannis Prisei"; the latter is no doubt Sir John Price of Brecknockshire (d. about 1553), whose *Historiæ Brytannicæ defensio* was published after his death by his son Richard (London, 1573).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN: The legend of Theophilus and six other tales, in 497 fourteen-syllabled lines; the same as Nos. 1–7 of the Collection in Harley 2277. *English.*

1. THEOPHILUS. In 191 lines, 8 lines being omitted after l. 57, and another after l. 73, the scribe being apparently misled in both cases by a repetition of rhyme; while ll. 107–8 here are not in the Harleian copy, probably from the same cause. There are also many verbal variations between the two. Beg.: "[S]eint Teophle was a gret man ⁊ and gret clerk also." f. 149 b.

2. JEW OF BOURGES. 42 lines. Beg.: "[A] Giewes child in buterne . i while bi old dawe." f. 151 b.

3. DEVIL IN SERVICE. 56 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt þer was bi old dawe . luþer man inouȝ." f. 152.

4. MARY COMES TO DEVIL. 84 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt was while a riche man . þat honoured moche mid alle." f. 153.

5. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS. 26 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt þer was a lond while . gret man wiþ al i wis." f. 154.

6. OXFORD SCHOLAR. 74 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt þer was in engelond . bi norþe here bi side." f. 154 b.

7. TOLEDO. 24 lines. Beg.: "Giwes hatieþ oure leuedi moche . and hire swete sone also." f. 155. Ends: "þat we mote to þe ioie come . þeras þu art inne. Amen." f. 155 b.

Additional 10,301. ff. 97 b–104 b, 145–146.

Vellum; about A.D. 1400. Large Octavo; ff. 10, having 36 lines to a page. With initials in blue, flourished with red. In a Collection of Lives of Saints in *English* verse.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Eight tales, the same (and arranged in the same way) as Harley 2277, Nos. 1–8. In 580 fourteen-syllabled lines altogether. *English.*

1. THEOPHILUS. 200 lines. Beg.: "Seint theofle was a grete man . and grete clerke also." f. 97 b.

2. JEW OF BOURGES. 42 lines. Beg.: "A gywes childe in buturie . wile by olde dawe." f. 100.

3. DEVIL IN SERVICE. 56 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt þer was by olde dawe . luþer man ynou." f. 100 b.

4. MARY COMES TO DEVIL. 84 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt was wile a riche man . þat honurede muche wiþ alle." f. 101 b.

5. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS. 26 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt þer was a londe wile . gret man wiþ alle y wis." f. 102 b.

6. OXFORD SCHOLAR. 76 lines. Beg.: "A kniȝt þer was in engelonde by norþe here by syde." f. 103.

7. TOLEDO. 24 lines. Beg.: "Gywes hatyeþ oure lady muche . and hure swete sone also." f. 104. Ends: "þat we mote to þe joye come þat þou arte inne Amen." f. 104 b.

8. PILGRIM OF ST. JAMES. 72 lines. Beg.: "In þe cite of leons . a ȝong man þer was also." f. 145. Ends: "Help vs and alle þine pilegrims . and bringe vs to heuene blis." f. 146.

Cotton, Julius D. ix. ff. 301 b–307.

Vellum; xvth cent. Small Quarto; ff. 7, having 34 to 38 lines to a page. With initials in red. At the end of a Collection of Lives of Saints in *English* verse.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Five tales, answering to Nos. 2–5, 1, of Harley 2277. In 412 fourteen-syllabled lines. *English.*

1. JEW OF BOURGES. 46 lines (ll. 22–25, in which the child's mother consents to his death, are not in the other copies). Beg.: "A jwes child in buterie . som time be olde daue." f. 301 b.

2. DEVIL IN SERVICE. 56 lines. Beg.: "A kny3t þer was bi olde dawe . luþer man ynou." f. 302.

3. MARY COMES TO DEVIL. 84 lines. Beg.: "A kni3t was while a riche man . þat onoureþe moche with alle." f. 302 b.

4. SAVED BY LEARNING TWO WORDS. 26 lines. Beg.: "A kni3t þer was a londe while gret man with alle and wis." f. 304.

5. THEOPHILUS. 200 lines. Beg.: "Seint theofle was a gret man . and gret clerc also." f. 304. Ends: "As heo haþ moni oþer ido nou farewel y ne can telle no mo Amen." f. 307.

Harley 2250. ff. 9–10.

Paper; xvth cent. Quarto; ff. 2, in double columns of 55 or 56 lines. In a Poem on the Church Festivals (ff. 1–47 b), forming part of the section devoted to the Purification of the Virgin. Another portion of the volume has been described above, p. 690.

TAPER LEFT BEHIND BY AN ANGEL. A version of the same story as Add. 18,929, No. 20. In 37 four-line stanzas. *English.*

Heading: "Narracio bona et fidelis de beata virgine maria." f. 9, col. 2.

Begins: "Now of a myracle of mary
þat befell ry3t as this day
I will telle apertely
Herkens to me I 3ow pray." f. 9, col. 2.

Ends: "þus holpe oure lady þis matron
As ho dos all men secerly
þat in hyr has deuocion
And worchippis hyr deuoutely." f. 10.

Harley 4196. ff. 113–117 b, 142 b–143 b, 147 b–148.

Vellum; early xvth cent. Folio; ff. 9, in double columns of 48 lines. With headings in red, and initials in gold, red and blue. The volume contains the following, all in *English* verse:—(1) Homilies upon the Gospels for Sundays and weekdays throughout the year. Imperfect at the beginning. f. 1. (2) Homilies for Saints' Days throughout the year. Imperfect at the end. f. 133. (3) Gospel of Nicodemus, in twelve-line stanzas. f. 206. (4) Prick of Conscience, by Richard Rolle of Hampole. ff. 215 b–258 b. Owned in 1622 by William Browne, the poet (see f. 1).

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN. Four tales, contained in homilies, in octosyllabic verse. *English.*

1. THEOPHILUS. At the end of a homily for the 13th Sunday after Trinity, on Luke x. 23–37. In 798 lines. f. 113, col. 2.

The four lines immediately preceding the tale are:—

"And no man may right penance do
Bot if god gif him grace þarto
And þai two makes man saul full hale
Als men may here now bi þis tale."

The tale itself is headed "De tyophilo clerico narracio," and begins:—

"A bisschop wond biȝond þe se
And cirile hight þe same cete
He had a clerk þat tiophill hight
Þat serued him trewly and right."

Ends: "Sais all amen par charite." f. 117 b.

2. TAPER LEFT BY AN ANGEL (see Add. 18,929, No. 20). This tale and the next are in a homily on the Purification of the Virgin. 84 lines. f. 142 b.

Beg.: "A tale of þis fest haue I herd
How it with a wydow ferd."

Ends: "For do man neuer so grete a syn
And he will of his folis blin
And aske of hir help inwardli
He may be sekir of mercy.
Als wele was proued by a lady
Þat was Abbes of ane Nunry." f. 143.

Printed from an Edinburgh MS. by J. Small, *English Metrical Homilies* (Edinburgh, 1862), p. 160.

3. ABBESS DELIVERED (Add. 15,723, ii. 6). This differs from the other versions in one particular, *viz.* that it represents the abbess as confiding in one of the nuns, whom she has fostered from childhood, and who treacherously denounces her. 154 lines. Beg.: "Als þis Abbes went on a day." f. 143. Ends: "Þeder scho bring us al bidene." f. 143 b, col. 2.

Printed by Small, *Eng. Metr. Hom.*, p. 164.

4. MARY COMES TO THE DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM (Arund. 406, No. 4). In a homily on the Annunciation. 139 lines. Beg.: "In ingland whilom wund a knight." f. 147 b. Ends: "Oure lady vs wis to wend þat way." f. 148, col. 2.

Cotton, Tiberius E. vii. ff. 221–225.

Vellum; about A.D. 1400. Folio; ff. 5, in double columns of about 48 lines (but some lines at the top of almost every column are lost). With headings in red, and initials in red and blue.

The volume, which has been greatly damaged by fire, contains the following articles, all in *English* verse:—(1) Mirror of Life, by William of Nassington. f. 1. (2) Dialogue between the Virgin Mary and St. Bernard, concerning the Passion; in eight-line stanzas. f. 82. (3) Religious poem, in octosyllabics. f. 85 b, col. 2. The beginning is lost, but the last two lines are: "And honors him in stede and stall | Vnto þat blis he bring vs all Amen." f. 90. (4) Ghost of Guy, in octosyllabics. f. 90, col. 2. (5) Homilies for various days throughout the year (cp. Harley 4196, ff. 1–205 b). ff. 101 b–281 b.

THEOPHILUS. In octosyllabic verse, the same version as that in Harley 4196, ff. 113–117 b. Imperfect; each leaf has been injured by fire, so that several lines and portions of lines are lost. *English.*

Heading: "De tyophilo clerico narracio." f. 221, col. 2.

Begins: "A bisschop wond bizond þe se
And Cirile hight þe . . . cuntre
He had a clerk þat tyophyl hight
Þat serued him trewly and right." f. 221, col. 2.

Ends: "Sais all amen par c[harite]." f. 225, col. 2.

APPENDIX.

Northern Legends and Tales.

Cotton, Vitellius A. xv. ff. 132–201 b.

Beowulf. When we said (at pp. 9 and 15–16, notes) that "the theory of the Geátas being the Götar of Sweden has been at least shaken, if not quite overthrown, by Pontus Fahlbeck," we spoke too hastily. His article appeared in the *Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, vol. viii., No. 2 (Stockholm, 1884). We will here quote two or three of his leading arguments (with the pagination taken from a separate reprint, Lund, 1885), and also the replies of one of his most formidable antagonists, the late Bernhard Ten Brink, in *Beowulf*, Heft 62 of *Quellen und Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1888).

We will begin with Fahlbeck's remark (p. 39) that the Anglo-Saxon translation (commonly ascribed to King Alfred) of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (Lib. i. cap. 15) has to mention the Jutes three times, in the genitive plural and dative plural, and that each time he renders the name "Geata" (gen.) or "Geatum" (dat.). This had already been noticed by Heinrich Leo (in his treatise upon Beowulf in 1839); but it has been regarded by most of the later critics as a mistake of the translator's. Further on (in Bede's Lib. iv. cap. 16) the translator renders "Iutorum provinciam" by "Eota lond." Again, another version of the first passage from Bede (Lib. i. cap. 15) appears in two MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (under the year 449), and there the words are "Jutna" and "Jotum" (so in the Rolls edition, pp. 20, 21). Ludwig Ettmüller in the Introduction (p. 23) to his translation of Beowulf (Zurich, 1840) asserted that the Geátas were the Swedish Götar. Grein, Müllenhoff, and others, took the same view. And now it seems to be very generally understood that, philologically considered, the two names answer exactly to one another: see Ten Brink, p. 207. It is not quite so certain that Grein was right, in his *Glossar*, vol. ii. (1864), p. 784, where he explained "Eótena" (gen. plur.) and "Eótenum" (dat. plur.) as

meaning the Jutes (in Beowulf, ll. 1072, 1088, 1141, and ll. 902, 1145). As there are no accents in our MS., Fahlbeck has some right to contend that the *o* may be regarded as a short vowel, and that the words may mean Giants, or Enemies. In some passages this is undoubtedly the meaning. Thus (at l. 112) "eotenas" is used for some of the monster broods of Cain; and (at l. 761) the nom. sing. "eoten" stands for Grendel himself: see Grein's *Glossar*, vol. i. (1861), p. 262. Fahlbeck is by no means alone in objecting to the word being ever taken to mean Jutes. He refers to the authority of Max Rieger, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. iii. (Halle, 1871), pp. 398–400; and his objection has since been supported by Sophus Bugge, in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, vol. xii. (Halle, 1887), p. 37.

Again, as Fahlbeck remarks (pp. 29–30), the Geátas were a sea-folk. Their king, Hygelac, gained renown by his sea-attack upon Friesland; and his men are sometimes styled the Sǽ-Geátas (ll. 1850, 1986). The royal palace is on the shore ("sǽ wealle neah," l. 1924); and, when the Fire-drake is ravaging the neighbourhood, mention is made of an island, or a peninsula, off the shore ("ealond utan"), as if it were a feature of some importance. All this, and more to the same effect, is pronounced by Fahlbeck to be quite unsuited to the habits of the Gōtar; while their chief town (Skara) was far inland at the time when they are first distinctly mentioned in Swedish history. But Fahlbeck allows that this time is 400 or 500 years later than that of Beowulf; and just such another lapse of time (as Ten Brink replies) was enough to change the habits of the Anglo-Saxons, and make them quite helpless against the Vikings.

The Fire-drake story is supposed by most of the German critics to be an addition. But, in the historical allusions, at least, it is quite in keeping with the earlier parts; and, as for the geography, it is evident that the author (or one of the authors, according to Ten Brink) supposed that the Geátas were separated from the Sweón by a wide sea. Thus, fugitives from Sweden sought Hygelac's successor over-sea ("ofer sǽ sohtan," l. 2379), and Beowulf led his warriors against the Sweón over the broad sea ("of[er] sǽ síde," l. 2394). Again, there was strife between the Sweón and the Geátas over the wide water ("of[er] [wid] wæter," l. 2472, and "ofer heafo," l. 2477). Only one reply can be made; but that is not improbably the correct explanation. We

do not know whence or how our author obtained his information; but, although he seems to have described the historical events with singular precision, we cannot wonder if, having no maps to help him, he had a very vague idea of the geographical positions.

The difficulties mentioned above would perhaps be cleared away, if we accepted Fahlbeck's theory that the land of the Geátas was Jutland. But a new difficulty would be created, which appears to us much more formidable. Although the history of Scandinavia in the 6th century is very dark indeed, still we believe that we may assume that Denmark and Sweden were already growing at the expense of their neighbours.

Ten Brink (p. 202) agrees with Müllenhoff that the establishment of the Danish kingdom in the islands probably took place about 470. Their encroachments upon the peninsula may perhaps have been two or three generations later; but still, Ten Brink holds, with Dahlmann (*Geschichte von Dänemark*, vol. i. p. 16), that the Danish occupation had a close connection with the Anglo-Saxon and Jutish emigrations to Britain. Hygelac was killed about 515; and by that time the Jutes who remained in Jutland must have perceived which was the neighbouring power that was likely to subdue their nationality. We know, at all events, that eventually the Jutes were absorbed by the Danes, and the Götar by the Swedes. Fahlbeck's theory then puts Beowulf into a strange position, when he pledges himself, and also Hygelac his king, to bring a thousand Geátas at any time to assist the Danish king against all his foes (ll. 1826–1839); and it leaves us at a loss to understand the forebodings of the speaker at Beowulf's funeral, that now the Geátas might expect renewed attacks from the Sweón (ll. 2999-3007).

Some unexpected discovery may upset all our calculations. Fahlbeck's theories may be true; but we doubt whether they can possibly be accepted in the present state of our information. The difficulty may no doubt be evaded in the manner proposed by Prof. Earle (*Deeds of Beowulf*, Oxford, 1892). He suggests that the death of Hygelac may be the only historical fact in the whole poem; and that the tales about Hygelac's dynasty, and about the struggles between the Geátas and the Sweón, may all be inventions of the Anglo-Saxon poet. For the present, however, we are more inclined to study this subject in accordance with the teaching of the German critics.

Eastern Legends and Tales.

Additional 17,299.

Barlaam and Josaphat. The account of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat (see above, pp. 111–125) was in type before the remarkable discovery of Prof. J. Armitage Robinson that this romance contains the lost "Apology" of Aristides, a Christian work of the early part of the 2nd century. The account of this discovery, with the text of the Apology, may be found in vol. i. pt. 1 of the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* (1891), edited by Prof. Robinson. His account need only be summarised here. A Syriac version of the Apology was discovered by Prof. J. Rendel Harris in the library of the convent of St. Catherine, upon Mount Sinai, in the course of a visit there in the spring of 1889. Harris was engaged in printing the Syriac text, and had nearly concluded it, when Robinson, by a happy accident, discovered that the whole substance of the Greek original was still extant and already known to many scholars, having been incorporated in Barlaam and Josaphat. The point at which it is introduced is where Nachor, the false Barlaam (see above, p. 116), is put forward in order that, as the advocate of Christianity, he may be confuted in a public controversy, in the presence of Josaphat. His words, however, are overruled, like those of Balaam, by the Divine Providence, and his mock defence of Christianity becomes real and convincing. This speech (the Latin version of which is contained in ff. 74–79 of Add. MS. 17,299, cp. Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, xcvi. 1109–1124) is the Apology of Aristides, very slightly, and for the most part immaterially, altered. This Apology for Christianity was, according to Eusebius, presented to the emperor Hadrian in A.D. 125 by Aristides, a philosopher of Athens. The Syriac version does, indeed, contain a second heading, from which it would appear to have been addressed to Antoninus Pius, and Harris consequently refers it to the early years of that emperor's reign; but this hypothesis is attended with much difficulty, and Robinson prefers to accept the date hitherto received, which is supported by the testimony of Eusebius, the first title of the Syriac version, and the title of an Armenian fragment of the work published at Venice in 1878. The Syriac and Armenian

versions are considerably longer than the Greek, as presented in Barlaam and Josaphat; but Prof. Robinson shows that there are strong grounds for believing that the Greek represents the original form of the Apology, and that the other versions are amplified with some alterations from this original, and his view is followed by the recent German editor of the Apology, Dr. R. Raabe (Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ix. 1, 1892).

The interest of this discovery is, no doubt, more for theologians than for students of romances; but it is not without value in its bearings on the history of Barlaam and Josaphat. The points especially affected are the date and authorship of the romance. Zotenberg (see p. 115), arguing for an earlier date than that of John of Damascus, urges in some detail the differences in style between the romance and John's recognised works; and at first sight it is some confirmation of this argument to find that a certain portion of the former, the style of which has never caused anyone to suspect it of not being an integral part of the work, was in fact written early in the second century. This point cannot, however, be pressed too far; for it might be equally argued that it necessitated an earlier date for the composition of the romance than the first half of the seventh century, which is the date assigned to it by Zotenberg on the ground of the theological views expressed in it. The truth, no doubt, is that the speech of Nachor, which forms only a very small fraction of the whole work, has never been particularly compared in point of style with the rest of the romance. None of the instances quoted by Zotenberg to illustrate the literary style of the author are taken from this passage, and his argument is, so far, unaffected either for good or for evil by the discovery. The most that can be said is that it is now certain that the author had no objection to inserting a large extract from an earlier writer in his own work; and if he has done so in one case, he may have done so in many, especially in the long expositions of Christian doctrine which occupy much of the first part of the story. It will consequently be necessary, in any future attempt to assign a date to the romance on the grounds of its style and vocabulary, to restrict the argument to those parts of it (such as the purely narrative sections) which are unquestionably the work of the author himself.

Harley 4196. ff. 199 b–205 b.

Vellum; early xvth cent. Folio; ff. 7, in double columns of 47 to 49 (usually 48) lines. With heading in red, and an initial in gold, red and blue. For the rest of the volume, see above, p. 739.

BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT. An abridged version, in octosyllabic verse. Imperfect at the end, 1164 lines remaining. *English.*

This version has evidently been taken from the abridgment used by Jacobus de Voragine (see above, p. 130). It is headed: "De sanctis berlam et Josaphat," and begins:

"A grete clerk. Damacene gert writ
How saint barlam þe gude hermit
Techid Josaphat a kynges sun
Þe law of crist how he solde kun." f. 199 b, col. 2.

The first seven Apologues are respectively at ff. 201 b; 201 b, col. 2; 202; 202 b; 202 b, col. 2; 203; 203 b. Ap. 8 is omitted. Ap. 9 is at f. 203 b, col. 2. Ap. 10 is omitted. Ap. 11 is at f. 205 b, col. 2.

The text breaks off at the foot of the page in the middle of Apologue 11, with the words:

"Siluer and golde he gert furth bring
Pelure perre and rich clething." f. 205 b, col. 2.

Printed from this MS. by Carl Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden* (Paderborn, 1875), p. 226.

VISIONS OF HEAVEN AND HELL.

Additional 11,437. ff. 50–61.

Paper; about A.D. 1470. Folio; ff. 12, in double columns of 33 to 42 lines. With initials and heading in red. For the rest of the volume see above, p. 149.

VISION OF TUNDAL. In 28 chapters, with Prologue. *Latin.* Heading: "Incipit Tungdalus De penis." f. 50. The Prologue begins: "Uenerabili ac deo donante domine G. dei dono abatisse Frater marcus sibi deuotus famulus Vtinam tam falidissimum

quam paratum seruicium" (see above, p. 417). f. 50. After some introductory sentences, it goes on: "Placuit namque vestre providencie quatinus misterium quod ostensum fuerat Tungdalo cuidam hybernigeno noster stilus licet ineruditus de barbarico in latinum transferret eloquium vestreque diligencie mitteremus transcribendum." This spelling of the vision-seer's name is also used in the other two passages where it occurs (*viz.* at f. 50 b, l. 24, and f. 51, col. 2, l. 35). The vision is dated (f. 50, col. 2) in the usual way (see above, p. 417). The Prologue ends: "Sed quia non est nostri propositi modo trageditus (*sic*) texere ad commissum nobis opusculum deo adiuuante properemus. Explicit prologus super Tungdalum." f. 50, col. 2.

The first chapter begins: "Ybernia igitur insula est in vltima occidentali occeano posita ab austro in borream porrecta." f. 50 b. Like the printed editions, it contains (f. 50 b, col. 2) the passage "vita eius presens testatur," etc., where the abridged version in Harley 3776 has "testabatur" (see above, p. 419). The chapter ends: "Cuncta autem que viderat aut passus fuerat nobis postmodum dicens narravit." f. 51.

The vision begins: "Cvm inquit anima mea corpus exueret et illud mortuum esse cognosseret." f. 51. The text agrees, except for occasional blunders on the part of the scribe, and for a few verbal variations, with that of Wagner's edition (for which see above, p. 424); and so does the arrangement of chapters, except that Wagner's 10th and 14th chapters are each divided here into two chapters. The three kings' names are written (f. 58) "Chauchabet" or "Chaucheber," "Donatus," and "Coronatus" respectively. The work ends: "Vnde nos vestram o preclara o (*sic*) humilima et deuotissima prece deuocionem precamur vt nostri licet indigni memoria in vestris habeatis oracionibus Quatenus placeamus illi qui superest cunctis quem ante diximus ihesu christo domino nostro cui honor est et gloria per infinita seculorum secula Amen." ff. 60 b, col. 2–61. Colophon: "Explicit Tungdalus quasi hora sexta sero sexta (?) feria post conuersionem sancti Pauli 7°." f. 61. The last word seems to have been intended to indicate the year, possibly 1467; the next article (Directorium Humanæ Vitæ) is dated 1470, and two other articles in the volume bear the dates 1463, 1467 respectively (see above, p. 149).

Harley 2851. ff. 49 b–58.*

Vellum; about A.D. 1300. Small Quarto; ff. 10, having 25 or 26 lines to a page. With initials and headings in red. For the rest of the volume see above, p. 401.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. The text of Henry of Saltrey, slightly abridged, and without either Prologue or Epilogue. In 13 chapters. *Latin.*

This copy belongs to the same class as Royal 13 B. viii., though somewhat abridged; but it wants the Prologue and Epilogue, and also the Story of the Irishman, the passage about the Priory after St. Patrick's death (Colgan, chapp. ii., iii.), the two Homilies, and the concluding chapters (narrating the visit of Gilbert of Louth to Ireland, Gilbert's story of the monk attacked by fiends, the testimony of Bishop Florentianus, and the tales of the two Hermits). It begins: "Dicitur quod magnus patricius dum in hibernia uerbum dei predicaret . atque miraculis gloriosis coruscaret." f. 49 b. The narrative about the knight (whose name is not given) begins: "Contigit autem hiis temporibus nostris militem quendam ad episcopum in cuius diocesi sita est ecclesia⁊ confessionis gracia uenire." f. 50. It ends, after the egress of the knight from the cave: "Quem cum magno gaudio plebs suscipiens⁊ in ecclesiam eum introducebat . deum super omnia laudantes . qui non deserit sperantes in se . Deinde crucis signo super humero accepto⁊ sepulcrum domini uisitare perrexit . et felici morte uitam suam finiuit." f. 58.

* The description of this MS. ought to have followed that of Vespasian A. vi. (above, p. 461).

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

HUMANITIES
REFERENCE DOES NOT CIRCULATE

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 025 397 626